



On prefixal clitics and cliticky prefixes in Upper German

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1. The phenomenon: Allomorphy of the definite article (NOM/ACC;FEM&PL)

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|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) di guete Sache | 'the good things' | (3) d Sache | 'the things' |
| di waarm Sune | 'the warm sun' | d Sune | 'the sun' |
| di schwizerisch Botschaft | 'the Swiss embassy' | d Schwizer Botschaft | 'the embassy of Switzerland' |
| (2) di Arme | 'the poor ones' | (4) d Armehüüser | 'the poorhouses' |
| di Alt | 'the old one' | d Altascht | 'the legacy' |
| | (bawdy for 'wife') | d Stromleitig | 'the power supply line' |

→ **CV** form before **modifiers** & **nominalized adjectives**

→ **C** form before **bare nouns**

This distribution is *categorical* in Eastern Swiss German dialects; others and some Bavarian dialects allow the CV form before bare nouns under specific semantic/pragmatic conditions.

2. Our two main claims

- I. The **CV** form of the article is a clitic, the **C** form a prefix ⇒ *phonological phrasing is different*.
- II. Phonological phrasing can - and often does - violate morphological and syntactic constituency.

3. Evidence for claim I: prefix status

→ The **C** form of the article has strong similarities with entities uncontroversially classified as prefixes

Assimilations across article–noun boundaries:		
a) <i>d Uhr</i>	/tt + u:R/ → [ttu:R]	'the watch'
b) <i>d Tour</i>	/tt + tt/ → [tt]	'the tour'
c) <i>d Bläumeise</i>	/tt + p/ → [pp]	'the tomtits'
d) <i>d Gárasch</i>	/tt + k/ → [kk]	'the garage'
e) <i>d Pfánne</i>	/tt + pf/ → [p̄f]	'the cooking pot'
f) <i>d Ziit</i>	/tt + ts/ → [ts̄]	'the time'
g) <i>d Kamél</i>	/tt + kx̄/ → [kx̄]	'the camels'
h) <i>d Figúr</i>	/tt + f/ → [p̄f]	'the fugure'
i) <i>d Súurchriesi</i>	/tt + s/ → [ts̄]	'the sour cherries'
j) <i>d Chue</i>	/tt + x/ → [kx̄]	'the cow'
k) <i>d Medizín</i>	/tt + m/ → [ɾm]	'the medicine'
l) <i>d Nóodle</i>	/tt + n/ → [ɾn]	'the needle'
m) <i>d Léitere</i>	/tt + l/ → [ttl]	'the ladder'
n) <i>d Rakéte</i>	/tt + R/ → [ttr]	'the rocket'

Assimilations across <i>ge</i> -prefix–noun boundaries:		
a) <i>ggahnt</i>	/kk + a:ntt/ → [kka:ntt]	'suspected'
b) <i>trait</i>	/kk + tt/ → [tt]	'carried'
c) <i>plooget</i>	/kk + pp/ → [pp]	'afflicted'
d) <i>ggablet</i>	/kk + k/ → [kk]	'forked'
e) <i>pflanzt</i>	/kk + p̄f/ → [p̄f]	'planted'
f) <i>zeltet</i>	/kk + ts/ → [ts̄]	'camped'
g) <i>kläfft</i>	/kk + kx̄/ → [kx̄]	'barked'
h) <i>ggfale</i>	/kk + f/ → [kf]	'fallen'
i) <i>ggseglet</i>	/kk + s/ → [ks]	'sailed'
j) <i>ggchochet</i>	/kk + x/ → [kx̄]	'cooked'
k) <i>ggmoolet</i>	/kk + m/ → [kkm]	'painted'
l) <i>ggnaglet</i>	/kk + n/ → [kkn]	'nailed'
m) <i>gglebt</i>	/kk + l/ → [kkl]	'glued'
n) <i>ggroote</i>	/kk + R/ → [kkr]	'guessed'

→ The **C** form of the article is highly selective in terms of the category membership of the "host" it is phrased with, the **CV** form is not:

The C form may only precede bare nouns (see also (3) and (4) above):

<i>Er isst</i> d [Brötli] _N	'he eats the little breads'
d [Brötli] _N <i>isst er</i>	'the little breads he eats'

The CV form precedes adjectives and adverbs; follows verbs, adverbs and conjunctions:

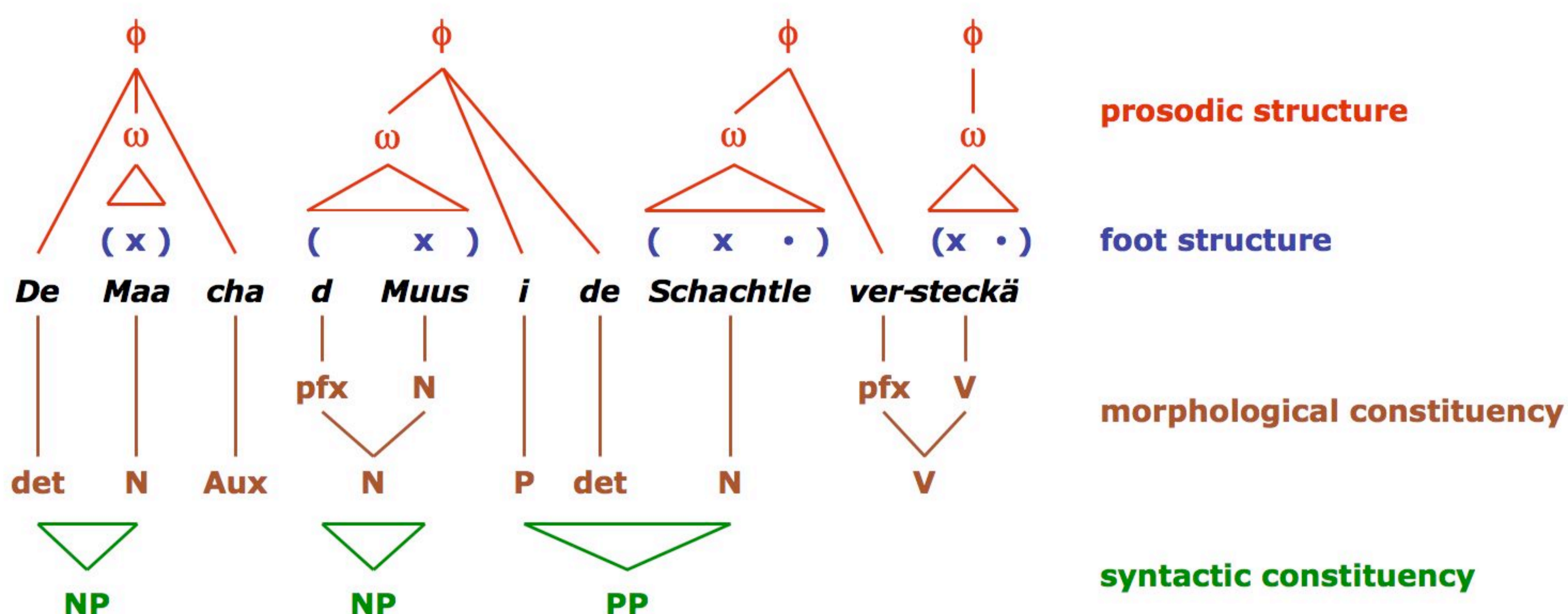
di [helle] _{ADJ} Brötli <i>isst er</i>	'the lightly baked little breads he eats'
di [ganz] _{ADV} helle Brötli <i>isst er</i>	'the very lightly baked little breads he eats'
<i>Er</i> [isst] _V di helle Brötli	'he eats the lightly baked little breads'
<i>Er isst</i> [immer] _{ADV} di helle Brötli	'he always eats the lightly baked little breads'
<i>Er isst</i> [aber] _{CONJ} di helle Brötli	'but he eats the lightly baked little breads'

4. Phonological phrasing

Following the traditions of Sievers (1901), Sweet (1904) and Saran (1907), we assume that in Upper German **prosodically strong syllables always start a phonological phrase** (Pphrase, ϕ) (Plank 2005). Thus, the Pphrase is based on the **Trochaic Tact System** (Sievers 1901) and is mapped off the **foot structure** of a phonological word (Pword, ω).

Example sentence:

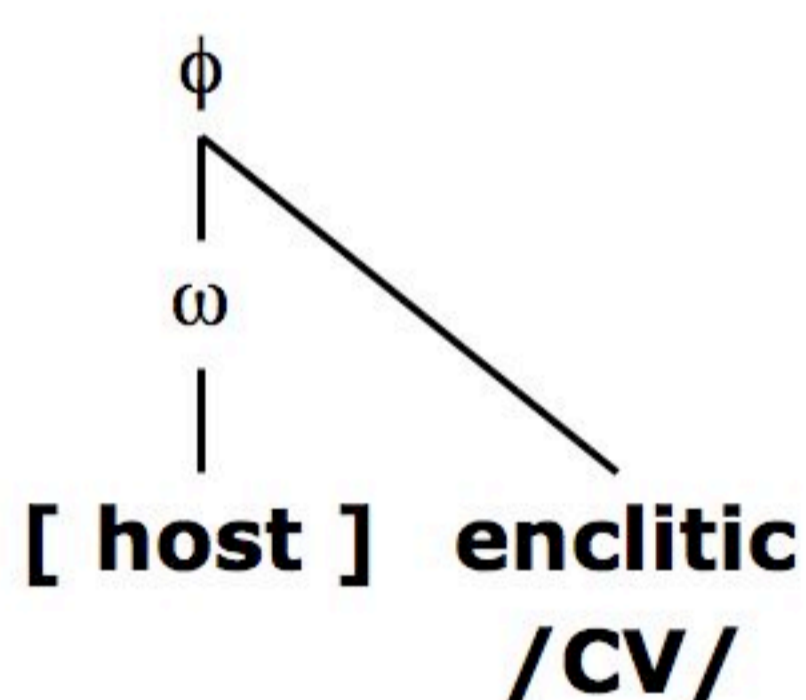
De Maa cha d Muus i de Schachtle ver-steckä
 the man can the mouse in the box hide
 'the man can hide the mouse in the box'



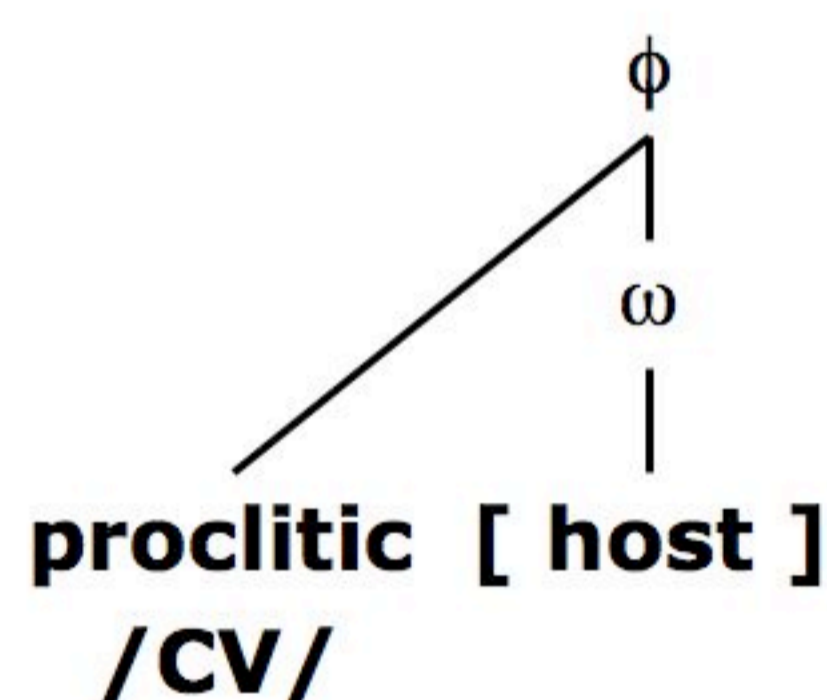
5. In sum

Clitics and clitic prefixes:

(5a)

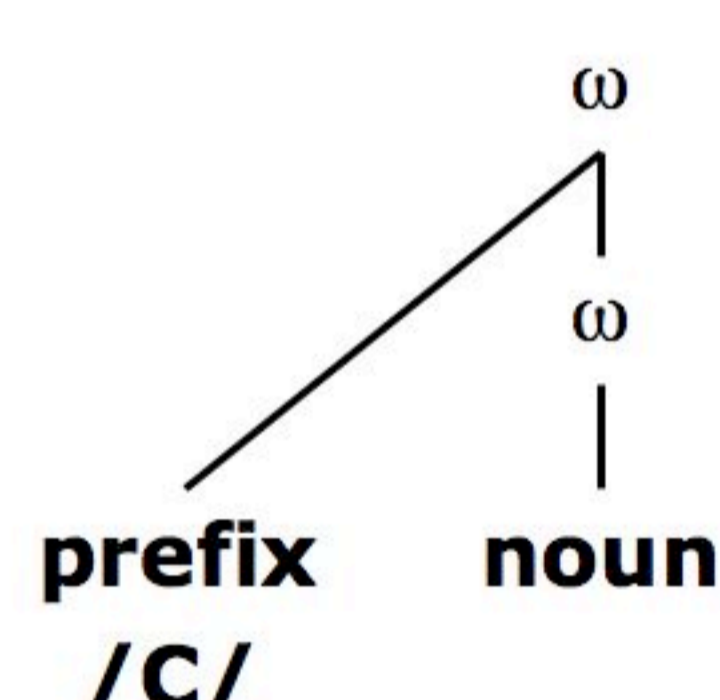


(5b)



Prefixes and prefixal clitics:

(5c)



Clitics – and syllabic prefixes – **encliticize when they can** (5a) or procliticize when they must (5b) at the Pphrase level to the Pword containing the host.

Non-vocalic/syllabic prefixes **adjoin** to the Pword containing the host to build a **recursive Pword** (5c).

**Result of C form being a prefix:
 The morphological, syntactic and phonological boundaries coincide.**

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