Swabian pronominal variation

Introduction

In contrast to standard German, Swabian has three versions of the first person singular nominative ([i:] and [n]) pronoun:
1. [i:]
2. [n]
3. Ω (pronoun drop).
While the distribution of [i:] and [n] is determined by focus and the position in the intonational phrase, the pronoun drop is solely restricted by postlexical phonological constraints.

The syntax-prosody interface developed in Bögel (2015) allows for various types of clitics (Pashto and Dogmaa morphemes, second position clitics) but also for phenomena like prosodically resolved syntactic ambiguities to be analysed. This model accounts naturally for Swabian clitics, Degema endoclisis, second position clitics but also for phenomena like prosodically resolved syntactic ambiguities to be analysed. This model accounts naturally for Swabian clitics.

1. Distribution [a] and [i:]

(1) jisten kren=wa n-insertion
Now cook.INF.PRS=ING.NOM something of which just I know.

It is interesting whether n-insertion can occur before the second clitic in the cluster if the pronoun (the ‘first’ clitic) has been dropped.

2. Postlexical optional pronoun drop

The corresponding overt form must be the exclitic: [a]

• The pronoun must be part of a clitic cluster
• A valid syllable structure must be preserved

Preservation of syllable structure

(4) I think
I have.1 ING.NOM have.1 ING.PRS=ING.N.ACC open.PRF

(5) yore
Yesterday have.1 ING.PRS=ING.N.ACC open.PRF

(6) aup=
have.1 ING.PRS=ING.N.ACC then open.PRF

Syllable structure does not seem to be able to repair itself once the pronoun drop has occurred

→ Syllabification before pronoun drop?

Critic cluster phrasing

Question: Is there a particular way the clitics are phrased together with the host (cf. Selkirk 1995)?

Evidence: From the postlexical process of n-insertion:

• n-insertion is ungrammatical between two clitics:

(8) *vs=+au

- where=ING.NOM=ING.M.DAT help.PRF have.ING.PRS

... where I helped him.

• Only applies if a vowel-final host is followed by a vowel-initial clitic:

(9) vaun

- where=ING.NOM=ING.F.ACC there have.ING.PRS

Do you know where I put her?

→ The only phrasing option that can account for the data is the nested prosodic word:

)$\in_\text{host} = \in_\text{clitic}=1$

n-insertion and pronoun drop

Interestingly, n-insertion can occur before the second clitic in the cluster if the pronoun (the ‘first’ clitic) has been dropped.

(10) vaun

- where=ING.NOM=ING.M.DAT help.PRF have.ING.PRS

... where I helped him.

→ n-insertion occurs after the pronoun drop

Critic cluster analysis at the syntax-prosody interface

• (Simplified) syntax–prosody interface as developed in Bögel (2015)

• 1 transfers information on syntactic structure to p-structure (hence: Selkirk (2011)’s match theory, where every CP corresponds to an intonational phrase.)

• 2 transfers information from syntax to p-structure via the lexicon, i.e., the lexicon accesses the syntactic form and retrieves the corresponding phonological form

Swabian pronominal variation can be naturally analysed in LFG’s modular framework. While the distribution of [i:] and [n] is determined by focus and the position in the intonational phrase, the pronoun drop is solely restricted by postlexical phonological constraints: the to-be-dropped clitic must be part of a clitic cluster and a valid syllable structure must be preserved. The host and the clitics are phrased in a nested prosodic word structure. Evidence for this comes from a further postlexical phonological process: n-insertion.

References: