The Swabian first person singular pronoun at the syntax–prosody interface

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Swabian 1st person singular nominative pronoun (1SgNom)

- Dialect spoken in Southern Germany by appr. 800,000 speakers
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- In contrast to Standard German ("ich"), Swabian distinguishes between three realisations of the 1SgNom: full form [i:], enclitic form [ə] and pronoun drop
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- Dialect spoken in Southern Germany by appr. 800,000 speakers
- In contrast to Standard German ("ich"), Swabian distinguishes between three realisations of the 1SgNom: full form [i:], enclitic form [ə] and pronoun drop
- This involves a complex interplay between the syntax–prosody interface, postlexical phonology, information-structure, and the lexicon.
Structure of the talk

1. Differentiation between [ə] and [iː]
2. Pronoun drop and n-insertion
3. Analysis at the syntax–prosody interface

My sources for Swabian

1. Literature (e.g., Bohnacker (2013) and Haag-Merz (1996)), Dialect version of Asterix
2. Corpus work: Zwirner corpus (IDS Mannheim)
   - not annotated – extracted relevant clauses by hand
   - 4h 48 minutes (so far) ⇒ 285 occurrences of 1SgNom
3. Online Questionnaire: still running (only preliminary results; N=31 (-6N))
⇒ The data in this talk is what a strong majority would agree with.
1. Distinguished by focus

Depending on focus: two realizations of the Swabian 1SgNom pronoun

(1) jetzt koch [ə] ebbes wo bloß [i:] kenh
Now cook 1SG.NOM something of which just 1SG.NOM know
‘Now I will cook something of which just I know.’

⇒ True for any type of focus!

(2) Den hab [i:] net gwählh
That one have 1SG.NOM not voted for
‘I did not vote for that one!’

FOCUS defined as in Krifka (2007, following Rooth (1985, 1996)):

Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions.
2. Determined by linear position in the clause

1SgNom in initial position is always [i:]

Question: Preverbal position in German main clause is a TOPIC position. Is [i:] thus reserved for the TOPIC part of an expression?

(3) Heut morga wared d’Handwerker da. Dann ben [ə] eikaufa ganga. ‘This morning, the craftsmen were here. (Afterwards) I went shopping.’

→ [ə] is (a) topic – so [ə] is not per se excluded from the topic position.

⇒ Sentence-initial [i:] is rather determined by prosodic constraints: as [ə] is an enclitic, it cannot occur in the first position of an intonational phrase.
3. Frame setting

Krifka (2007): Whenever a FRAME is set, within which the expression should be interpreted, e.g.,

A: How is John?
B: [Healthwise]Frame, he is fine.

During FRAME setting, [i:] is preferred:

(4) Mir hen koine Sämaschin khet solang [i:] no en dr schul war
We have not seeder had as long as I still in the school was
“We did not have any seeders while I was still at school.”

⇒ FRAMES are ‘close’ to focus, as they imply alternative sets
Differentiation between ‘i’ and ‘ə’

4. Topic shift/Givenness

[i:] is preferred to reintroduce 1SgNom as a topic (topic shift, inactivated discourse referent)

(5) Speaker 172 after she was asked what she did after school:

Nach dr Schul ben [i:] dahoim gwea, da ha [ə] müssa em Vater helfa Bäum schneida
After the school am I at home been there have I must the father help trees cut

“After school I was at home where I had to help my father to cut the trees”

⇒ Indicates a certain GIVENNESS hierarchy among [i:] and [ə]
Givenness hierarchy

General assumption: forms that are mentally highly activated are those with the least phonetic content → unstressed pronouns, zero pronominals ... (Gundel et al. 1993 (and references therein), Baumann (2008))
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→ [i:] and [ə] are lexically GIVEN: whenever they appear in a discourse, their denotation is completely identifiable
Differentiation between ‘i’ and ‘ə’

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→ [i:] and [ə] are lexically GIVEN: whenever they appear in a discourse, their denotation is completely identifiable

→ Further distinction: [ə] means that the referent is highly activated; [i:] means that the referent is less activated.

![Givenness hierarchy diagram]

‘forefront’ ‘old’ ← with respect to common ground
Givenness hierarchy

General assumption: forms that are mentally highly activated are those with the least phonetic content → unstressed pronouns, zero pronominals ... (Gundel et al. 1993 (and references therein), Baumann (2008))

→ [i:] and [ə] are lexically GIVEN: whenever they appear in a discourse, their denotation is completely identifiable

→ Further distinction: [ə] means that the referent is highly activated; [i:] means that the referent is less activated.

Note: This can be overruled by FOCUS/FRAMESETTING or sentence position.
An example from the corpus

(6) Speaker 175 answering the question if he could still work as a meat inspector

Physically were I today still able

bloß see do I no more well

I am in one eye blind.

Now would I a good meat inspector be

Now see I only just in one eye

“Physically I would still be able, but I don’t see well anymore. I am blind in one eye. I would be a good meat inspector now as I can see in only one eye.”
Intermediate summary: Distinction between [i:] and [ə]

[i:] is used in:
1. the initial position of an intonational phrase (→ syntax–prosody interface)
2. contexts with ‘alternatives’: focus/frame setting (→ information structure)
3. activation contexts: topic shift and first mention (→ information structure)

[ə] is used everywhere else.

What about the third option, the pronoun drop?
(Optional) Pronoun drop

Third ‘form’ is constrained by postlexical phonology.

Several conditions have to be met in that case:
(Optional) Pronoun drop

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1. The corresponding form has to be the clitic [ə]
(Optional) Pronoun drop

Third ‘form’ is constrained by postlexical phonology.

Several conditions have to be met in that case:

1. The corresponding form has to be the clitic [ə]
2. The pronoun has to be part of a clitic cluster
   \[ \rightarrow \text{jɛtst kɔx} *(\equiv \text{ə}) \varepsilon bəs \ldots \]
(Optional) Pronoun drop

Third ‘form’ is constrained by postlexical phonology.

Several conditions have to be met in that case:

1. The corresponding form has to be the clitic [ə]
2. The pronoun has to be part of a clitic cluster
   → jɛtst kɔx *(=ə) ɛbəs ...
3. A valid syllable structure has to be preserved
Valid syllable structure

\[(7) \quad i: \quad h_{\text{ep}}=s\quad \text{ufgmaxt}\]
\[1\text{SG.NOM have.}1\text{SG.PRS}=3\text{SG.N.ACC open.PRF}\]
‘I opened it.’
Valid syllable structure

(7) \( i: \text{hep} = s \quad \text{ufgmaxt} \)
    \( 1{\text{SG}}.\text{NOM} \ \text{have.1SG.PRS} = 3{\text{SG}}.\text{N.ACC} \ \text{open.PRF} \)
    ‘I opened it.’

(8) \( *\text{ge\-sten} \ \text{hep} = \emptyset = s \quad \text{ufgmaxt} \)
    \( \text{Yesterday have.1SG.PRS(=1SG.NOM)} = 3{\text{SG}}.\text{N.DAT} \ \text{open.PRF} \)
    ‘Yesterday, (I) opened it.’
Valid syllable structure

(7) \[ i: \text{hęp=s} \text{ ufgmaxt} \]
\[1SG.NOM \text{ have.1SG.PRS}=3SG.N.ACC \text{ open.PRF} \]
‘I opened it.’

(8) \[ *\text{gęśten } \text{hęp=∅=s} \text{ ufgmaxt} \]
\[Yesterday \text{ have.1SG.PRS(=1SG.NOM)}=3SG.N.DAT \text{ open.PRF} \]
‘Yesterday, (I) opened it.’

(9) \[ \text{hap=∅=s=ń} \text{ ufgmaxt} \]
\[\text{have.1SG.PRS(=1SG.NOM)}=3SG.N.ACC=then \text{ open.PRF} \]
‘Did (I) open it?’
Prosodic grouping of clitics: Evidence from $n$-insertion

(Optional) $n$ can be inserted to avoid vowel hiatus:
Prosodic grouping of clitics: Evidence from \textit{n}-insertion

(Optional) \textit{n} can be inserted to avoid vowel hiatus:

\begin{equation}
\text{va}ıf\quad \text{du:}\quad \text{vo:=}(\text{n-})\text{ə}\quad \text{dës\ hap know.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM where=(n-)1SG.NOM this have.1SG.PRS}
\end{equation}

‘Do you know where I’ve got this?’
Prosodic grouping of clitics: Evidence from $n$-insertion

(Optional) $n$ can be inserted to avoid vowel hiatus:

(10) vaıʃ du: vo:=(n-)ə dɛs hap
know.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM where=(n-)1SG.NOM this have.1SG.PRS
‘Do you know where I’ve got this?’

(11) * vo:)ω n- ω (?e:fa: vo:nt
where n-Eva.3SG.F.NOM live.3SG.PRS
‘... where Eva lives.’
(Optional) $n$ can be inserted to avoid vowel hiatus:

(10) \begin{align*}
\text{vaif} & \quad \text{du:} & \quad \text{vo:}= & \quad (n-)@ & \quad \text{des} \quad \text{hap}
\text{know.2sg.prs} & \quad \text{2sg.nom} & \quad \text{where}= & \quad (n-)1\text{sg.nom} & \quad \text{this} \quad \text{have.1sg.prs}
\end{align*}

‘Do you know where I’ve got this?’

(11) \begin{align*}
* \quad \text{vo:)}_\omega & \quad n- \quad \omega(\text{fe:fa:} & \quad \text{vo:nt}
\text{where} & \quad \text{n-Eva.3sg.f.nom} & \quad \text{live.3sg.prs}
\end{align*}

‘… where Eva lives.’

(12) \begin{align*}
* \quad \text{vo:}= & \quad \omega & \quad n-\text{om}
\text{k}\text{olf} & \quad \text{han}
\text{where}= & \quad \text{1sg.nom}= & \quad \text{n-3sg.m.dat} & \quad \text{help.prf} & \quad \text{have.1sg.prs}
\end{align*}

‘… where I helped him.’
(Optional) $n$ can be inserted to avoid vowel hiatus:

(10) vaıʃ du: vo:=($n$-)ə deş hap
know.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM where=(n-)1SG.NOM this have.1SG.PRS
‘Do you know where I’ve got this?’

(11) * vo:)ω n-ω (?e:fa: vo:nt
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(12) * vo:=ə=n-əm kʰəlfə han
where=1SG.NOM=n-3SG.M.DAT help.PRF have.1SG.PRS
‘... where I helped him.’

(13) vo:=∅=(n-)əm kʰəlfə han
where=1SG.NOM=n-3SG.M.DAT help.PRF have.1SG.PRS
‘... where (I) helped him.’
Prosodic grouping of clitics: Evidence from $n$-insertion

(Optional) $n$ can be inserted to avoid vowel hiatus:

(10) vaıʃ  du:  vo:=(n-)ə  dєs hap
know.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM where=(n-)1SG.NOM this have.1SG.PRS
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where=1SG.NOM=n-3SG.M.DAT help.PRF have.1SG.PRS
‘... where (I) helped him.’

⇒ **Conclusion**: prosodic grouping of clitic clusters must be $((\text{host})_ω \text{ cl cl})_ω$
Pronoun drop and n-insertion

Prosodic grouping of clitics: Evidence from n-insertion

(Optional) n can be inserted to avoid vowel hiatus:

(10) vaif du: vo:=(n-)ə dəs hap know.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM where=(n-)1SG.NOM this have.1SG.PRS ‘Do you know where I’ve got this?’

(11) * vo:)ω n- ω(?e:fa: vo:nt where n-Eva.3SG.F.NOM live.3SG.PRS ‘... where Eva lives.’

(12) * vo:=ə=n-əm kʰɔlfə han where=1SG.NOM=n-3SG.M.DAT help.PRF have.1SG.PRS ‘... where I helped him.’

(13) vo:=∅=(n-)əm kʰɔlfə han where=1SG.NOM=n-3SG.M.DAT help.PRF have.1SG.PRS ‘... where (I) helped him.’

⇒ Conclusion: prosodic grouping of clitic clusters must be ((host)ω cl cl)ω
⇒ n-insertion follows subject deletion

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⇒ n-insertion follows subject deletion
Intermediate summary

The 1SgNom pronoun:

- Two lexical forms → these can be distinguished via the lexical entry
  - full form [i:] in focussed position, framesetting position, phrase-initial position, or if a given referent is inactive
  - clitic [ə] in none of the above
The 1SgNom pronoun:

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- One *postlexical* ‘form’ → determined by postlexical phonology
  - derived from clitic version
  - has to be part of a clitic cluster
  - a valid syllable structure has to be preserved
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  → has to be part of a clitic cluster
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- The prosodic grouping is that of a nested prosodic word: ((host)ω cl cl)ω
  → Determined through the analysis of *n-insertion*: ((host)ω n-cl cl)ω
The syntax–prosody interface (as in Bögel (2015))

Production →

**c-structure**

Transfer of structure

**lexicon**

Transfer of vocabulary via the multidimensional lexicon

Comprehension ←

**p-structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHRASING</th>
<th>(⋯⋯)ω</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>⋮</td>
<td>⋮</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEGMENTS</td>
<td>/am/ /ra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.-INDEX</td>
<td>S₁ S₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lexical entry: distinction between [ə] and [i:]  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONCEPT</th>
<th>S-FORM</th>
<th>P-FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| l (↑₁ GIVEN) | i PRON (↑ PRED) = ‘pro’ (↑ PRONTYPE) = pers (↑ NUM) = sg (↑ PERS) = 1  
{((FOCUS ↑₁ )  
|FRAME ↑₁ )) 
(↑₁ GIVEN =ᵄ inactive)  
|¬(FOCUS ↑₁ )  
|¬(FRAME ↑₁ ) 
(↑₁ GIVEN =ᵄ active)) | SEGMENTS /i:/  
Metr. frame ('σ)ᵺ  
---  
|¬(FOCUS ↑₁ )  
|¬(FRAME ↑₁ ) 
(↑₁ GIVEN =ᵄ active)) | SEGMENTS /ə/  
Metr. frame =σ |
Analysis at the syntax $\rightarrow$ prosody interface: Production

(14) vaʃ du: vo:=(n-0)=sø nɔ: han
know.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM where(=(n-)1SG.NOM)=3SG.F.ACC there have.1SG.PRS
‘Do you know where I put her?’

Three possible surface variations of the clitic cluster:

- ... vo:=e=sø ...
- ... vo:=n-e=sø ...
- ... vo:=∅=sø ...
Transfer of vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s-string</th>
<th>Lexicon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wo i sie nũ han</td>
<td><strong>S-FORM</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo</td>
<td>[vo:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i ...</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¬ (FOCUS ↑₁)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(↑₁ GIVEN =c active)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sie</td>
<td>[sə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nũ</td>
<td>[nũː]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p-structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHRASING</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>(σ)₀ =σ =σ (σ)₀ (σ)₀</th>
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<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>LEX. STRESS</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEGMENTS</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.-INDEX</td>
<td>S₁</td>
<td>S₂</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Transfer of structure

→ Syntactic bracketing:

\[
\text{vaįš du: } [\text{vo: } (= (n-)ə)=ə \text{ nų: han}]_\text{CP}
\]

→ Every CP matches an Intonational Phrase (\(i\)) (Selkirk 2011):

- where \(\hat{b}(\equiv \rho(\pi^{-1}))\)
- where \(S_{\text{max}}\) refers to the last syllable within the scope of CP
- where \(S_{\text{min}}\) refers to the first syllable within the scope of CP

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CP} & \quad (\hat{b}(T(*))S_{\text{max}} \text{ PHRASING}) = \quad \left( \begin{array}{ll}
\end{array} \right)_{i} \\
(\hat{b}(T(*))S_{\text{min}} \text{ PHRASING}) & = \quad \left( \begin{array}{ll}
\end{array} \right)_{i}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|cccccccc}
\text{PHRASING} & \ldots & \ldots & \quad i((\sigma)_\omega = \sigma &= \sigma (\sigma)_\omega (\sigma)_\omega)_i \\
\text{V.-INDEX} & S_1 & S_2 & S_3 & S_4 & S_5 & S_6 & S_7 \\
\end{array}
\]
Input to p-structure

- Input to p-structure: combination of *transfer of structure* and *transfer of vocabulary*
Input to p-structure: combination of *transfer of structure* and *transfer of vocabulary*

Further adjustments: p-structure internal postlexical phonological rules
### Postlexical phonological rules

1. **Prosodic rephrasing:**
   \[ \omega_i = (?^+ \alpha^n) \rightarrow (\omega \omega_i (?^+ \alpha^n)) \omega \Rightarrow \text{vo} = \text{vo} = \text{se} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>((\sigma))<em>\omega = \sigma = \sigma)</em>\omega</th>
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<tr>
<td>SEGMENTS</td>
<td>[vo:] [\text{\textipa{\texteuro}}] [\text{\textipa{\textdollar}}]</td>
</tr>
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<td>S_3  S_4  S_5  ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Optional subject deletion:**
   \[ (\varepsilon \rightarrow \emptyset) \big/ \omega (\sigma - \sigma \sigma + \omega \Rightarrow \text{vo} = \text{vo} = \text{se} \]

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<td>[vo:] [\text{\textipa{\textdollar}}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.-INDEX</td>
<td>S_3  S_4  ...</td>
</tr>
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3. **Optional n-insertion:**
   \[ (\emptyset \rightarrow [n]) \big/ (\omega (\omega ?^* V)_\omega (\sigma - V \ldots) \omega \Rightarrow \text{vo} = \text{n-vo} = \text{se} \]

<table>
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<tr>
<td>SEGMENTS</td>
<td>[vo:] [n\textipa{\texteuro}] [\text{\textipa{\textdollar}}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.-INDEX</td>
<td>S_3  S_4  S_5  ...</td>
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</table>
Conclusion

The 1SgNom pronoun in Swabian:

⇒ All three forms can be analysed with reference to the syntax–prosody interface, postlexical phonology, information structure, and the lexicon

- Two *lexical* forms [i:] and [ə]

→ distinguished via the lexicon with reference to information-structure and by linear order at the syntax–prosody interface

- An optional *postlexical* pronoun drop

→ determined by postlexical phonology
Thank you!

Comments? Questions?
Some references


