

## On focusing adverb *largely* in Middle English

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The paper explores adverb *largely* in Middle English as a focusing exclusive used to highlight the content of the utterance by modifying directly different types of sentence constituents (Cinque 2006). Historical corpora and dictionaries date its emergence in English from ca. 1200 when it derived from the adjective *large* (MED 2021) and originally conveyed the meaning of “*liberally, generously, bountifully*”, “*in large measure; abundantly*” (1). Its Present-Day English focusing sense of “*extensively*”, “*to a great extent*” is attested only in the XV-century records (2).

(1) Lutel þerf þu carien..þet he nule gleadliche ifinde þe largeliche al þet te bihoueð (c. 1225 (?c.1200) HMaid.(Bod 34) 26/408).

(2) I haf synned largely In many synnes sere. (1459 LFMass Bk. (Cmb Cg.5.31).

Instances retrieved from Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse show that only in 37.6% of all the tokens *largely* functions as a focusing adverb.

These observations raised the next questions: 1) what factors facilitated the change in the meaning of the adverb turning it into a Focus marker in further centuries of the English language development? 2) is there any consistency in the adverb placement in relation to a sentence word-order? The initial **hypothesis** put forward goes like this: the rise of the additional meaning may have evolved as a result of 1) the changes in syntax throughout the ME period from the language with predominant V2-constituent in Early Middle English (Pinzuk 2014) to the one with verb-medial word order in Late Middle English (Bech 2001); 2) the impact of these syntactic changes on information structure of the sentence, which got disrupted, causing new structures to arise in the language as ‘therapy’ (Los 2015). Hence, focusing adverb *largely* along with other exclusives emerges in Late Middle English to syntactically mark Focus constituents.

**Methods.** The investigation takes into consideration Discourse Representation Theory (Geurts et al. 2020), which allows keeping the file of discourse referents, i.e., given-new information, as well as, various types of Topics and Foci (Krifka&Musan 2012). Every sentence component is tagged in the text based on T-CODEX annotation scheme (Petrova 2009).

**Concluding remarks.** The findings reveal dominant word orders registered with the adverb, i.e., SVO and OSV. The study shows that although word-order patterns vary significantly they reflect an overall trend for the adverb placement. Thus, when marking new information and informational Focus *largely* mostly precedes the sentence element it modifies and is observed in SVO, SOV and partially OSV patterns. Significantly, the latter word-order is registered with the object representing contrastive Topic. When the adverb highlights given-activated information and identificational Focus its post-modifying position in SVO pattern is most regular. Less frequent VSO and VOS patterns are encountered when VP marks a contrastive Focus with *largely* in a pre-modifying position.

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## A brief history of *dabei*

In contemporary German, the adverb connector *dabei* – formed from the deictic element *da-* and the preposition *bei* – is a well-established and frequently used means of expressing the semantic relation ‘Accompanying circumstance’ (AC) or ‘comitativity’ (Breindl et al. 2014: 569). Comitativity is semantically underspecified and is described as the relation that holds between two co-spatial and co-temporal events which involve the same controlling referent and thus form “a single, although complex situation” (Behrens & Fabricius-Hansen 2005: 2):

1. Im Jahre 79 n. Chr. brach der Vesuv aus. **Dabei** spuckte der Vulkan Millionen Tonnen Asche, Lava und Gesteinsbrocken (quoted in Breindl et al. 2014: 570)  
(*in the year 79 A.D., the Vesuvius erupted, spewing millions of tons of ash, lava and stone fragments*)

Today, *dabei* ist characterized by heterosemy and polysemy: *dabei* can be an adverb connector (1) as well as a deictic prepositional adverb functioning as a prepositional complement (2.a), prepositional supplement, or verb particle (2.b) (Breindl et al. 2014: 92); furthermore, the comitative adverb connector *dabei* can receive a concessive reading (2.c) (Breindl et al. 2014: 105):

2. a. Wir möchten da irgendwas Schönes pflanzen, und da dachte ich, du als Gärtner könntest uns **dabei** vielleicht helfen. (Arjouni, Jakob: *Chez Max* 2006, S. 188 – DWDS-Kernkorpus 21)  
*‘we would like to plant something nice there, and I thought that maybe you as a gardener could help us with it’*  
b. Ihr gefiel vor allem der Gedanke, daß Jorge nicht **dabeisein** würde (Düffel, John von: *Houwelandt* 2004, S. 196 – DWDS-Kernkorpus 21)  
*‘she especially liked the thought that Jorge wouldn’t be there’*  
c. Wir galten immer als die Bösen, **dabei** waren es die Väter, die damals ihre Söhne töteten. (Der Spiegel, 1997, S. 270; quoted in Breindl et al. 2014: 105)  
*‘we were always considered to be the bad guys, whereas it was actually the fathers who had been killing their sons at the time’*

Although the syntactic and semantic range of *dabei* in contemporary German is well known, its historical use and change are yet to discover. The present paper is a first attempt in this direction. The analysis of a corpus of 50 instances of *dabei* for every 50-years-interval from 1550 to 2000 have shed some light on the diachronic change of this comitative connector, showing that:

- up until 1750, the heterosemy of *dabei* was even more complex than today; *dabei* could already be used as an adverb connector and as prepositional adverb, but it could also function as a relative adverb and postponer; today, these last two functions are expressed by *wobei* (Breindl et al. 2014: 99);
- in 1550-1600, *dabei* is mostly used as a prepositional adverb in verb particles and prepositional supplements with a still recognizable local meaning; the comitative adverb connector *dabei* is marginal in 1550-1600 but increased steadily throughout the years.
- the first instances in which the adverb connector *dabei* allows a concessive interpretation are relatively recent, dating back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The paper will discuss these changes and try to explain the functional and semantic change of *dabei* in the time spanning from the late Early New High German and contemporary High German.

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## Consonant-Final Plurals in West Germanic languages: Examining the theories

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Recently, Ringe & Taylor (2014:162-163) have argued that the consonant-final nominative/accusative plurals of a-stem masculines in Old English (-*as*), Old Saxon (-*as/-os*) and Old Frisian (-*ar*) are historical innovations, where the suffixed -*s* is derived from the proximal deictic clitic/particle -*s(i)*, the same clitic as is found in *this*. This suggestion, which appears to be a novel one, however, runs counter to the traditional research on the genesis of consonant-final plurals in West Germanic. In this paper, then, I revisit this issue to determine whether this suggestion is tenable, surveying and synthesizing the relevant literature along the way.

In the formation of the nominative and accusative plurals of a-stems, the West Germanic languages come in two types: a consonant-final form represented by Old English e.g. *dagas*, Old Saxon e.g. *dagos/dagas* and Old Frisian e.g. *degar*; or a vocalic-final form, represented by Old High German e.g. *taga/tagā*.

In my survey of the literature, I find that there are 5 types of explanations for the genesis of consonant-final plurals, which are provided in the table in (1).

### (1) Theories of Consonant-Final Plurals in West Germanic

	Theory 1	Theory 2	Theory 3	Theory 4	Theory 5
Informal Name	Verner's Law	Verner's Law (extended ending)	Historical accusative	Analogy to genitive singular	Demonstrative Clitic
Advocate	Campbell (1959), Brunner and Sievers (1965)	Bammesberger (1990), Boutkan (1995)	Prokosch (1939)	Stiles (1988)	Ringe and Taylor (2014)

Ultimately, I argue that the most plausible and independently motivated theory is the Verner's Law explanation, represented in the table as *Theory 2*. Under this theory, the consonant-final endings derive from a historical nominative plural in \*-ōzez (Old Frisian) or \*-ōsez (OS, OE). This theory should be preferred to all other theories, since it does not rely on analogical extensions or cliticization processes for which there is no independent evidence. By contrast, the Verner's Law explanation links the genesis of consonant-final plurals to a sound law for which there is ample evidence as well as a great deal of scholarly consensus.

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## An Articulatory Motivation for Epenthesis: The Case of Swedish and Icelandic

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**Overview.** Runic and manuscript evidence suggest that word-final rising sonority clusters were permitted in early varieties of Old Norse. Of its modern descendants, Swedish exhibits an epenthetic vowel between each of these clusters, but Icelandic still permits clusters with the other sonorants /l/ and /n/. Traditionally, such cluster repairs have often been analyzed as a result of the Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP) (Selkirk 1982; see also Page, 1995). The development follows a specific sequence, namely /r/ before /l/ before /n/. By examining Old Swedish manuscript evidence, we corroborate claims made by previous scholars (e.g., Ralph, 1975) and provide a novel articulatory analysis for the pattern. Following the insights of Articulatory Phonology (Browman & Goldstein, 1986), an intrusive vowel, which likely began between voiced obstruents and the sonorants /r, l, n/, gave rise to the epenthetic vowel found in the modern languages (c.f. Gafos, 2002; Hall, 2006). Our approach provides historical evidence for a growing body of literature that treats patterns of sonority sequencing as natural outcomes of articulatory patterns (see Chitoran, 2016).

**Data and generalizations.** We take early Old Icelandic forms to be representative of the earliest Old Norse stage. In the earliest attested Old Swedish manuscripts, however, an epenthetic vowel separates this cluster before /r/. These are illustrated in (1) below:

- (1) Earliest epenthesis occurs before /r/ but not /l/ or /n/

	/Cr/	/Cl/	/Cn/
<b>Early Old Icelandic</b>	akr	nagl	vatn
<b>Old Swedish</b>	aker <i>'field'</i>	naghl <i>'nail'</i>	watn <i>'water'</i>

Beginning in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the epenthetic vowel arises in Old Swedish before /l/ and ultimately /n/ (Ralph, 1975). As shown in (2), this pattern is not mirrored in Modern Icelandic:

- (2) Modern reflexes of originally word-final obstruent-sonorant sequences

	/Cr/	/Cl/	/Cn/
<b>Modern Icelandic</b>	akur	nagl	vatn
<b>Modern Swedish</b>	åker <i>'field'</i>	nagel <i>'nail'</i>	vatten <i>'water'</i>

**Analysis.** We propose that mistiming between articulatory gestures resulted in a vocalic gesture between original obstruent-sonorant clusters in word-final position. Our analysis follows the insights of Articulatory Phonology (Browman & Goldstein, 1986) and complements recent articulatory-timing analyses of sonority patterns (Chitoran, 2016). In Articulatory Phonology, mistiming between gestures can cause overlap that explains the assimilatory effects found many common phonological processes. Conversely, a lack of overlap may allow for the intrusion of segments, such as vowels. We support this analysis with synchronic analogues provided by Hall (2006), who proposes two types of vowels: 1) intrusive vowels, which emerge from a mistiming of articulatory gestures, and 2) epenthetic vowels, which are phonological units. However, we assume the intrusive vowels have been lexicalized. The development before /r/ first likely arose from a tendency of preceding vocal gestures before trills (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996). Commonalities in the articulation of liquids may further account for development before /r, l/ (Proctor, 2009; 2011). Lastly, the lack of the development in Modern Icelandic may be explained by final devoicing, where no intervening vocalic gesture may have been present. This vowel offers insights into two developments in Germanic diachrony. It contributes to our understanding of North Germanic tonal accent, as the distribution relates to historical syllable count, and it chronologizes the development of epenthesis relative to final devoicing in Icelandic.

## Aquavit and other Liquids: A Phonetic Analysis of /r/ and /l/ in Faroese

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Much has been written about the phonological processes of Faroese liquids, particularly their devoicing preceding or following voiceless consonants (Árnason 2011, Bandle et al. 2005, Barnes and Weyhe 1994, Lockwood 1977) and dissimilation of liquid clusters (Voeltzel 2016). However, few have examined them from a phonetic perspective (Werner 1963). Therefore this study analyzes the allophones of /r/ and /l/ as posited by Lockwood (1977) and Árnason (2011) in a speaker of Faroese from an acoustic perspective: /r/ realized as [r]/[ɾ]/[ɽ] (depending on the age of the speaker) and [ɹ]/[ʃ] and /l/ realized as [l], [ɬ], [ʎ], [dl], [ʎ], and [ɬ].

Using an online corpus of spoken Faroese (Nordic Dialect Corpus), recordings were taken of target words containing the above allophones on an iPhone, converted from MP4 files into WAV files, and analyzed in PRAAT. All recordings were taken from a 55-year-old female speaker in a conversation with a 74-year-old female speaker, both from Tórshavn. This speaker was chosen, because Tórshavn is the capital of the Faroe Islands, and therefore the dialect spoken there is closest to a standard spoken Faroese. After delineating the allophones, they were analyzed via average measures of F1, F2, F3, F4, intensity (and difference of intensity with a neighboring vowel), and centers of gravity.

This analysis confirmed many of the posited allophones, however some findings were unexpected. Segments of the allophone [r]/[ɾ]/[ɽ] exhibit low intensities, indicating their realizations as approximants rather than trills, but the third formants tend to be higher than expected of retroflex place of articulation. Segments of [ɹ]/[ʃ] and [ʎ], and [ɬ] exhibit high centers of gravity, indicating spirantization of the liquids, confirming Werner's (1963) analysis that devoiced liquids in Faroese are more accurately described as fricatives. However, some of the liquids expected to be realized as voiced approximants had unusually high centers of gravity, which could indicate that liquid devoicing (or spirantization) occurs in more environments than previously stated. Phonetic sources on Icelandic (Kress 1937, Einarsson 1927), a closely related West-Scandinavian language, claim that liquids devoice but say nothing of spirantization. The spectrograms of this study also provide interesting insight into the fluid nature of the liquids, showing evidence that the liquids change halfway through their articulations to assimilate to neighboring segments. There are also irregularities in the lateral spectrograms that do not appear to be random. This reveals surprising findings about Faroese liquids, namely that they are often realized as fricatives, and that they may assimilate to neighboring segments on either side. Therefore, more research is required to determine if this phonetic behavior in Faroese liquids is idiolectal or generalizable. The results give new insight into the behavior of liquids.

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## Against the Lexicalist Hypothesis: Additional Evidence from German *Da*-compounds

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**Overview.** The relationship between morphology and syntax is the source of serious theoretical debate. Those supporting the Lexicalist Hypothesis [LH] perceive an architecture of grammar in which separate systems and principles are responsible for the creation of words and phrases. In contrast, frameworks such as Distributed Morphology [DM] are *non-lexicalist* (Bruening, 2018), supporting a ‘single engine’ approach to the generation of words and phrases. In this talk I provide further evidence in favor of a non-lexical approach with data from *da*-compounds in German.

**Data.** *Da*-compounds consist of *da*+(*r*)+preposition, with the “*r*” included in prepositions beginning with a vowel. *Da*-compounds represent a preposition and a previously mentioned object or idea (cf. (3) & (4)). or enable the preposition to take a clausal complement [CP] (5), whereas a bare preposition may not, indicating that the *da+r*-configuration has certain properties that allow different behavior. The addition of the *da+r*-morphemes to the bare preposition thus provides an ideal environment to explore the morphology-syntax boundary in terms of pronoun referents and preposition standing.

### Full Determiner Phrases

- (1) Er erzählt [von seiner Schwester].  
He tells of his sister.  
'He tells of his sister.'
- (2) Er erzählt [von seiner Kindheit].  
He tells of his childhood.  
'He tells of his childhood.'
- (5) Er erzählt [da+von, dass er das Spiel gewonnen hat].  
He tells (?)of that he the game won has.  
'He tells of how he won the game.'

### Pronominal Usage

- (3) Er erzählt [von ihr].  
He tells of her.  
'He tells of her (his sister).'
- (4) Er erzählt [da+von].  
He tells of.it.  
'He tells of it (his childhood).'

**Analysis.** The key theoretical question I pursue in this abstract examines the structural properties of *da*-compounds. More specifically, I seek to determine whether *da*-compounds are best classified as (i) DPs or (ii) elements at the left periphery of a lower CP-phrase. Through the application of a battery of tests involving (i) expletives, (ii), small clauses, (iii) ellipsis, (iv), discourse-linking, and (v) scrambling properties, I demonstrate here that *da*-compounds show a strong relationship with the CP-phrase. For example, consider the interaction of *da*-compounds with *es*-expletives. *Es*-expletives lack  $\phi$ -features, similar to the *da*-element in *da*-compounds, and may be co-indexed with a CP (6) or DP (7). Finally, just as the expletive *es* in the German impersonal passive construction also raises to the front of the clause, the *da* fronts the *da*-compound or may scramble to the front of the sentence (cf. (8) & (9)).

- (6) [Es] stört mich, [dass es heute regnet].  
[It.exp] bothers me [that it.exp today rains].  
'It bothers me that it's raining.'
- (7) [Es] kommen [alle Situationen] im Betracht.  
[Exp] come.pl [all situations] in question.  
'All situations are coming into question.'
- (8) [Es] wurde auf der Party getanzt.  
[It] was at the party danced.  
'There was dancing at the party'
- (9) Auf der Party wurde (\*es) getanzt.  
At the party was (\*it) danced.  
'At the party was danced.'

These empirical findings provide further evidence that *da*-compounds show syntactic properties (as opposed to exclusively lexical ones), thus providing further support for in favor of non-lexicalist models of morphosyntax such as [DM].

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*“I command you, worm!”  
A preliminary Study of Directives in Old Saxon and Old High German*

Kohnen (2000b, 2010) explores speech act verbs with the meanings of “request”, “command”, “advice” and “entreaty” used as explicit performatives in direct speech in Old English. His analysis shows how the performative function was restricted to a few common verbs such as *biddan* (to ask), *læran* (to instruct), *halsian* (to implore), *bebeodan* (to command), and *beodan* (to command). He also reports the lack of verbs that express “suggest/advice” and relates such absence to the highly hierarchical structure of the Anglo-Saxon society and the preferences for verbs that when used as explicit performatives, specified the power relationships between the interlocutors.

The aforementioned studies offer valuable insights into the social and pragmatic variations in Old English. The possibility to gain a similar understanding for varieties that are contemporary to the language of the Anglo-Saxons makes similar studies in Old Saxon and Old High German highly desirable. Hence, the present study explores speech act verbs used as explicit performatives focusing on their realizations in Old Saxon and Old High German. Specifically, and using the largest available online corpus of Old Saxon and Old High German (*Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch* ‘Reference Corpus Old German’), this study bridges this empirical gap by carrying out on speech act verbs with the meanings of “request”, “command”, “advice” and “entreaty,” used as performatives in Old Saxon and its Old High German, as shown in examples (1) and (2) respectively:

- (1) sô **ic iu lêriu**: lâtað            iuuua lioht miki liudiun skînan  
‘I command you: let your light shine among the people’  
(*Héliand*, XVII, 1399 )
- (2) **Th gibót thaz ir** bimídet    then nót!  
‘I command that you avoid the danger!’  
(*Evangelienbuch*, 4, 7, 62)

The corpus contained a total of 13 types for Old Saxon and 28 types for Old High German with the meaning of “request”, “command”, “advice” and “entreaty.” Despite this number, the total number of tokens had an overall frequency of 1.3 per 10,000 words. The data has also shown that the performative function was restricted to a limited number of verbs. The most frequent verbs in Old Saxon and Old High German were the same in both varieties: *biddian/bitten* and *gibiodan/gibiotan*. Altogether, these verbs represent 64% of all the tokens of explicit performatives in Old Saxon and 60% in Old High German. Kohnen (2000a) gets comparable results since he also finds that despite a large number of types of directive verbs present in the corpus, the *biddan* and *bebeodan* represented 68% of the total amount of instances.

Further, the corpus did not contain any verbs with the meaning of “to advice” used as explicit performatives, showing similar results to what Kohnen found for Old English.

Such resemblances with the Old Saxon data may indicate the presence of a strictly hierarchical structure in the Old Saxon and Old High German speaking communities as well, as speakers had a preference for those verbs that, when used as explicit performatives, specified the power relationships between the interlocutors.

### **‘This text is called an abstract’ – An empirical investigation of referring uses of nouns in name-informing quotation**

A quotation is a metalinguistic device used to talk about certain dimensions of language (e.g., Davidson 1979; Cappelen & Lepore 1997; Saka 1998). So-called name-informing constructions (NIC) like in (1a/a’) are a subtype of quotation which is used to mention – i.e., point to – the linguistic shape of a concept’s conventionalized name (Author B). Crucially, quotational constructions of this sort may be accompanied by a determiner, see (1a’). We have argued elsewhere that the source of the referring use of the quoted noun in this construction is a covert copular relation introduced by verbs like *call*: to call *y* “*n*” entails that *y* is an *n*.

It is yet an open question whether the two uses (with and without an article) display distinct referential properties, such that a noun accompanied by an article in an NIC is referentially more salient than a noun without an article. Earlier studies show that a) German name-informing predicates followed by nouns in quotes appear significantly more often when the noun is preceded by an article (corpus study by Author B), and b) English displays a significant preference for the presence of an article after a predicate introducing an NIC (acceptability study by Author A).

To tackle this question, we report on data from two self-paced reading studies. In the first one, the experiment followed a 2×2 design: independent variables were CONSTRUCTION TYPE: *name informing* and *activity*, and REFERENTIALITY: expressions following the verb are either *metalinguistic* or *referring*, which corresponds to names used without and with an article in the NICs, see (1a/a’). Crucially, a sentence containing an anaphoric demonstrative was presented after the manipulations (see (1)). We hypothesized reading times for the demonstrative to be affected by the referential saliency of the name introduced in the NIC.

- (1) a. /Man /nennt /die Erfindung / **Eierbecher**. [NIC, Metalinguistic]  
a’. /Man /nennt /die Erfindung / **einen Eierbecher**. [NIC, Referring]  
‘One calls this invention (an) egg cup.’  
b. /Mittlerweile /verwandelt /sich /**dieser** /jedoch /in /einen Staubfänger. [Target]  
‘By now however, it [demonstrative pronoun] is transformed into a dust collector.’

The results only yielded a significant main effect for CONSTRUCTION TYPE, but none was observed for the predicted difference in REFERENTIALITY. Therefore, a follow-up study with an improved design was implemented. Sentences containing personal pronouns are used in addition to sentences containing demonstratives under the assumption that personal pronouns differ in their reference resolution, thus allowing for a systematic comparison with respect to the referential properties of the level of noun referentiality in NICs. We also adapted the spill-over regions such that the same number of syllables, and only a limited number of adverbs, would follow the critical material. This parallelization allows for a standardized RT comparison of the spill-over regions. We will present the results and discuss them in light of the debate about compositional hybrids occurring in quotational constructions as well as the type of quotation at work here.

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## **The EDGeS Diachronic Bible Corpus** **A new parallel corpus for the historical study of Germanic**

This paper presents the EDGeS Diachronic Bible Corpus. It is a newly compiled parallel corpus of thirty-six Bible translations in English, Dutch, German and Swedish dating from the 14th century to the present day.

Parallel corpora typically consist of a number of source texts together with their translation into one or more languages (Aijmer 2008). They are an essential resource for studying crosslinguistic similarities and differences between one or more languages (Hasselgård 2020). The EDGeS corpus is a parallel corpus in this crosslinguistic sense. It brings together translations of the same source text, the Bible, into four Germanic languages. The corpus goes beyond a traditional parallel corpora by adding a diachronic dimension to its design. It not only connects four present-day translations of the same source, but does this also with historical translations, going back seven centuries in time. The paper will provide further details on the design of the corpus and the choice of Bible translations included.

The combined synchronic and diachronic design of the EDGeS corpus offers interesting new research opportunities for the historical study of Germanic. As a synchronically parallel corpus, it allows to study historical varieties of two or more Germanic languages in a contrastive perspective. This implies an extension of the method of corpus-based contrastive linguistic to historical language varieties. As a diachronically parallel corpus spanning many centuries, it invites to study long-term language change within one Germanic language at a time. The diachronic potential of the corpus has been explored for the study of grammatical change in Dutch. The paper will present the research design and some of the main results of this case study in some detail to substantiate the potential of the EDGeS corpus for the historical study of Germanic.

The case study uses the Dutch part of the EDGeS corpus to investigate the overall rise and fall of verb constructions in Dutch with the aim to uncover how both types of change are related. Parallel texts are an excellent source for addressing this kind of research question. They have the advantage that they allow to compare constructions at the level of the individual usage contexts. The case study exploits this feature to investigate in what contexts verb constructions are introduced in the sample, to what contexts they spread, what constructions they replace in the process, and in what contexts constructions are ultimately lost. The results show that the rise and fall of many of the verb constructions in the sample may be considered part of a long-term drift in the Germanic languages from a synthetic to a more analytical language system.

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# The Afrikaans Indefinite Pronoun Construction: Semi-Lexical Nouns and Adjectival Complements

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The INDEFINITE PRONOUN CONSTRUCTION (IPC)—formerly more commonly referred to as the PARTITIVE GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION (PGC)—refers to a sequence of a nominal element (quantifier or indefinite pronoun) and a genitive-marked noun or adjective (i.e., Latin: *satis tempor-is* ‘enough [of] time-GEN’; Dutch: *allerlei fraai-s* ‘all kinds [of] beautiful [things]’). The appropriate syntactic analysis of the IPC is a subject of continuing debate among linguists, particularly as cross-linguistic equivalents of this construction operate under separate analyses. This paper seeks to determine the correct analysis of the IPC in Afrikaans, which has the surface structure [[indefinite pronoun] [adjective-*S*<sub>suffix</sub>]], i.e., *iets goed-s* ‘something good’.

Previous analyses on the common (cross-linguistic) IPC diverge on two points: the surface position of the adjective as pre-N (preceding a null or moved noun) or post-N (following an overt noun); and the syntactic category of the nominal element as D or N. Notably, Afrikaans linguists agree that the *-s*-marked adjective forms a post-N adjective phrase that modifies an NP which is headed by an indefinite pronoun. The AGREEMENT ANALYSIS of the Afrikaans IPC (based on Ponelis 1979) further asserts that the *-s* suffix functions as a marker of morphosyntactic agreement with the nominal head. However, both the widespread *-s*-deflection and the claim that the indefinite pronoun is a fully lexical noun are problematic for this approach. Thus, this study seeks to ascertain specifically (i) the status of the *-s* adjectival suffix, i.e., whether it selects pre- or post-N adjectives, and (ii) the syntactic category of the indefinite pronoun in the Afrikaans IPC, i.e., whether it constitutes the head of a DP or an NP.

Within Booij’s (2010) Construction Morphology Framework and Abney’s (1987) DP-Hypothesis, this study analyzes data (n=432) from both spoken and written corpora. These data reveal that the *-s* morpheme in the Afrikaans IPC selects post-N (morphologically *predicative*) adjectives and, due to historical factors, has become morphologically nontransparent. Consequently, the *-s* morpheme in Afrikaans has been reanalyzed as a construction marker, no longer having a functional projection in the syntax. Moreover, this study reveals that—unlike personal (and other) pronouns—the core Afrikaans indefinite pronouns *iets*, *niks*, *niemand*, and *iemand* semantically, morphologically, and syntactically behave as SEMI-LEXICAL NOUNS (Roehrs & Sapp 2018), thus projecting NPs.

Furthermore, it is shown that the *-s*-marked adjective in the Afrikaans IPC is a complement of the semi-lexical noun. It is therefore concluded that the Afrikaans IPC does not operate under the Agreement Analysis, but rather under a different analysis, namely, the (SEMI-LEXICAL) NOUN AND COMPLEMENT ANALYSIS (NCA). This study contributes to the field of Afrikaans morphosyntax by ascribing the core Afrikaans indefinite pronouns with the status of “semi-lexical noun” and by proposing a revised analysis of the Afrikaans IPC.

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**Laryngeal distinction in Wisconsin West Frisian: From privative to equipollent [voice]** This presentation investigates the phonetic realization of the phonological feature [voice] in word-initial obstruents in Wisconsin West Frisian (WWF). Previous literature has shown that the underlying phonological systems of West Germanic languages employ a privative, single active gesture, which alternates with the neutral gesture in one of two systems: glottal tension (GT), or vocal fold vibration on phonologically [+voice] obstruents; or glottal width (GW), or aspiration on phonologically [-voice] obstruents. West Frisian employs the former system, and American English the latter (cf. Salmons 2020). Recent studies on bilingual heritage language (HL) grammars, however, suggest a tendency to use equipollent systems, in which two active gestures are instead employed in complementary distribution, arguably under the *transparency principle*, that active gestures are more readily parsed than neutral ones (Polinsky 2018; Laleko 2008, 2010). The current study provides evidence for an equipollent system in WWF, based on an analysis of voice onset time (VOT) of 1138 total word-initial obstruents in a data set of 4 HL bilinguals and 2 age-matched control speakers of the same dialect, where WWF speakers pre-voice [+voice] obstruents, and also aspirate [-voice] obstruents, contrary to the singular prevoicing of continental speakers. In broader terms, this study sheds light on systematic changes occurring in language contact situations, and on language change in bilingual communities that is not necessarily possible in (the study of) monolingual populations.

Data is drawn from interviews conducted with four heritage speakers of WWF in 2008 and 2009 – including two first-generation and two second-generation, Wisconsin-born heritage speakers – and two continental speakers from near Dokkum, the region from which the WWF speakers' ancestors emigrated. VOT was measured for approximately 200 tokens from each of the six speakers, from a combination of directed, picture elicitation tasks and running speech. Average VOT values were derived for each speaker, and for each obstruent (/p, t, k, b, d, g/). The average values were then categorized for evidence of either prevoicing (measurable vocal fold vibration beginning more than 25ms before the release of the initial obstruent), or aspiration, as the measurable delay of greater than 25ms between the release of the obstruent and the onset of the vocal fold vibration of the following vowel. Data summarized in (1) show that WWF speakers show both prevoicing and aspiration, while control speakers have the expected privative GT system.

These data suggest that WWF speakers have a restructured phonological system employing an equipollent system. Simon & Leuschner (2010) have also shown that bi- and multi-lingual speakers of GT (L1 Flemish) and GW (L2/L3 English and German) languages could successfully adopt a new phonological cue, aspiration, when speaking a GW language like English, but that they did not abandon prevoicing. Under the typology of a GW language, prevoicing is possible on /b, d, g/ in the absence of aspiration, but does not in itself constitute a primary cue for the [voice] distinction. In that sense, the presence of both prevoicing and aspiration when speaking English does not violate the GW privative system, since the presence or absence of vocal fold vibration on /b, d, g/ still registers as [-aspiration]. On the other hand, Germanic GT languages do not permit aspiration as a secondary cue for [voice] distinction, and therefore is a violation of the privative system. If speakers cannot resolve the competing presence of two active gestures from their L1 and socially-dominant L2, then the violations of the phonological system effect restructuring towards an equipollent system that employs the active gestures from both English and West Frisian (2). Therefore, both the impetus for change and the resulting structure of the innovative system are dependent on the system- and language-specific constraints on the phonology, and the inventory of cues and gestures available in either grammar.

## Tables

Table 1 – Average VOT values for speaker by place of recording (above 25ms bolded)

Phonological feature	[-voice]			[+voice]		
	p	t	k	b	d	g
Wisconsin (n=889 tokens)	<b>0.02663875</b>	<b>0.049255</b>	<b>0.0522775</b>	<b>-0.0465075</b>	<b>-0.0388653</b>	<b>-0.035195</b>
Continental (n=250 tokens)	0.019045	0.02232	<b>0.040255</b>	<b>-0.0541084</b>	<b>-0.0492184</b>	<b>-0.05419</b>

Table 1 – Wisconsin West Frisian Equipollent VOT Phonological System

	/p/		/b/		/p <sup>h</sup> /	
	+/- active gesture	orthography	+/- active gesture	orthography	+/- active gesture	orthography
English (L2/L3)	∅	<b>	(+)	<b>	+	<p>
West Frisian (L1)	∅	<p>	+	<b>	-	-
<b>Wisconsin West Frisian</b>	-	-	+	<b>&lt;b&gt;</b>	+	<b>&lt;p&gt;</b>

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## Germanic Predicate Adjectives and the Double Definiteness Effect

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In this paper I argue that a single functional head Agr(eement) within the D(eterminer) P(hrase) can spell-out as either the adjective ending, as in (1a), or the second determiner in the D(ouble) D(e finiteness) E(ffect), as in (1b). The spell-out of Agr is underlined in (1).

- (1) a. de grote man                    *Dutch*  
b. den store mannenen        *Norwegian*  
    ‘the big man’

Motivation for this claim comes from the behavior of predicates, which can be a full DP, only an A(djective) P(hrase), or only a N(oun) P(hrase), as in the Norwegian examples of (2).

- (2) a. Jeg er [en ung pilot]<sub>DP</sub>        ‘I am a young pilot’  
b. Jeg er [ung]<sub>AP</sub>                    ‘I am young’  
c. Jeg er [pilot]<sub>NP</sub>                   ‘I am a pilot’

The bare NP of (2c) shows that a copular predicate can be a projection smaller than DP. Crucially, (2b) is only AP.

A comparison of predicate and attributive adjectives across Germanic shows variation. AP is shown in brackets in (3), while the adjective endings are underlined.

- (3) a. Vi er [unge]                    (*cf.* [unge] piloter)                    *Norwegian*  
b. Wij zijn [jong]                (*cf.* [jong]e piloten)                *Dutch*  
c. Wir sind [jung]                (*cf.* [jung]e Piloten)                *German*  
    ‘We are young’                (*cf.* ‘young pilots’)

The uninflected Dutch and German predicate adjectives indicate that adjective inflection in those languages spells-out an element outside of AP, while in Norwegian the inflection is AP-internal.

The lack of DDE for all Germanic languages with bare predicate adjectives leads to the conclusion that DDE and bare predicate adjectives are in complementary distribution. I argue that AGR can spell-out as either an attributive adjective inflection, as in Dutch or German, or a second article, as in Norwegian, but never both. This creates two falsifiable claims, given in (4).

- (4) a. A language with DDE must inflect predicate adjectives like attributive adjectives.  
b. A language with inflected attributive and bare predicate adjectives must lack DDE.

Norwegian exemplifies (4a), while Dutch and German exemplify (4b).

A survey of languages beyond Germanic indicates that the claims in (4) are true. Regarding (4a), candidates for DDE are the multiple definiteness markings of Romanian, Hebrew, and Greek, all of which inflect attributive and predicate adjectives alike. Regarding (4b), Hungarian, Sursilvan, and Russian show an asymmetry in attributive and predicate adjective inflection, but none of them exhibit DDE.

### Allomorphic Variation in Pennsylvania Dutch Gender

Grammatical gender is complex and non-transparent in Germanic languages and has been shown to be susceptible to linguistic change in heritage communities (Lohndal & Westergaard 2016). Pennsylvania Dutch (PD), a Palatinate-based Germanic variety that has existed in the United States for ~300 years, has traditionally been ascribed a three-way gender system (Masc., Fem., & Neut.). PD grammar books (e.g., Stoltzfus 2013) and previous studies on the incorporation of loanwords into PD (e.g., Page 2011) assume that its gender system is similar to the one found in Standard German. This study explores the validity of this assertion using the results of two separate studies which suggest that gender allomorphy in PD may be less stable than previously assumed.

10 native speaker participants of PD ( $n=10$ ; age: 43; age range: 19-60) who are life-long residents of Lancaster County, PA participated in a Wug test consisting of 30 nonce words. They were told that the nonce words were singular nouns and were asked to form a plural. They did this for each word twice, once containing gender information and once containing none. For example, participants were given the word *Hehk* (containing no gender information) and *de Hehk* (containing masculine gender information) at random at separate times. In a separate experiment 6 participants, 2 from each of 3 generations ( $n=6$ ; age: 53; age range: 22-78), freely told picture stories. 207 determiner phrases containing gender information were extracted from these stories.

On the wug test, participants performed similarly when forming plurals with or without gender information often using the same ending in both cases (e.g. *Hehk* and *de Hehk* were both pluralized as *Hehke*), which indicates that gender and number are dissociated. Whereas in Standard German gender and number are tightly connected, jointly determining which morpheme is used in plural formation and gender agreement, in PD this connection appears to be weaker. In the picture story study, older speakers tended more than younger speakers to use gender marking that was expected based on the prescriptivist gender paradigm (see Stoltzfus 2013). 11% of the determiner phrases in each of the two oldest generations contained an unexpected gender mismatch whereas that number rose to 33% in the youngest generation. This could be a result of intergenerational language change. However, all speakers tended to default to masculine gender marking, which accounted for 85% of the overall gender marking, when producing unexpected mismatching forms. Furthermore, even among the older speakers there was some intra-speaker variation including unexpected double gender marking of both the definite determiner and the adjective.

In summary, the evidence presented here suggests that PD gender categories in this group of speakers are in flux. Some categories may be more fluid than they used to be, and number seems to be dissociating from gender. While the status of gender in PD cannot be ascertained in one study, I document ongoing linguistic change in PD and attempt to shed some light on the underlying factors causing these developments. These results also have implications for other minority contact varieties, as they show how gender paradigms and other morphological systems can shift, even within one generation, and may help us to better understand which factors can generate or accelerate these changes.

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## **Typological Preferences in the Lexicalization of Events of Modification of an Object – German in contrast with Italian**

Since Talmy's studies and subsequent work (Talmy 1985 & 2000; Slobin 2004; Goschler/Stefanowitsch 2013), it has been known that languages behave typologically very differently as regards the verbalization of movements in verbs. German and Germanic languages in general prefer to express the MANNER of movement in the verb (e. g. *die Straße nach oben gehen*), while the Romance languages' verbs preferably contain the direction of movement (PATH, e. g. Ital. *salire la strada*).

More recently, studies on lexicalization preferences in typologically different languages have been extended to other semantic verb classes (e. g. verbs for cutting and breaking events, cfr. Majid 2007; putting and taking events, cfr. Kopecka/Narasimhan 2012). The studies of the research group TYPOlex (Copenhagen Business School), coordinated by Michael Herslund and Iørn Korzen, show that even when expressing the positioning, modification and destruction of objects, Germanic languages tend to mark in the verb HOW the change happens, e. g. in *sitzen/stellen/legen*, in *trockenreiben* or in *zerreißen/zerschlagen/zerbrechen* (cfr. Korzen 2016 & 2018). The MANNER component is verbalised in the verb, the result in a prefix or preverb. These verbs are associated with tight restrictions on thematic roles – for example, only a human actor can *zerschlagen*, and the destroyed object must be made of solid material. The verbs are therefore precise, often only usable for one type of action and can be represented figuratively (cfr. Herslund 2007).

Romance verbs for actions, on the other hand, are often characterized by the absence of the MANNER component (cfr. Korzen 2018). Preference is given here to general verbs that can refer to a variety of actions, for the above examples e. g. in Italian *mettere, asciugare, rompere*.

The tendency is also confirmed by the IMAGACT project, a multilingual online dictionary constructed around a fixed set of action verbs represented by short videos (cfr. Panunzi et al. 2014; Gärtig-Bressan 2019). For the same number of actions, 522 verbs are recorded for Italian, while for German it is 987 (cfr. ib.). This does not mean, of course, that the Romance languages could not express a fact precisely as well if the communication situation requires it, for example by indicating the mode in an infinite construction (e. g. *asciugare strofinando* 'to rub dry').

The paper aims to verify the lexicalization preference of German as a Germanic language and, in comparison, that of Italian as a Romance language in a non-specified context. To this end, a total of 59 test subjects with German and 47 with Italian as L1 were shown a set of short video animations from the IMAGACT ontology in an anonymous online survey, in which people can be seen modifying objects. The subjects were asked to describe in a simple sentence: What is the person doing?

Despite the experimental situation, which also moved the Italian participants to want to do the task "well" and to use specific verbs more often than in other situations described, the hypothesis was confirmed that German participants – despite the availability of simple and more general verbs – tend to choose more often a precise verb containing the MANNER of the action, while the Italian participants choose more often a general verb or a verb containing the component RESULT of the action (e.g. *asciugare* 'to dry' – the object is dry afterwards).

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## Vowel Shifts in Middle and Upper German Dialects

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In the history of German presented in handbooks, which seek to give the story of how Modern Standard German developed, there is nothing to rival the Great Vowel Shift in Early Modern English. The main vocalic changes in the corresponding period include the diphthongization of MHG *î, û, iu* > NHG *ai, au, äu*, which merge with MHG *ei, ou, öu* in the standard. This change corresponds to the diphthongization of high vowels in English. Based on manuscript spellings it is usually thought to have spread from South Bavarian throughout High German, although some areas remain without diphthongization, including Low and High Alemannic in Upper German and Ripuarian, East Hessian, and West Thuringian in Middle German, although these areas have diphthongization in hiatus except for southern High Alemannic. There is also the monophthongization of MHG *ie, uo, üe* to NHG *ī, ū, ü*, which is present in Standard German and throughout Middle German, but not in Upper German. This change is attested earlier, already in Middle High German, and has been viewed as the impetus for the NHG diphthongization in a push-chain mechanism or *Reihenausweichung*. Yet closer examination of High German dialects yields a much more complicated picture, with extensive modification of the vowel system, including shifting of the low and mid vowels, as in English. While Middle German tends to monophthongization, including that of MHG *ie, uo, üe*, Upper German, including Bavarian, Swabian, and East Franconian, have a proliferation of diphthongs. Based on the evidence, it seems that there was activity in the entire system at once, with different dialects presenting varying states in the modern period. Given the phonetic variation, the distinction monophthong vs. diphthong fades to the background in favor of a model reflecting modulation and movement. The results also point to polygenesis based on a shared state of departure, rather than monogenesis and spread from a localized source. Given the scope and type of changes reflected in Middle and Upper German dialects, one may rightly speak of a New High German Vowel Shift comparable to the Great Vowel Shift, and other shifts in Dutch and Central Scandinavian.

## Expressive *You know x when*-Conditionals in German

Social media is known to facilitate and spread the use of certain particular sentence structures in a meme-like way that are couples them with specific meaning components that are usually not connected with the structure and compositional make-up of the sentences in question, as it is the case, for instance, for the frequent “The moment when” sentence used on Twitter or Facebook (Gutzmann & Turgay 2019). In this talk, we study what we call expressive *You know x when* conditionals in German (ex-know conditionals for short), which, however can be found in other Germanic languages like English as well. The following example (from Twitter) illustrates this phenomenon.

- (1) **Du weißt, dass du auf Konzert-Entzug bist, wenn du hier eine Bühne mit Zuschauern anstelle eines Mähdreschers siehst.**  
“You know that you are on concert withdrawal, if you see a stage with an audience instead of a harvester-thresher here.”



The structure of ex-know conditionals is follows (with minor variations): The matrix clause contains a generic second person pronoun and the propositional attitude predicate *know*, while the object clause contains some stage- or individual property. The third part is conditional clause that attaches to the main clause and expresses a condition of the state-of-mind expressed by the first two parts of the expression. That is, the stereotypical structure is as in (2):

- |        |          |                        |
|--------|----------|------------------------|
| (2) a. | You know | <i>matrix attitude</i> |
| b.     | that X   | <i>property clause</i> |
| c.     | if Y.    | <i>conditional</i>     |

Now, while this looks like an ordinary conditional with a complex consequent, usages of this construction express much more than a simple conditional: The conditional clause expresses not just a condition, but it also describes an event (sometimes state) that the speaker recently experienced themselves. Crucially, this is not expressed on the truth-conditional level, as one cannot reject to (1) by saying “No, you didn’t see a stage with an audience in that picture”. Instead, this is conveyed in an expressive way (Kaplan 1999). However, since the expressive content fulfills the generalized antecedent of the ex-know conditional for the speaker, it can be inferred that the speaker knows (or: just came to know) the content clause. And since *know* is factive, it can also be inferred that the generalized property clause holds for the speaker.

That is, despite its rather simple form, the use of ex-know conditionals expresses complex attitudes and self-evaluations via a chain of inferences that start of by expressively suggesting that the condition holds for the speaker. This information density coupled with its self-contentedness as well as the fact that the condition can easily be used to depict funny or otherwise noteworthy events, may explain why ex-know conditional are well suited for social media and can frequently be attested there.

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## Phonological awareness, salience, and the acquisition of grammatical gender in German

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Researchers have long acknowledged that learners tend to acquire grammatical forms faster if they are *salient*, that is, if they are noticeable, stand out, or draw learners' attention in some way (Goldschneider & Dekeyser, 2001; see Schmidt, 1990). Studies that explicitly investigate the role of salience in L2 acquisition tend to focus on *perceptual salience*, which is viewed as an inherent property of a linguistic structure, often tied to its pronunciation or physical prominence (i.e., whether it is stressed). However, the field has not adequately addressed the issue of salience from the perspective of the learner. That is, previous research has assumed that learners have uniform ability to perceive grammatical structures. Consequently, research has not yet considered how learners' internal knowledge of the language affects the salience and acquisition of grammatical structures.

The present study explores how knowledge of German phonology affects the acquisition of grammatical gender. Specifically, it focuses on an experiment with novice learners of German, who completed a gender-learning task that included either salient, or non-salient gender cues. In the salient learning condition, participants were trained on 24 vocabulary words using the pronouns *er*, *sie*, and *es*, which are all phonetically distinct and easily distinguishable. In the non-salient learning condition, participants were trained using the demonstratives *dieser*, *diese*, and *dieses*. While *dieses* should be easy to perceive correctly, the distinction between *dieser* and *diese* is more difficult. Because this distinction rests on two central vowels (see Simpson, 1998), English speakers must learn to distinguish these vowels before they can accurately assign a gender to a word. Thus, unlike the salient learning condition, the non-salient learning condition requires knowledge of German phonology.

Learner performance was assessed through two primary measures: (1) the number of trials learners needed to complete the task before reaching proficiency, and (2) learner accuracy on a written posttest. Comparisons were made both between participants (the salient vs. non-salient learning condition) and within participants (e.g., *dieses* vs. *diese* vs. *dieser*).

Preliminary results indicate that learners in the non-salient training group needed more items to reach proficiency, and that they were less accurate after training. Some evidence suggests that learners in the non-salient training group reached proficiency with *dieses* faster than with either *dieser* or *diese*. Although these results are tentative, they suggest not only that salience is an important factor in the acquisition of morphology, but that a learner's phonological knowledge contributes to the salience of a given form. Results therefore highlight theoretical and practical issues related to how linguistic subsystems (e.g., phonology and morphology) interact, how learners shape the input they receive, and how instruction could push learners to process input more efficiently.

# The Development of Nasal Vowels in Swabian

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## Abstract

Like many German dialects, Swabian possesses nasal vowels. However, Swabian is distinguished from dialects which possess mere allophonic or phonetic nasal vowels in that nasalization has had immense and lasting consequences on the Swabian phonological system. In Swabian, inherited Middle High German vowel-nasal (VN) sequences regularly surface as long nasal vowels [Ṽ:]. The loss of the triggering nasal consonant creates a contrast between oral and nasal vowels. In this way, Swabian [ʃva:ts] *Schwarz* contrasts with [ʃvã:ts] *Schwanz*, as described by Caro Reina (2019).

If these nasal vowels are indeed phonemic, Swabian would obey the two universals concerning nasal vowels outlined by Greenberg (1969): that the presence of nasal vowels in the language implies the presence of oral vowels, and that the number of nasal vowel phonemes will not be greater than the number of oral vowel phonemes. In the case of Swabian, obedience to the latter universal is due in part to the centralizing effect that nasalization has had on vowels at the periphery of the vowel space. In nasalization, inherited high vowels lower and low vowels raise, such that *Kopf* [k<sup>h</sup>o:pf] contrasts with *Kumpf* [k<sup>h</sup>õ:pf] only in nasality.

Sütterlin (1924) distinguishes between two classes of nasalization in German dialects: one, which he deems *leicht genäselt*, he claims to be ubiquitous, arising out of the physical process of velic opening during vocalic articulation. This sort of phonetic nasalization is distinct from what he calls *stark genäselt* nasalization, which arises from the coalescence of an oral vowel and a nasal consonant. Strong nasalization has taken place in Swabian, though I show it is not as simple as mere coalescence and compensatory lengthening, as the deletion of the nasal trigger is variable and is sensitive to the nasal's place of articulation. This indicates that nasal deletion is the consequence of an independent syllable-optimizing process (Nübling and Schrambke, 2004).

In this talk I discuss the provenance of present-day nasal vowels in Swabian, beginning in the Middle High German period. After outlining the regularities of the systematic anticipatory nasalization of vowels in this dialect based on Kauffmann (1890), I discuss the variation in the deletion of the nasal trigger, which is the final stage in the phonologization of nasal vowels in this dialect. Plank (2009), in remarking on the contrastiveness of vocalic nasality in Upper German, calls it an "assumption", a statement which begs further investigation. The question of the phonemic status of these vowels has largely been neglected or avoided in previous works on this subject, both for Swabian and for nasalization in other dialects (Schirmunski, 1962).

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## Genesis and Diachronic Typology of Franconian Tonal Accent

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**The issue.** Despite a long research history beginning with Nörrenberg (1884), there is still no consensus regarding the mechanisms that lead to the genesis of the Franconian tone-accent opposition between Accent 1 and Accent 2 (spoken in parts of Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands). Some scenarios hold intrinsic f<sub>0</sub> differences responsible (e.g. Gussenhoven 2000), others believe that durational factors played an important role (e.g. Bach 1921, Schmidt 2002, Köhnlein 2015, Boersma 2017). What remains unresolved among proponents of the duration-based approach is whether a. vowel lengthening (e.g. Boersma) or b. apocope (e.g. Schmidt) triggered the contrast. I show that a duration-based, apocope-oriented scenario provides the most parsimonious explanation of cross-dialectal distributional variation. In doing so, this talk also contributes to our understanding of a. the relationship between Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL) and apocope in West Germanic, as well as b. mechanisms of tonogenesis.

**Background.** Franconian tonal accent is typically realized as a contour tone for Accent 1 (e.g. [dau<sup>HLf1</sup>] ‘pigeon’) and a level tone for Accent 2 (e.g. [dau<sup>Hf2</sup>] ‘baptism’). A critical issue concerns variation in the lexical distribution across dialect areas (so-called *Rule A*, *Rule A1*, *Rule A2*). This regards originally long non-high vowels (*here*: ‘â’), long high vowels (‘î’), and all lengthened vowels (‘V:’) before intervocalic voiced consonants (‘D’, a context that tends to favor Accent 1), and their interaction with apocope. (1) shows that apocopated words (‘ø’) with D always receive Accent 1; yet there is a decreasing likelihood that non-apocopated (‘ə’) words with D receive Accent 1 (Rule A: â, î, V:; Rule A1: â, î; Rule A2: â). This leads to an apparent paradox: If OSL had predated apocope, lengthened and long vowels should behave alike (roughly i: = î, a: = â); if apocope had predated OSL, vowels in apocopated words should be short, as a closed syllable should not trigger OSL.

(1) Distributional variation in three Franconian dialect areas (Accent 2 grey-shaded)

Rule A		Rule A1		Rule A2	
â <sup>1</sup> Də	â <sup>1</sup> Dø	â <sup>1</sup> Də	â <sup>1</sup> Dø	â <sup>1</sup> Də	â <sup>1</sup> Dø
î <sup>1</sup> Də	î <sup>1</sup> Dø	î <sup>1</sup> Də	î <sup>1</sup> Dø	î <sup>2</sup> Də	î <sup>1</sup> Dø
V: <sup>1</sup> Də	V: <sup>1</sup> Dø	V: <sup>2</sup> Də	V: <sup>1</sup> Dø	V: <sup>2</sup> Də	V: <sup>1</sup> Dø

**Analysis.** In a Middle High German reference system, Accent 1 corresponds to intrinsically longer vowels, and Accent 2 to shorter vowels (Bach 1921). Based on this observation, Köhnlein (2015) argues that Accent 1 arose on words that were sufficiently long to fit a contour tone into the accent syllable. Elaborating on these earlier proposals, I claim that the genesis was triggered by apocope, which led to most minimal pairs and provided ‘extra duration’ in favor of developing Accent 1 (cf. pre-lenis lengthening, compensatory lengthening). Other vowels in the system received their accent based on their intrinsic duration, but this differs across dialects. In non-apocopated words, â-vowels, the longest vowel category, always developed Accent 1. î-vowels were shorter than â-vowels, but still long enough in Rule A and Rule A1 to receive Accent 1. Regarding V:-vowels, I argue that (at least) in Franconian, OSL was not completed when apocope occurred, i.e., OSL vowels were still shorter than their long counterparts. If this is correct, V:-vowels would be expected to be the shortest category, which captures the fact that only one area (Rule A) shows Accent 1 for V:-vowels in open syllables, and thus resolves the paradox. Independent evidence comes from a set of German dialects in the tone-accent area (e.g. Cologne) where OSL-vowels are synchronically short, even though medieval manuscripts indicate them as being merged with their long counterparts (so-called *Rückverkürzung* ‘lit. back-shortening’, Wiesinger 1983). As noted in, e.g., Klein (1995), this indicates that OSL cannot have been completed at the time.

## The Two Umlauts of Old High German

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Old High German (OHG) has two synchronic processes of umlaut. The first, typically referred to as Primary Umlaut, involves the raising of a short, tonic [a] to [e] before [i] in a following syllable. Primary Umlaut creates stem allomorphy in examples like *f[a]ran* ‘travel.INF’ ~ *f[e]rit* ‘travel.3.SG’. The second umlaut, which I will refer to as Inherited Umlaut, involves the raising of short, tonic [ɛ] to [i] in a similar (but not identical) context. It also creates stem allomorphy in examples like *n[ɛ]man* ‘take.INF’ ~ *n[i]mit* ‘take.3.SG’.

There is some consensus that Primary Umlaut emerged in (and was unique to) OHG, while Inherited Umlaut originated as a phonological process in Proto-Germanic. The latter continued to be reflected in OHG alternations (among other Germanic daughter languages). Accordingly, the two processes only appear to exemplify a synchronic chain shift, whereby /a/ → [e] and /ɛ/ → [i] before a following [i]. Closer investigation reveals that Primary Umlaut in OHG is a *phonologically* conditioned process, whereas Inherited Umlaut is a *morphologically* conditioned one. While this may not be a contested observation, its implications have not been carefully investigated. In particular, the two umlauts of OHG offer a helpful case study for emerging research on the amphichronic life cycle of a sound change (in the sense of Bermúdez-Otero 2015).

To explore this further, I begin with an examination of the synchronic evidence for the phonological and morphological conditions of each distinctive umlaut process in OHG. I adopt a modular, feed-forward analysis of these data within the framework of Stratal Optimality Theory. Within this approach, I argue that the observable synchronic output of OHG results from distinct representations at the morphological level. That is, verbs like *neman* with Inherited Umlaut allomorphs, have two stems at the morphological level: /nem/ and /nim/. By contrast, verbs like *faran*, with Primary Umlaut allomorphs, have only one stem at the morphological level, /far/. OHG Primary Umlaut creates a new stem allomorph ([fer]) in such verbs, but only at the phonological level.

Next, I examine the diachronic processes involved in the formation of distinctive morphological representations. I argue that the distinctive output of early, phonologically conditioned allomorphy, namely pre-OHG \*[nem-] and \*[nim-] (which were phonologically derived from pre-OHG \*/nem-/), comes to restructure the later morphological inputs of OHG as distinct stems, i.e. /nem/ and /nim/. This restructuring did not occur in verbs like *faran* since stem allomorphy was not characteristic of pre-OHG. (However, such restructuring is indeed possible to observe in later Middle High German reflexes of OHG Primary Umlaut).

The OHG data corroborate certain intuitions about synchrony and diachrony that are captured by the amphichronic life cycle. In particular, the synchronic analysis of the two umlauts falls out from modular descension (the output of the upper-level morphological evaluation becomes the input of the lower-level phonological evaluation). Conversely, the diachronic analysis involves modular ascension (lower-level phonological output of an earlier stage is reinterpreted as higher-level morphological input at a later stage). The research serves to illustrate problems with alternative approaches to the phonology-morphology interface, while adding some clarity to the complex linguistic patterns of OHG.

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## **Non-canonical word order phenomena as indicators of syntactic complexification in advanced L2 German**

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Linguistic complexity has become an established construct in second language research, mainly due to the essential role of complexity measures in the assessment of learners' written performance (Bulté and Housen 2012; Lambert and Kormos 2014). However, over the last decade, research on syntactic complexity came under criticism for promoting a reductionist approach to the construct, with the consequence that an entire dimension of complexity was left unexplored (Ortega 2012, 2015). In fact, while several definitions of syntactic complexity emphasize concepts such as variety and diversity, most research on L2 writing has confined its calculation to a handful of complexity indices, mainly measures of syntactic elaboration (length-based metrics and frequency of clause-linking devices). There are several reasons for extending the operationalization of syntactic complexity to measures that capture the diversity of structures in learner writing. First, more proficient language use does not necessarily imply an increase in the use of weighty structures (e.g., longer sentences that contain more subordinate clauses). Second, the complexification of learners' interlanguage is largely dependent on the typological specificities of the target-language system. In other words, complexity measures should be selected carefully since languages may rely on different grammar features to encode similar propositional content.

In the present study, we make ours this objective to broaden the spectrum of complexity measures and propose to examine the potential of syntactic diversity indicators to distinguish between proficiency groups in advanced L2 German. Concretely, we argue for the use of two types of non-canonical word order phenomena, argument inversions and passives, as diversity indices and apply them alongside traditional measures of elaboration on 75 texts written by upper-intermediate to near-native L2 learners of German. Using data from the FALKO corpus (Humboldt University of Berlin), we compiled three sub-corpora of 25 texts each, following the corpus guidelines regarding the mapping between learners' score on a C-test and the three superior proficiency levels (B2, C1 and C2) of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. All texts were segmented into clauses and all clauses coded for (a) instances of passives and argument inversions and (b) five indices of syntactic elaboration targeting complexification at three syntactic levels (sentence, T-unit and clause): T-units/sentence, T-unit length, clauses/T-unit, NP length, and length of clause midfield. Regarding the identification of non-canonical word order phenomena, it should be noted that our coding scheme included a further distinction between the topicalization of non-subject arguments in main clauses and instances of scrambling involving argument reordering in the midfield of both main and embedded clauses.

To examine the relationship between complexity measures and proficiency levels, a Kruskal-Wallis test with pairwise comparisons was performed. Results only revealed statistically significant differences between groups for argument inversions. Specifically, data pointed to a significant increase in the frequency of such structures as from C1 level. The fact that no significant differences between groups could be found for all measures of syntactic elaboration confirms the necessity for researchers to supplement large-grained measures (length and clause linking) with more fine-grained indices of diversity which help locate areas of interlanguage complexification that may otherwise stay under the radar.

## Exploring the L3 Acquisition of Plural Morphology in Germanic Languages

The L2 acquisition of German plurals is an understudied area, and morphology use in the L3 acquisition of Germanic languages does not seem to have been explored yet at all. Within L3 acquisition, researchers have mainly investigated the domains of syntax and some phonology. The classic study about English plurals, Berko (1958), used what came to be called the Wug test to ask young English-speaking children to pluralize unfamiliar nouns, through which Berko was able to demonstrate that they knew the rules of English plural pronunciation from an early age because they said /wugz/ and not /wugs/.

Inspired by the Wug test, I developed a morphology task as part of a larger dissertation study that explores the effect of typology on beginning L3 language acquisition using the language triad German/English/Swedish. Some Swedish words that participants are asked to pluralize look more like English, as in *kniv/knife* (German *Messer*), while others look more like German, as in *brev/Brief* (English *letter*). Additionally, there are Swedish words that do not resemble either English or German. The point of the task is to see, absent any knowledge of Swedish plurals, whether English/German bilinguals use the English or German plural markers. Another possibility is that they might use the German plural marker(s) on the German-like words and the English-like ones for the English-like words. Knowing how they pluralize the nouns can help show if they are solely drawing from one previous language or using both, an area of debate in L3 research. While German plurals are quite complicated, with nine possible forms, Kauschke et al. (2011) argue that *-e* is likely the unmarked German plural.

Participants are asked to pluralize sixteen Swedish nouns at two points in the study for a total of 32 nouns. The sixteen nouns at each data collection point consist of six German-like, six English-like, and four that are not like either previous language. All participants pluralize the same words no matter what type of input they receive, so the results at each point are directly comparable. If they are using one system, they should use that language's morpheme to pluralize all the words, even the words that are like the other language: if English, they should use *-s/-es* for English and *-e* for German (possibly *-en* as well). Even though *-s* is a possible plural in German, it is only 4% of nouns, and it is not the plural for any German-like nouns in this study.

One pilot to make sure that participants understood what they were asked to do was conducted with 29 L1 English/L2 Spanish learners enrolled in the second semester of Spanish. Spanish also uses *-s/-es* to pluralize, and results show that 86% did use *-s/-es* to pluralize, showing that they principally use the morphemes they already know. However, two participants used *-en* without any German background, while two others alternated *-s* with *-Vs* or *-Vns* (*V* stands for any vowel). Informal piloting with other participants who know the target languages, L1 English with at least intermediate level German, shows that they tend to make the English-like and Swedish-like nouns plural with *-s* and German-like with *-e/-en*.

This study is a beginning step in further exploration of the L2 acquisition of German plurals. While some research has been done on L1 German-speaking children's understanding of plural meaning (Yatsushiro et al., 2017) and morpheme use (Kauschke et al., 2011), very little investigates how L1 English-speaking learners acquire them. Much work remains to be done to develop a greater understanding of this area. In any case, though, this study expands the domains and range of L3 research with just a quick, simple task.

## **On apparent, false, and true optionality in the syntax of German(ic) traditional dialects**

During the last twenty years the study of syntactic variation among and within closely related varieties has become an independent and very productive research field, both in variationist (socio)linguistics and theoretical linguistics. Variation, however, does not necessarily mean variation among speakers, but also within a speaker. While research on syntactic variation normally focuses on variation among speakers syntactic variation within a speaker is still a desideratum for research or, at least, quite understudied and a little noticed data source: There has been so far only few research which exclusively tackles the question of so-called intra-individual variation in syntax, and which excludes sociolinguistic variables as motivation for this variation (but see Adli 2006, Cornips 2009, Lundquist et al. 2020). At the same time it is undoubted that the study of intra-individual variation can help us to improve our knowledge on relevant questions in syntax theory and beyond that (cf. Weiß 2013).

In our talk we will focus on one aspect of intra-individual variation, namely intra-individual variation in which sociolinguistic values can be excluded as trigger for this variation. We call this aspect “optionality”, and we define optionality (in syntax) as follows: The grammar of one speaker accepts exactly two structural options for an identical or very similar communicative purpose, with both options being grammatical to (the grammar of) the speaker. We then show that the concept of optionality should be subdivided into three different types (apparent, false, and true optionality); this typology is illustrated with examples from intra-individual variation in the syntax of German(ic) traditional dialects (among others simple negation/negative doubling alternation, two verb-clusters alternation, OV/VO alternation). Finally we propose that the three types can be distinguished with the aid of the following five factors: (a) grammatical in the same co-text/context, (b) communicative intention is identical, (c) difference in markedness, (d) stability of the two patterns, (e) one grammar is responsible for the attested variation.

Based on these factors we are able to answer the two leading research questions of our talk: (1) Is optionality especially prone to language change? – Yes and no: yes because true optionality is especially prone to language change (as it is a sign of on-going syntactic change); and no because both apparent and false optionality don't seem to be especially prone to language change as the two structural options are interchangeable with each other only at first sight. On closer inspection each of these patterns has its own function or (grammar-) internal dependency and is well-integrated into one speaker's grammar. Syntactic “doublets” of this type (apparent or false optionality) are therefore not more instable than any other “single” syntactic pattern. (2) Do we find one or two grammars in the case of optionality? – While apparent and false optionality get along with one grammar true optionality can be better characterized as code-switching between a vernacular and a more conservative literary language.

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# Fuzzy exponents: Past tense morphology in American Norwegian

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Research on heritage language morphosyntax abounds, demonstrating that it is particularly vulnerable to change and attrition. We extend this line of work to include a less commonly related domain of grammar; namely, the morphology-phonology interface. We draw on patterns of tense morphology in the American Norwegian (AmNo) heritage language, specifically variation in weak verbs' class membership and exponent expression, i.e., inflecting with either *-a* or *-Te* suffixes, the latter comprising alternations with both [t] and [d] (Eide & Hjelde, 2015; Lykke, 2020). We track retentions and innovations in AmNo preterite marking over time, ultimately, finding that intersecting morphosyntactic and morphophonological processes drive past tense allomorphy. These are processes that, we argue, become less rigid, or ‘fuzzier’, under intense language contact and community-wide bilingualism.

We expand empirically and theoretically on Lykke (2020) by investigating tense patterns over time. We examine 20 AmNo speakers in the Corpus of American Nordic Speech (CANS) (Johannessen, 2015), born between 1879 and 1957, from the neighboring towns of Coon Valley and Westby, in western Wisconsin. For these speakers, *-a* suffixes occur as *-a* or *-e* ([ɛ], or [ə]) and *-Te* exponents present as *-te*, *-de*, and *-d* (see Table 1). By integrating a late-insertion model of morphosyntax; (Oseki & Marantz, 2020) with underspecified phonological representations (e.g., Drescher, Piggott, & Rice, 1994), we show that surface forms of the *-a* class for AmNo result from the competition of bilingual phonological operations that govern the production of the phoneme /a/ in unstressed syllables. The *-Te* class, however, shows competition in exponent selection, where potential [PAST] forms all map to the same structural configurations in the syntax. We therefore find ‘fuzziness’ in both the realization of individual morphemic shapes as well as in exponent selection for syntactic outputs. This analysis disentangles morphosyntactic and morphophonological operations, providing a novel contribution to modeling contact-induced patterns for AmNo and for heritage languages more broadly.

Table 1: Sample preterites for Coon\_Valley\_06gm

Class	Preterite	Comparison	Gloss
-a	<i>kost-a</i> <i>flytt-e</i>	<i>kost-a</i> <i>flytt-a</i>	‘cost’ (PAST) ‘moved’
-Te	<i>kjør-te</i> , <i>kjør-d</i> <i>lær-te</i> , <i>lær-de</i> , <i>lær-d</i>	<i>kjør-te</i> , <i>kjør-de</i> , ( <i>køyr-de</i> ) <i>lær-te</i> , <i>lær-de</i>	‘drove’ ‘learned’

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# Clausular prosody in German

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The iconically iterated form, syntactic position, and prosody of the German triple sentence conjunction *und und und* “and and and” (1) as well as multiple *et cetera* ‘and so on’ (2) in the right sentence periphery form rigid ‘packages’, with prosody indicating finalisation. The focus of the paper lies on 1) the function of signalling finality and 2) the prosodic (i.e. rhythmic and intonational) profiles of *und und und* and *et cetera et cetera et cetera*.

- (1) Jeder gibt seinen senf ungebeten dazu, mach dies, mach das, mach es so **und und und** ...  
‘Everyone adds one’s two cents without being asked, do this, do that, do it so and so *und und und* ...’
- (2) Das Wetter machte nicht mit **etc. etc. etc.** ‘The weather was not on our side *etc. etc. etc.*’

With respect to their functions, sentence-final etceteras form a subgroup of general extenders (Overstreet 2014). Both iconic iteration and their typical usage (DGD [https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/dgd/pragdb.dgd\\_extern.welcome](https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/dgd/pragdb.dgd_extern.welcome), Cosmas [www.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2](http://www.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2)) suggest, in addition, an emotive motivation of their employment in terms of an intended signalling of affective information. As emotive signs, the sentence-final etceteras encode self-presentation on the one hand and the guiding of the recipient’s emotion on the other hand (Marty 1908). The reanalysis of *und* as a final instead of sentence-initial ‘connector’ as well as the usage of borrowed *etcetera* (*pp.*) show that speakers functionalise the right sentence periphery and thus creatively access syntactic position.

It is this use at the absolute end of a sentence or even utterance which leads to the prosodic conventionalisation of the structure. Prosody leaves its traces in the choice of lexical entries (e.g. Schlüter 2005). Triple *und* always forms a trochaic sequence, the second foot ending in a pause ( $\acute{x}x$ )( $\acute{x}P$ ). The pause is ‘inbuilt’: neither dactylic *und und und* ( $*\acute{x}xx$ ) nor double  $*und und$  ( $\acute{x}x$ ) are employed. The same kind of pause is found with double and triple *et cetera*. The pause functions as an indexical sign, pointing to something omitted and thus prompting the recipient to complement it.

Furthermore, and adding to this rhythmic restriction, the intonational pattern typically is a ‘terrace’ contour (Figures 1 and 2) The default intonation pattern results from sentence-final position, the structure stylising the typical declarative intonation pattern, in which F0 tends to show declination (e.g. Mixdorff 1998).

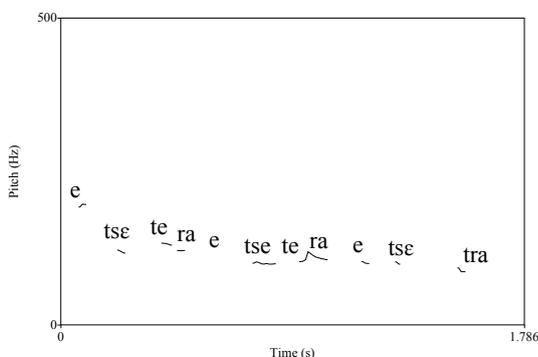


Figure 1 *etc. etc. etc.*: pitch (Praat)

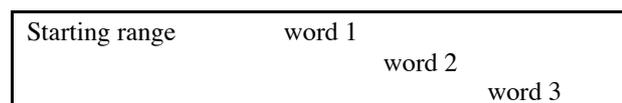


Figure 2 ‘Terrace’ contour

The prosodic patterns of multiple *und* and *et cetera* are conventionalised as well as functionalised as signals of finality. The associated rhythmic profiles connect the structure to clausulae (e.g. Douglas 1960), the rhythmic figures used for closing sentences and speeches in rhetoric.

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## Prosodic conditioning in the German past participle? A typological analysis

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The Standard German (STG) past participle is, in part, marked by the presence of the prefix *gə-*. Its surfacing is conditioned by the phonological environment in which it occurs. Thus, important theoretical questions arise regarding its status and its presence within the lexicon. Here, I present the STG data in a typological continuum together with two Bavarian dialects to shed light on the phenomenon.

*Gə-* surfaces in the past participles if the root verb is monosyllabic or bears main stress on the first syllable (Wiese 2000). In instances where a syllable other than the first is stressed, the past participle is not prefixed. This behaviour differs markedly from Standard Dutch (STD), where *γə-* prefixation is obligatory in unprefixed, (native) verbs (Kooij 2003).

(1)	<b>STG Pres.</b>	<b>STG PP</b>	<b>STD Pres.</b>	<b>STD PP</b>	
	a. <b>baʊ</b> .(ə)n	<b>gə.baʊt</b>	<b>baʊ</b> .ə(n)	<b>γə.baʊt</b>	<i>'build'</i>
	b. ap.laʊ. <b>di</b> :.R(ə)n	<b>—</b> ap.laʊ. <b>di</b> :rt	ap.laʊ.di. <b>se</b> :.rə(n)	<b>γə.ap.laʊ.di.se</b> :rt	<i>'clap'</i>

Kiparsky (1966) analyses STG past participles as underlyingly prefixed. Prefix deletion occurs in phonology as a repair mechanism whenever the prefix is followed by a syllable not bearing main stress (Stress-Lapse). For Wiese (2000) *gə-* is absent from the underlying representation. Under this account, *gə-* is inserted in phonology to repair the stress pattern if the root word is monopodal and as long as a past participle is already present. Thus, the prefix is not found in the lexicon or the syntactic representation. Data in STG does not provide sufficient evidence to reject either hypothesis.

I employ Bavarian dialects to further investigate the issue: A Central Bavarian dialect spoken in North-eastern Austria (WAB) (own fieldwork) and two Tyrolean varieties spoken in Northern Italy, specifically in the Passeiertal (AAT-a) and in Meran (AAT-b) (Alber & Lanthaler 2015). Note that prosodically light elements like the prefix at hand are affected by syncope in Bavarian dialects.

WAB and AAT vary from the pattern observed in STG (2). Crucially, they show prefix reduction so that the prefix cannot function as stress repair. In the more heterogeneous AAT dialect cluster, the prefix surfaces as a velar plosive unless this results in a CC-cluster disallowed in the particular variety (compare 2b in AAT-a and AAT-b). In all other environments, the prefix surfaces as a CV syllable. In WAB, the prefix is never syllabic. In phonotactically illicit plosive-plosive clusters, the prefix is deleted entirely.

(2)	<b>Root</b>	<b>STG</b>	<b>AAT-a</b>	<b>AAT-b</b>	<b>WAB</b>
	a. dɛŋk	<b>gə</b> .dɛŋkt (*gd)	<b>gɪ</b> .dɛŋkxt (*gd)	<b>gə</b> .dɛŋkxt (*gd)	dɔŋt (*gd)
	b. vis	<b>gə</b> .vust (*gv)	<b>gɪ</b> .vist (*gv)	<b>gv</b> ist	<b>gv</b> ʊ:st
	c. fɪʌ:g	<b>gə</b> .fɪʌ:gt (*gf)	<b>kf</b> ɪʌk	<b>kf</b> ɪʌk	<b>kf</b> ɪʌgt

The findings suggest that the prefix exists as a mono-segmental consonant, not as a syllable, in the underlying structure. The typological cross-section shows that Germanic varieties address the balance between segmental markedness and faithfulness to a morphological template differently. I propose that, although in STG and STD it has the form CV, it exists as a mono-segmental consonant in WAB and AAT and cannot serve as stress repair. These typological findings are in line with Kiparsky's hypothesis: while the surface expression of the prefix relies on its phonological and prosodic environment, its presence proceeds phonology.

### **Morphological Features in the German Medical Incunabula Corpus (*GeMedIC*)**

Medical writing in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century German-speaking world was still predominantly composed in Latin. However, with the introduction of Gutenberg's refined printing press technology in the 1450s, an increasing amount of texts, and along with them medical texts, began to be composed and printed in the German vernacular. That is not to say that these vernacular authors did not reference Latin works in their compositions. In fact, the citing of these works leaves these new vernacular texts with a rich, diverse, and developing lexicon filled not only with German medical jargon, but also Latin loan words, borrowings, and loan translations. This paper employs corpus linguistic methods and takes the 2,300 keyword tokens found in *GeMedIC*<sup>1</sup> and filters them first for morphological complexity and then omits any word token already present in Old High German. The result is a representative list of complex, morphologically integrated loan words, compounds, and other derivata for which there is no record before Middle High German. This key terminology in *GeMedIC* is subsequently reviewed for morphological patterns, creating a snapshot of medical jargon truly created in Middle and Early New High German.

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<sup>1</sup> The German Medical Incunabula Corpus (*GeMedIC*) is my doctoral project utilizing open source optical character recognition (OCR) training software in its creation.

## **Mattheier's language island model revised - Evidence from the Iowa East Frisian community**

Countless studies have been conducted on German immigrant communities in the Americas, often finding very similar trends: after a prolonged phase of language maintenance, social change results in a belated linguistic shift to English, often within three generations (e.g., Fishman 1965, Salmons 2005, Bousquette 2020). Although a schema accounting for these phases was proposed in Mattheier's 'language island life model' (2003:28), the framework has not been widely-recognized. In this presentation, I will revise Mattheier's model by making two terminological updates, as well as adding Salmon's (1983, 2005) verticalization process theory, and Bousquette's (2020) "gradient scale of internally and externally oriented domains" (2020:513), to offer a comprehensive model for the study of sociolinguistic developments in language islands. The applicability of the revised model will be demonstrated with data from the East Frisian Low German community in Iowa.

In his model, Mattheier (2003:28) proposes five stages in the development of a language island before a turning point occurs, which is followed by an assimilation phase and eventual 'death' of the language island. Table 1 shows a translated (and slightly shortened) version of Mattheier's model. While I agree with the basic propositions of this model, I suggest to replace the term 'language decay' with *linguistic shift* or *linguistic change*, and 'language death' with *conclusion of language shift*, in line with recent terminological and theoretical discussions (e.g., Putnam & Sánchez 2013, Kupisch & Rothman 2018). Additionally, I argue that the turning point is caused by verticalization processes, referring to the loss of control over local institutions in favor of state- or government control, which have been shown to lead to language shift (Bousquette & Ehresmann 2010, Salmons 2005). Finally, Bousquette's domain continuum, ranging from "internally oriented" to "externally oriented" (home - religion - education - media - regional - national), will be added to the model to better visualize verticalization processes and linguistic shift (2020:512).

The adapted model will be used to describe the sociolinguistic history of the East Frisian colony in Iowa. The settlement was founded in 1856, and institutions with local leadership (churches, newspapers) were established. Although the East Frisians accepted English as the language of media and education, they maintained their diglossic traditions: High German (HG) as the language of religion, and Low German (LG) as the spoken community language. Due to intergenerational changes, all congregations shifted to English by the mid-1940s. Yet, LG was largely maintained as a community language, and was even expanded to new domains (newspaper, radio, church). This blurring of domains is comparable to Fishman's *third stage* of immigrant acculturation, since both the number of proficient bilinguals, and domain overlap was at its maximum (1965:82). Unfortunately, the second phase of linguistic shift followed in the 1950s and 60s, as LG-speakers gradually shifted to English (Fishman's *fourth stage*), and decided to discontinue the transfer of LG to their children. Thus, although there are still about 50 LG-speakers today, the linguistic shift has been concluded from an acquisition perspective.

This presentation advertises a translated, extended and terminologically updated version of Mattheier's (2003) language island life model, in the hopes that future research may implement this tool for the description of sociolinguistic developments in other (German) language islands. By applying a coherent model to different communities, overarching trends may be uncovered that can inform our understanding of the processes impacting linguistic maintenance and shift.

**Table 1. Model of a language island life** (left two columns translated and shortened from Mattheier (2003:28) including terminological changes in italics; right column based on Bousquette (2020:512) domain continuum)

<b>Phase and time frame</b>	<b>Situation / Event(s)</b>	<b>Language use by domain</b>
Initial situation	Sociohistorical developments that cause mass migration  Phase of migration	National Regional Media Education Religion Home
Establishment of settlement	Settlement as a group (sometimes group identity only develops due to settlement)	National Regional Media
Phase of consolidation	Linguistic processes of mixing or koineization; development or adaptation of group-identity to new surrounding  If no group identity is developed, assimilation may be expected sooner	Education Religion Home
Phase of stability	No or minimal language loss / change In this phase, language spread may be possible	National Regional Media Education Religion Home
Between the phase of stability and the phase of assimilation, sociocultural changes in the language island or its surrounding are expected → <i>verticalization processes</i> (Salmons 2005)		
Turning point		
Phase of assimilation	Often as a belated three-generation assimilation process  <del>Decay of language island</del> ( <del>‘Sprachinselerfall’</del> ) → <i>Linguistic change or linguistic shift</i>	National Regional Media Education Religion Home
<del>Language island death</del> ( <del>‘Sprachinseltod’</del> ) → <i>Conclusion of language shift</i>	Late phases of a language island as ‘culture islands’ or tourist attraction	National Regional Media Education Religion Home

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## Possessive -s and the Structure of Proper Names in German

Dorian Roehrs (University of North Texas) & Rex A. Sprouse (Indiana University)

**Context:** Possessives originate low in the DP structure (1a) and may move higher (1b):

- (1) a. *das Buch Maria Magdalenas*      b. *Maria Magdalenas Buch*

The “possessive marker” -s is not in D. However, if the data in (1a-b) involved a simple movement relation, then the -s in (2a) should pattern with (2d) and the -s in (2b) with (2c).

- (2)a. *die Gedichte Wolframs von Eschenbach*      b. *Wolfram von Eschenbachs Gedichte*  
 c. ?? *die Gedichte Wolfram von Eschenbachs*      d. ?\* *Wolframs von Eschenbach Gedichte*

**Research question:** Why is possessive -s inside the complex proper name when the possessive is in postnominal position as in (2a), but on the right edge of the complex proper name when the possessive is in prenominal position as in (2b)?

**Proposal:** Possessives consist of a possessor phrase (DP) and a possessive head (Poss) forming a complex phrase (XP) (Roehrs 2020). Consider (3a). Both the possessor and the Poss head can move up inside the possessive phrase (3b):

- (3) a.  $[_{XP} X [_{POSSP} POSS DP]]$       b.  $[_{XP} Maria Magdalena_k -s_i + X [_{POSSP} t_i t_k]]$

The possessive phrase is merged low in the structure (4a) but can move to Spec,DP (4b):

- (4) a.  $[_{DP} D [_{NP} N [_{XP}]]]$       b.  $[_{DP} XP_j D [_{NP} N t_j]]$

Different kinds of movement of the possessor inside the possessive phrase and of the possessive as a whole explain the data above. We assume that possessive -s is a suffix that must be supported by a preceding element. Starting with (2a), we propose that only the first name moves to Spec,XP leaving the prepositional last name in situ. The entire possessive XP also remains in situ (5). This is the most economical option.

- (5)  $[_{DP} die\ Gedichte\ [_{XP}\ Wolfram_k\ s_i + X\ [_{POSSP}\ t_i\ t_k\ von\ Eschenbach]]]$

It is unlikely that *Wolfram* undergoes head movement to X as heads typically do not move out of the DP. Rather, we propose that the NP containing *Wolfram* moves to Spec,XP. Avoiding vacating and remnant movements, we propose that *Wolfram von Eschenbach* has the following structure where the *von*-phrase is adjoined to NP (there is a null DP on top, not shown here):

- (6)
- ```

      NP
     /  \
    NP   PP
   Wolfram  von Eschenbach
  
```

Given (6), the lower NP moves to Spec,XP in (5) – the most economical option. Turning to (2b), in the absence of a definite article preceding the possessum head noun, the entire XP moves to Spec,DP, in order to license the matrix DP (Longobardi 1994). Unlike (2a), in (2b) the upper NP in (6) moves to Spec,XP, as in (7):

- (7)  $[_{DP} [_{XP}\ Wolfram\ von\ Eschenbach_k\ -s_i + X\ [_{POSSP}\ t_i\ t_k]]_j\ D\ [_{Gedichte}\ t_j]]$

The movement of the entire complex name to Spec,XP reflects a more general requirement holding in all German DPs with prenominal modifiers. This requirement can also be observed with prenominal complex Adjective Phrases where the inflectional suffix must be at the right edge of the AP (8a-b). Such a requirement does not hold in postnominal position (8c-d):

- (8) a. *die von Einstein formulierte Theorie*      b. \* *die formulierte von Einstein Theorie*  
 c. *die Theorie formuliert von Einstein*      d. *die Theorie von Einstein formuliert*

Thus, possessive -s is akin to an inflectional suffix. Finally, to account for complex names like *Peter Müller* in (9), these names must have a structure different from (6). We propose they involve exocentric compound-like structures.

- (9) a. *Peter Müllers Auto*      b. *das Auto Peter Müllers/\*Peters Müller*

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## Identity and stereotyping in Swiss German dialects: Evidence from mixed dialect speakers

This pilot project investigates speaker's attitudes towards identity and language stereotyping in mixed dialect speakers of two Swiss German dialects. In Switzerland, Swiss German dialects play a significant role in determining the identity of a speaker, especially on a local, cantonal, level (Rash, 2002). These identities define the speakers of the same dialect, helping to establish individual communities within the larger community of Swiss German speakers. Identity ascription can occur between two groups, which creates an attribution of traits by one group, towards another group (Depperman, 2007; Curcó, 2005). This contributes to speakers using the way that other people speak to define their opinions of them, and these opinions are not linguistically based (Hudson, 1980/1986, p.202), which furthers language being used to define, communicate, and assess stereotypes (Maas & Arcuri, 1996). Previous research on dialects and identity found that there is evidence for negative attitudes, held by speakers of some Swiss German dialects about speakers of other dialects of Swiss German, contributing to negative identity constructions between the speakers of the languages (Berthele, 2006). However, how mixed dialect speakers factor into these analyses has been largely unexplored. Furthermore, comparative sociolinguistic treatment of dialects within Switzerland has been limitedly addressed and the dialect pair investigated within this paper has not been analyzed in this manner before. From a qualitative and quantitative questionnaire given to speakers of the Aargau and Zürich dialects, speakers that identified with a mixed Aargau and Zürich dialect arose; I examine whether identity ascription and stereotyping become salient between mixed dialect speakers.

In terms of methodology, this study made use of a language questionnaire. The language questionnaire was distributed at three educational institutions in the Aargau and Zürich dialect speaking areas. In total, 101 Aargau dialect speakers and 31 Zürich dialect speakers completed the survey, which resulted in 7 mixed dialect speakers of this specific pairing arising. The questionnaire included open-ended questions, for the generation of qualitative data, and questions assessing the dialects on Likert-Scales, for the generation of quantitative data. Themes and word frequencies were generated from the qualitative data by using the NVivo software for qualitative data analysis.

The results from this pilot study reveal that identity traits and language stereotyping are salient in mixed Aargau and Zürich dialect speakers. Furthermore, mixed dialect speakers align themselves both positively and negatively, with both the Aargau and the Zürich dialect, whereas the non-mixed speakers align themselves more positively with their ingroup and exhibit heightened negativity and stereotyping towards the dialect different from their own. The research implies that not only is identity ascription and stereotyping more nuanced in mixed dialect speakers, but that mixed dialect speakers need to be taken into more careful consideration in the sociolinguistic treatment of identity and language research.

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## Old High German *i*-umlaut without paradox

Old High German umlaut, the fronting of back vowels before ‘triggers’ /i, i:, j/, has long wrought havoc in theories of sound change and phonology. Recently, Kiparsky (2015:564) writes about non-reversion in umlaut: “First, when the conditioning environment goes away (as here by reduction of the full vowels to -e or to -ə), *why* do its effects remain? Secondly, why does the loss of a conditioning environment not *always* cause phonologization? Why do the conditioned allophones sometimes just go away?” Dresher (2016) argues: “The only way for *i*-umlaut to persist is if it enters the lexical phonology before the [y(:)] and [ø(:)] allophones become contrastive, that is, while they are still predictable allophones of [u(:)] and [o(:)], respectively.”

To resolve this paradox, Kiparsky posits ‘quasi-phonemes’ allowing the creation of /y(:), ø(:)/ before reduction, while Donegan & Nathan (2015) deny that allophones are “purely mechanical effects”. These and other scholars recognize that opacity plays a key role. Considering synchronic opacity in the context of language learning and taking distinct roles of phonetics, phonology, variation and acquisition into account allows us to resolve the illusion of paradox.

In (1), Generation X-1 has underlying /a/ but produces [ɛ]. Speakers may reduce the final /i/ variably but produce it enough for the next generation to acquire the pattern. Later, Generation X reduces /i/ often enough that learners interpret it as [ə] but still hear a stem vowel [ɛ]. That breaks the automatic assimilation, so that Generation X+1 learns /ɛ/ as the basic vowel, but don’t recover the underlying /i/ of earlier generations.

(1) Transgenerational transmission of umlaut, inflected form of Old High German *gast* ‘guest’

|                    |         |         |                 |
|--------------------|---------|---------|-----------------|
| 1. Generation X-1: | /gasti/ | [gɛsti] | Phonetic umlaut |
| 2. Generation X:   | /gasti/ | [gɛstə] | Reduction       |
| 3. Generation X+1  | /gɛstə/ | [gɛstə] | Restructuring   |

The synchronic grammar of Generation X has phonological opacity, where umlaut applies before reduction, while X+1 acquires a new, transparent system based on their phonetic input. This assumes only traditional phonemes and allophones without paradox, by appeal to familiar patterns of variation and acquisition. I conclude with broader implications of this analysis for sound change, in particular pointing to other examples of non-reversion in sound change that pattern like umlaut.

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## Sound and spelling in L2/L3 German: Same script, different rules

John H. G. Scott, Charys B. Russell, & Ryan Z. J. Lim

Perceptual and orthographic confusions between languages challenge all foreign language (FL) learners. First-language (L1) learners typically establish robust sound categories during infancy, prior to learning how to encode them orthographically [6]. In contrast, FL classrooms simultaneously expose adult learners to a new set of second language (L2) or subsequent language (L3) sounds and a new orthography for encoding those sounds, a fundamentally different experience from L1 acquisition [1]. When learning a L3, each L1-L2-L3 sequence sets up a unique combination of phonological and orthographic factors and learning challenges. Even when familiar and novel languages employ the “same” script (e.g., the Roman alphabet), grapheme-phoneme correspondences (GPCs) are not *congruent* between L1 and L2 (and L3), and languages differ in their internal *consistency* of GPCs [3, 5]. Perceptual categories for L2 and L3 sounds are not as robust, and learners’ phonological perception and GPCs are influenced by experience from their L1 (or prior L2). The complex interaction between orthography and acquisition of new L2/L3 sound categories is widely acknowledged, yet poorly understood [1, 2].

We present results from a longitudinal study of 19 adult FL students of German in Western Canada, where L2 French learned by many students prior to university means that any new FL studied at university is often an L3. We focus on two subgroups: L1 English/L2 German ( $n = 7$ ) and L1 English/L2 French/L3 German ( $n = 5$ ).

Prior to any German instruction, participants spelled 92 auditorily-presented German words featuring 19 target sounds (9 consonants, 10 vowels). After one semester of instruction, they spelled 92 words encountered in the course textbook’s vocabulary lists [4] and 92 unfamiliar words featuring the same GPCs. Spelling responses—coded for orthographies of German, L1, and a prior L2—are analysed to characterize GPC development in FL and generalizability of early grapheme-phoneme gains to novel words. Finally, we will discuss implications for early L2/L3 phonological acquisition and vocabulary learning in L2/L3 German.

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### **The Role of Caregivers' Language Input in Early Bilingual Learners: Relating Caregivers' Code-switching and Proficiency to Children's Receptive Vocabulary**

Although previous research has shown that the quantity of language input matters for bilingual acquisition (e.g. David & Wei, 2008), qualitative input variables are less frequently investigated. Instead, many studies point towards a need to further dismantle qualitative input variables in order to examine if linguistically richer environments can be associated with bilingual children's language development (Driessen et al., 2002; MacLeod et al., 2012).

Qualitative input properties relate to the type of exposure a bilingual child receives (e.g. whether the child receives native or non-native input). Unlike monolinguals, bilingual children are more likely to receive input from both native and non-native speakers of their language(s) (Fernald, 2006). Besides contrasting native versus non-native speaker input, another way of approaching the type of exposure a bilingual child receives is whether the child is exposed to caregivers' code-switching, "the mixing of two or more languages in discourse" (Poplack, 2015, p. 918), and subsequently mixed input.

The current study looks at the effects of two quality-related variables – caregivers' (native) language proficiency and caregivers' code-switching – on children's receptive vocabulary of the majority language Dutch. Seventy-two bilingual children with a mean age of 35 months ( $SD = 7$  months), who were exposed to Dutch and (an)other language(s) at home, were tested on a Dutch receptive vocabulary task (i.e., The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test). Information on caregivers' proficiency and children's home input situations was assessed using an electronic questionnaire on the basis of already existing questionnaires (ALDeQ; BiLEC; Language Mixing Scale).

Linear mixed regression analyses showed that the amount of native Dutch input at home by children's caregivers was a significant predictor of children's vocabulary knowledge. Neither the amount of intrasentential code-switching (within a sentence) nor the amount of intersentential codeswitching (between sentences) provided by caregivers came out as a significant predictor of children's vocabulary knowledge.

The evidence presented in this study advances our understanding on the relation between input quality factors and bilingual children's language development. Even though speculative and calling for future research, our findings suggest that native input may provide a higher frequency of complex structures and/ or (types of) words necessary for the child to acquire its vocabulary items. With regard to CS, whereas some earlier studies point towards a negative effect of caregivers' use of CS on children's language skills, we cannot provide evidence for this notion.

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## Dialect convergence and divergence in Amish and Mennonite Shwitzer

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In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Bernese Swiss Anabaptists (Mennonites and Amish) immigrated to Adams County, IN, bringing with them Bernese Swiss German ("Shwitzer"). Mennonites and Amish have coexisted in Adams County since then, but their Shwitzer varieties have diverged considerably, structurally as well as sociolinguistically. The language situation of Adams County sheds light on how dialect splits may occur, but also on the effects of contact with other dialects.

In my talk I will first give an outline of the historical and sociolinguistic background of the Adams County Shwitzer varieties (Bachmann-Geiser 1988, Fleischer & Loudon 2010, Seiler 2017). Whereas among the Mennonites Shwitzer is highly moribund (and structurally conservative), Amish Shwitzer is thriving (and structurally dynamic).

I will then report on the results of a pilot study conducted in the field in 2017 in which a selection of morphological and syntactic variables was elicited with both Mennonite and Amish speakers of Shwitzer (Hasse & Seiler, submitted). Whereas Mennonite Shwitzer has maintained clearly Bernese Swiss German characteristics to a very large degree, Amish Shwitzer displays tremendous influence from Pennsylvania Dutch, the language spoken by Amish outside of Adams County, such that the morphosyntax of Amish Shwitzer has largely converged with that of Pennsylvania Dutch. However, many Bernese features have been maintained, especially in the lexicon. Therefore, we may categorize Amish Shwitzer as a grammar-lexicon mixed language. In that light, it seems that Amish Shwitzer may be the first documented grammar-lexicon mixed language whose source languages are closely related (cf. Bakker's 2015 typology).

How can these preliminary findings be explained? As in other situations of mixed language emergence (Velupillai 2015), we are dealing with a speaker group that is motivated to maintain a distinct social identity. The Adams County Amish have an immigration history that is different from that of the majority of Old Order Amish in the US. They identify as "Swiss Amish" and view themselves as different from other Amish, which is reflected in culture as well as in language. This explains the maintenance of Bernese Swiss German features. However, unlike in other mixed language contexts, there is no pressure for Swiss Amish to shift completely to speaking another, socially dominant language, in this case, Pennsylvania Dutch. Instead, it is intermarriage between Swiss and other Amish that has allowed for the transfer of Pennsylvania Dutch features to Amish Shwitzer (Humpa 1996, Meyers & Nolt 2005). We hypothesize that the grammar-lexicon split is due to only partial linguistic assimilation of Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking Amish marrying into the Swiss Amish community, L1 acquisition scenarios within families with such a mixed dialectal background, and the greater suitability of lexical (as opposed to grammatical) features as linguistic markers of separation.

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### Rethinking Frisian and Scandinavian Vowel Balance in Terms of the Foot: In Search of a More Unified Account Across Germanic Phenomena

As evidenced in a limited number of modern and older Frisian and Scandinavian dialects, Vowel Balance results when the vowel of a second syllable is dependent upon the quantity and quality of the preceding root syllable. As the data below illustrate, if the preceding syllable is short (or light), i.e., ends in a VC sequence, then the second vowel is retained. Conversely, after a long (or heavy) root syllable (ending in a VCC or V:C sequence), then the vowel either reduces or undergoes apocope.

|                                   | After short (light) stem (Original full vowel retained)              | After long (heavy) stem (Reduction or loss)                          |                                                                  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Old Frisian (Author, XXXX)        | mith <u>i</u> ‘with’<br>sun <u>u</u> ‘son, nom./acc.sg.’             | ste:n <u>e</u> ‘stone, dat.sg.’<br>gerso <u>o</u> ‘grass, nom.pl’    | Reduct. of <i>i</i> → <i>e</i><br>Reduct. of <i>u</i> → <i>o</i> |
| Old Swedish (Versloot, 2008)      | fa <u>p</u> ir ‘father, nom.sg.’<br>fa <u>b</u> ur ‘father, acc.sg.’ | mô <u>p</u> er ‘mother, nom.sg.’<br>mô <u>b</u> or ‘mother, acc.sg.’ | Reduct. of <i>i</i> → <i>e</i><br>Reduct. of <i>u</i> → <i>o</i> |
| Norrland Swedish (Kusmenko, 2007) | bak <u>a</u> ‘to bake’                                               | kaste/ <u>k</u> âst ← ‘to cast’                                      | Reduct. of <i>a</i> → <i>e</i><br>Loss of <i>a</i>               |

This alternation between full and reduced vowels after light and heavy stems respectively reflects similar differences in the retention versus loss of high vowels in the Old Saxon (OS) *i*-stem nouns and Old High German (OHG) *jan*-verbs. According to established foot-based analyses for the OS and OHG phenomena (e.g., Author; also Vennemann 1995), *i* was retained when footed after short stems, e.g., OS [wi.ni] ‘friend’ or OHG [de.ni]+ta ‘extended, 1. and 3.sg.’ (preterite ending added to right edge of trochee), but lost when unfooted after long stems, e.g., OS [gas]ti → *gast* ‘guest, nom./acc. sg.’ and OHG [hoo]ri+ta → *hoorta* ‘heard, 1. and 3. sg.’. Despite the apparent similarities between these data and Vowel Balance, most analyses for Vowel Balance have failed to call on the foot, instead depending on traditional prosodic elements, e.g., accent and moras. For instance, Kusmenko (2007) attributes vowel retention in one type of Swedish Vowel Balance in bisyllabic short syllable words to level stress which spreads stress across both syllables (cf. also Smith & van Leyden, 2007). Conversely, he argues the initial syllable in long stems attracts more stress than the following syllable resulting in reduction or loss of the second syllable vowel. Such analyses focus on stress rather than the foot.

Instead, this paper demonstrates the benefits of a foot-based analysis for Vowel Balance. First, such an analysis can account for both Frisian and Scandinavian varieties of Vowel Balance: footed vowels after short stems remain, e.g., [mi.thi], but after a long stem, vowels are unfooted and subject to reduction or apocope [ste:]ni → [ste:]ne. This approach eliminates any need to account for two types of vowel balance, one based on level accent and one based on mora counting. Second, a foot-based analysis ties Vowel Balance to other established foot-based vowel developments in West Germanic, including both the loss versus retention of high vowels in OS and OHG. And lastly, rethinking Vowel Balance in terms of the trochee provides a link to other less frequently connected phenomena, including, but not limited to, Franconian tone-accent recently argued by Köhnlein (2016) to have arisen from contrastive foot structure. This paper thus demonstrates a larger and more varied role for the foot in accounting for divergent morpho-phonological patterns across Germanic.

### ***Am*-Progressives in Swabian**

This paper presents some initial results of a study on the syntax and aspectual semantics of *am*-progressives in Swabian (SW, Alemannic), focusing on the properties of *am*. The data has been elicited from three speakers of differing ages speaking a variant spoken in and around Leutkirch (South Eastern Baden-Württemberg).

Progressive constructions are much more common in Standard German (SG) than often assumed (Gárgyán, 2013). The construction consists of a combination of auxiliary *sein* ‘be’ followed by a particle or preposition *am* combined with the infinitive form of the verb (1). When transitive, the object is either obligatorily preverbal (2) or may precede *am* in some dialects (Colognian) (3).

This presentation discusses the properties of *am*. Traditionally, *am* has been described as preposition *an* ‘at’ fused with the dative definite article *dem* (Krause, 2002). It has been shown for SG that this analysis cannot be sustained (Bhatt and Schmidt, 1993). This paper will show data from Swabian that also supports this view. For *am* to be a preposition, we expect the verbal infinitive to be its nominal complement (1). However, it can be shown that the verbal infinitive does not behave like a nominal. It cannot be modified by an adjacent adjective (1b) and the complement cannot be postverbal as prepositional *von*-complement (1c).

Therefore, *am* is analyzed as particle for Swabian. I argue that *am* acts as an aspectual head instead of a P-head and takes VP as complement (Bhatt & Schmidt, 1993 for Colognian). Bhatt & Schmidt (1993) argue for Colognian that the object moves to get case from Asp. I argue for Swabian that frozen scope readings, the absence of determiners (4), and the obligatory preverbal position (2) strongly suggest that an NP and not a DP merges with the V-head before the VP is merged with the AspP headed by *am*. Swabian *am*-progressives thus show one significant difference from Colognian progressives. The preverbal NP has no case like its counterpart in SG and Colognian, thus has not moved to AspP. This analysis accounts for the obligatory preverbal and post-*am* position of the object.

- (1) a. r’isch **am** schaff-a      b. r’isch **am** \*schnell schaff-a      c. \*r’isch am leas-a **vo dr’Bibel**  
 he is **AM** work-INF      he’is **AM** quick work-INF      he’is AM read-INF **of the bible**  
 ‘he is working’      ‘he is (quick) working’      ‘he is reading the bible’
- (2) a. I be **am** **Mäntel/Mantel** kauf-a      b. \*I be **Mäntel/Mantel** **am** kauf-a  
 I am **AM** coats/coat buy-INF      I am coats/coat **AM** buy-INF  
 ‘I am buying coat(s)’      ‘I am buying coat(s)’
- (3) a. \*mir sen **am de kender** spiel-a lo      b. mer sin **de Pänz** **am** spill-e loß-e [Colognian]  
 we are the children AM play-INF let-INF      we are **the children** **AM** play-INF let-INF  
 ‘we are letting the children play’      ‘we are letting the children play’ (B&S1993:76)
- (4) a. I be am **alte** **Mäntel** kaufa      b. \*I be am **de alte** **Mäntel** **am** kaufa  
 I am AM old coats buy-INF      I am AM **the old** coats buy-INF  
 ‘I am buying old coat(s)’      ‘I am buying the old coats’

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## *War es cool, geil, krass oder toll?*

### **A Sociolinguistic Analysis of German Positive Evaluation Adjectives**

To describe something as denoting positive evaluation, speakers of German have a variety of functionally equivalent adjectives at their disposal (e.g., *geil* ‘great’, *cool* ‘cool’, *krass* ‘cool’, *top* ‘top’, *toll* ‘great’, *super* ‘super’, *prima* ‘great’, *klasse* ‘class’, *nice* ‘nice’, *gediegen* ‘great’, *genial* ‘great’, *spitze* ‘great’, *fantastisch* ‘fantastic’, *mega* ‘great’, among many others). While linguistic and social factors have been found to influence adjective choices in English (Tagliamonte & Brooke, 2014; Tagliamonte & Pabst, 2020), to date, no variationist sociolinguistic studies have investigated this variable domain in German.

The present study used the 1.6 million-word *Forschungs- und Lehrkorpus Gesprochenes Deutsch* ‘Research and Teaching Corpus of Spoken German’, stratified for sex and age, to carry out the first variationist sociolinguistic analysis of German adjectives of positive evaluation. Two research questions were addressed. First, what is the distribution of German adjectives of positive evaluation in the corpus? Second, is use of these adjectives conditioned by linguistic (e.g., syntactic position) and social/external conditioning factors (e.g., age, sex, register)?

Following previous work on English (Tagliamonte & Brooke, 2014; Tagliamonte & Pabst, 2020), a list of adjectives of positive evaluation was compiled through previous literature (Schenker, 1977; Androutsopoulos, 2001), dictionaries and thesauruses (e.g., Duden). Once this list had been compiled, search queries were run to find these variants in the corpus, which were subsequently downloaded and inspected manually for the removal of any functionally and semantically non-equivalent tokens. After careful circumscription of the variable context, each token was matched with the appropriate internal (syntactic position, preceding intensifier) and external metadata (e.g., sex, age, region, register).

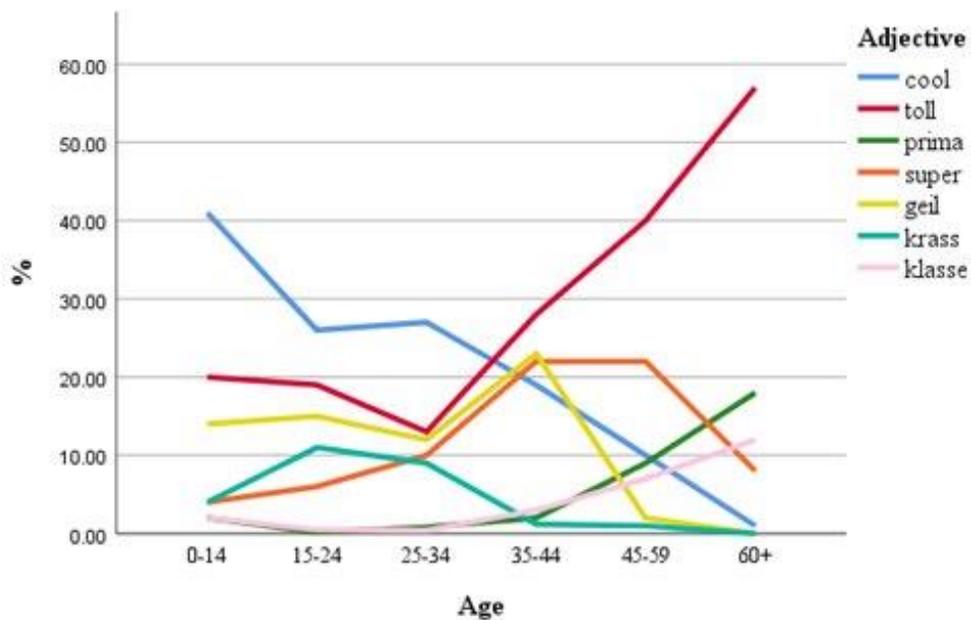
Results from the distributional analysis identified 28 adjectives of positive evaluation, used 3,082 times. Of the 28 variants, *cool* ‘cool’ (22%) and *toll* ‘great’ (20%) were the frontrunners, followed by *intensifier + gut* ‘intensifier + good’ (18%) and *geil* ‘great’ (13%). Their distribution in apparent time indicated that *cool* was replacing *toll* for the favored variant (see Figure 1). For the multivariate analysis, a series of binary logistic regressions were run using *Rbrul* (Johnson, 2009), with ‘speaker’ included as a random effect. The regression analysis of *cool* and *toll* identified syntactic position as a significant factor governing adjective variation. While *cool* was favored in stand-alone and predicative position, *toll* was favored in attributive position. This finding is in line with the cline proposed by Tagliamonte & Pabst (2020) where newer variants (e.g., *cool*) are favored in stand-alone and predicative position, whereas outgoing variants (e.g., *toll*) are favored in attributive position. The social factors sex and age were also identified as significant factors, suggesting that young women are leading in the use of *cool*, which is in line with the general principles of linguistic change (Labov, 2001: 274-275).

The present study uncovered a novel linguistic domain, conditioned by both internal and external factors. In doing so, this study contributes to work on German adjective variability, it contributes to the visibility of variationist work in the examination of German variation and change, and moreover it contributes to our broader understanding of language variation and change.

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**Figure 1.** Distribution of Adjectives of Positive Evaluation in Apparent Time



Sophia Strietholt, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Julie Larson-Guenette, University of Wisconsin-Madison; David Owen, University of Wisconsin-Madison; and Anna Knudten, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**Title: “*Umgangssprache macht Sprache unverständlich wenn falsch benutzt*”: Perceived fluency in L2-German writing**

The construct of fluency (oral and written) in second language research has received a great deal of attention with regards to the study abroad context (e.g., Freed et al., 2003; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004; Taguchi, 2011; Godfrey et al., 2014; Di Silvio et al., 2016; Schenker, 2018). Michel (2017) notes how fluency in L2 writing as a multi-faceted construct, constitutes a “challenging dimension to measure and to conceptualize” (p. 56). Latif (2013) addresses the construct of fluency and the variance with which fluency has been typically measured and defined among researchers. However, fluency as understood from within a specific language community still warrants further attention. Adapting Segalowitz’s (2010; 2016) definition of *perceived fluency* as native speakers’ (NSs) impressions of a given text, the focus of the present pilot study seeks to investigate the following questions: How do NSs of German describe fluency in language use? Which linguistic features do NSs perceive to be fluent and (non)native-like in writing?

An electronic survey was designed to elicit response ratings and comments from adult NSs of German (ages 25-68) about their impressions of fluency on a scale of 0% (=not at all fluent) to 100% (=fluent). Survey materials included five excerpted texts written by L1 American English college students upon return from an 11-month study abroad program in Freiburg, Germany. For the purpose of the survey, grammatical errors were corrected by a NS to rule out accuracy as a criterion that would potentially influence raters’ responses. Instead, we were interested in raters’ responses pertaining to lexical, syntactic, and stylistic features of the writing. While data collection is currently ongoing, preliminary data analyses suggest emerging patterns regarding the importance of lexical choice, register, word order, the use of function words, along with the use of colloquialisms and *Umgangssprache*. NS respondents’ descriptions of fluency lean towards the ability to understand and *be understood* in most (or all) situations along with the ability to use idioms and humor. Segalowitz (2016) notes that perceived fluency, albeit subjective, is still informative for the teaching and learning of language. For the purpose of the present pilot study, we aim to map objective linguistic criteria onto NSs’ subjective text impressions. Future directions of this project along with pedagogical implications of our results will be discussed.

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### Hybrid theories of ellipsis – German evidence against purely syntactic accounts

Many accounts of ellipsis assume that either elliptical fragments are moved (as foci) syntactically, explaining impossible interpretations of fragment utterances (1a) – or else that questions under discussion (QuDs) are similarly restricted (1b). This talk will argue that data from German rebel against both accounts, and warrant a hybrid approach which combines syntactic and discourse-based restrictions on fragment formation and ellipsis (– respectively).

The talk will present two types of data: Firstly, German modal particles (MPs) are elements that can surface in fragment utterances (2a). However, MPs are categorically immobile, contradicting Merchant (2a). MPs can also never be focussed, and hence not targetted by QuDs, contradicting both Griffiths and Merchant (2b). Secondly, the talk will present examples that contradict Griffiths and Merchant in the *other* logical way, i.e. by showing that propositions that are transparent for movements can still *not* be reconstructed (3a). Rather, a allegedly syntactically unavailable proposition in fact constitutes the most salient reading of the elliptical example (3b).

Instead of syntactic solutions to the *deleted* materials, the talk proposes a hybrid ellipsis theory: **I) Forms reconstruct forms. II) Meanings reconstruct meanings.** According to I), only words that have been used *verbatim* in the context can license word forms in the fragment, even when resulting readings are identical across different words (4a/b). According to II), reconstructions of meaning are not restricted by syntactic considerations (contra Griffiths and Merchant). Rather, hearers must identify the *last* proposition uttered *at-issue* in the discourse. In 3b', the main clause is construed as near-tautological, given the assumption that 'Adrian' is male at this point in the discourse.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the (**boldfaced**) relative clause proposition is considered at-issue, and hence reconstructs. The (*italicized*) main clause proposition may not be entirely unavailable for reconstruction (3b), but is an unlikely choice. Crucially, such choices reflect a contextual, complex, and (psycholinguistically) 'online' referent construction, which cannot be restated by (any) 'movement features'. Also, the conceptually simple proposal made here does away with 'short sources', which syntactic accounts must add to their machinery. Thus, the hybrid proposal turns out to be more desirable theoretically, as well as better suited to describe the observable empirical findings.

- 1.a. Did the cop catch the guy who stole the car?  
 \*No, a motor cycle ~~the cop caught the guy who stole t.~~ (Merchant 2004, et seq.)
- 1.b. Did the cop catch the guy who stole car?  
 No,... *new QuD required.. Unavailable QuD: \*What did the cop catch the guy who stole t?*  
 ... #~~The cop caught the guy who stole~~ [a motor cycle]<sub>focus</sub>. (Griffiths 2019)
- 2.a. Q: Who did Peter invite to the party? – A: Seine Freunde wohl (\*hat Peter eingeladen)  
*His friends MP (has Peter invited)*  
 'His friends, probably.'
- 2.b. Q: Is it likely that Peter's friends will come? – A: \*Wohl. 'Probably' (intended, but out)
3. Tom: On a trip in the US, I met Adrian, who drives a truck and wears a baseball cap and loves burgers and is so all-American...  
 Susi: Oh no, let me guess – *he is a guy who always has a colt with him?*
- a. Tom: ??No, *Adrian is* a woman.  
 b. Tom: No, **he always has** a woman **with him**.
- 4.a. Q: Wessen hat Peter gedacht? – A: Seiner Mutter ~~hat Peter gedacht.~~  
*Who<sub>Gen</sub> has Peter remembered* *his<sub>Gen</sub> mother<sub>Gen</sub> has Peter remembered*  
 'Who did Peter remember?' 'Peter remembered his mother'
- 4.b. [same question as 4.a.] A': # An seine Mutter ~~hat Peter sich erinnert.~~  
*of his mother has Peter self remembered*  
 'Peter remembered his mother'

References: Griffiths, J. 2019: "A Q-based approach to clausal ellipsis" *Glossa* 4, pp. 1-41.

Merchant, J. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 27, pp. 661–738.

1 Examples given in English, for reasons of space. The talk presents comparable German cases and their properties.

2 I apologize for the gender stereotypes in these sentences. They are required to induce the effects I am after.



## Adnominal “of” in Old English 850-1050

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This investigation addresses the different uses of adnominal prepositional phrases headed by *of* in Old English (OE), using quantitative and qualitative methodology to analyze an extensive corpus-retrieved data set. Although there are interesting diachronic developments visible in the OE data, this investigation focus on the synchronic situation in the canonical OE period, 850-1050. The findings give a rather different picture of OE *of* from that presented in the standard literature (Mitchell 1985; Allen 2008) and challenge some assumptions about the post-OE development of the preposition.

In the literature on the history of English, there is a well-accepted consensus that *of* changes over time, from a spatial preposition similar in meaning to present-day English *from* to a semantically bleached marker of adnominal dependency--- as it is in present-day English (Rosenbach 2002;). The status of adnominal *of* in Old English remains an important question, which has yet to be examined using quantitative corpus linguistic methodology. The morphological genitive has received a great deal of scholarly attention (Koike 2004; Allen 2008), with *of* commensurately being less well-studied.

This investigation uses a data set consisting of 362 noun phrases containing an *of*-phrase, retrieved from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (Taylor et al. 2003). *Of*-phrases which might depend on some non-nominal head, like a verb or adjective, were excluded from consideration, as were predicate *of*-phrases. *Of*-phrases were categorized by function, with function labels taken from preexisting accounts of *of* and the English genitive (Mitchell 1985).

The data set reveals that *of* is predominantly used to mark a part-whole relation. Part-whole *of*-phrases are well-recognized in previous scholarship but are sometimes represented as a late, novel, or emerging phenomenon in OE. This is not the case; part-whole *of*-phrases occur in the 800s and are significantly more frequent than *of*-phrases marking other relations. Adnominal noun phrases, with genitive case marking, are also used for part-whole relations, so there is a sort of “genitive alternation” evident at a very early stage in English. The preponderance of part-whole *of*-phrases in the OE data strongly supports the view that part-whole relations are the earliest bridging context between adnominal genitive-case NPs and prepositional phrases, facilitating the use of possessive *of*-phrases in centuries to come (Allen 2008:72--74).

Secondly, the data indicate that adnominal *of* does not tend to mark spatial relations like separation and departure point, which are sometimes presented as the core semantics of the preposition (Mitchell 1985). *Of* in the OE noun phrase seems to have a more metaphorical semantics and to have undergone more semantic expansion by the OE period than is supposed to be the case (Mitchell 1985).

Quantitative analysis also reveals that the use of *of*-phrases in OE correlate highly significantly with the semantics of the noun phrase in which it appears, operationalized through head animacy and onomasticity. This in turn speaks to the status of OE *of* as a lexical, or relational preposition, rather different from its semantically-bleached present-day cognate.

Rather than describing OE *of* as a primarily spatial preposition, the data suggest it is more accurate to depict *of* as a semantically full preposition which no longer primarily marks spatial relations. Insofar as *of* in this period marks part-whole relations far more frequently than it does spatial ones, the OE preposition has a clear association with subsequent developments in the Middle English period, namely competition with the morphological genitive in marking possessive relations. This investigation into OE *of* therefore confirms some narratives about *of* but also revises understanding of the uses and status of the OE preposition itself.

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## Patterns of laryngeal contrast in heritage Dutch speakers

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This paper examines phonological patterns across generations of heritage Dutch speakers in Wisconsin, specifically comparing how voice onset time (VOT) is realized in the speakers' Dutch and English word initial stops. As advanced within Laryngeal Realism (Iverson & Salmons, 1995), English and Dutch establish a contrast between the set of sounds <b, d, g> and <p, t, k> in different ways. In English, as in most other Germanic languages, the feature [spread glottis] characterizes fortis stops /p, t, k/, whereas Dutch employs the feature [slack] to distinguish voiced /b, d, (g)/ from laryngeally unmarked /p, t, k/. Preliminary findings show how heritage Dutch speakers of the first, second, and fourth generations adopt both [spread glottis] and [slack] in specific patterns to establish contrast in both languages.

The results of this study are based on an acoustic analysis of the speech of sixteen heritage Dutch speakers from Wisconsin. When speaking Dutch, all generations retain some prevoicing in <b, d>. Most of the heritage speakers show a very short negative or approximately zero VOT (i.e. voicing starts at the burst of the stop) for Dutch voiced consonants, where European Dutch speakers typically have a longer negative VOT (prevoicing, mean VOT = -115 ms: Simon, 2010). First generation heritage speakers carry over some prevoicing to their English speech for <b, d, g>, but this feature disappears in the second and fourth generations. The second and fourth generations have short-lag VOT for <b, d, g> in English as expected, although the mean of the fourth generation falls within the shorter end of the expected English range (0-25 ms: Simon, 2010). Interestingly, heritage speakers of all generations have similar VOTs for <p, t, k> in both languages. Both are slightly below the expected range for English fortis stops in monolinguals (60-90 ms: Simon, 2010).

We argue that these results point to laryngeal overspecification in the Dutch stop category, as <p, t, k> are characterized by [spread] while <b, d> remain characterized by [slack]. In their English speech, all speakers adopt the distinction between short-lag <b, d, g> and long-lag <p, t, k>, although long-lag stops fall just short of the expected range. This shows that heritage speakers adopt the English system of aspiration early on and apply it across both languages, while retaining voicing in the <b, d> set for a longer period of time in Dutch. Relatively short VOTs in speakers' English speech may suggest interference from Dutch, but future work should investigate whether this may be a regional feature unrelated to bilingualism.

These results provide insight into shifts in phonological contrast in language contact, as gradual phonetic change eventually leads to a shift in feature specification, i.e. a move from one system of laryngeal contrast towards another.

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## The Name (渾都) Hundu in Connection With Germanic Canine Words

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Based on the recurring canine ethnonyms and choronyms in ancient Chinese literature, this presentation explores Germanic vocabulary diffusion in Inner Asia and North China. In an episodic account of the military campaign in February 195 BCE in what is now Beijing, which constituted part of the ancient Shanggu Commandery, *Shiji* (57.2070) recorded the name Hundu (渾都). The campaign was launched by Han Emperor Liu Bang to annihilate the king of the Yan vassal polity suspected of colluding with Xiongnu (匈奴). Consequently, the vassal king, along with his palace staff, family, and horsemen counting several thousands, retreated to the Great Wall and then escaped to Xiongnu for surrender and exile. Through these records we can see that the Great Wall as the border between Han and Xiongnu was within easy reach of the Xiongnu. Many mentions of the Great Wall in *Shiji* not only concerned the crucial border defense needs of the Sinitic states against their common enemies in the north but also shed light on historical contact between the groups of diverse ethnicities and languages that until then had been seen as evidence of the shared habitat in the region. In addition to adopting the form Hundu (40.2053), *Hanshu* (28.1623) alternatively transcribed it as Jundu (軍都) as a county name. In *Hou Hanshu* (19.708), the form Hundu was not used and instead replaced by Jundu in a paragraph to the effect that in the year of 28, when a Xiongnu cavalry was passing through Jundu, it was severely defeated. Concerning the ancient pronunciation of the character 軍 (*jun*) in *Jundu*, it is *\*gun* /*kun*/, with their modern dialectal variations as *gwan* in Cantonese and *giun* in Hakka.

Moreover, Hundu also served as an ethnonym. According to the editorial note on the ethnonym Hun (渾) occurring in a paragraph in *Jiu Tangshu* (195.5196), each of the editions originally has the character 都 (*du*) below the ethnonym Hun, i.e., Hun coexisted with Hundu. As I am interested in using the phonetic similarity of proper names from different parts of the region as testimony for the substrata resulted from transcontinental vocabulary diffusion here and there, I shall argue that the name Hundu emerged very early as a result of popular canine nomenclature and was ultimately from the Indo-European words for ‘dog’ such as the subsequently attested Old English *hund* and Gothic *hunds*. In an attempt to discuss the preceding counterparts of Xiongnu *Shiji* (110.2879) named three consecutive groups: Shanrong (山戎), Xianyun (獫狁), and Hunzhou (葷粥). In my view, the latter two ethnonyms are of great significance to understand the meaning of Xiongnu as ‘dog’. Xianyun represents a combination of the semantically translated component *xian* (獫) ‘dog with a long snout’ and the phonetically transcribed foreign word *yun*, yielding the sense of ‘Dog Yun’. Hunzhou [huntʂəu] is entirely a phonetic transcription reminiscent of the Germanic word for ‘dog’. Henceforth, Xiongnu was from *\*hunnu* (< *\*hundu*) through the phonetic assimilation of the *d* by its preceding nasal *n*.

In the canine nomenclature also included many other names such as Guta (姑他), Gushi (姑師), Loufan (樓煩), Louban (樓班), and Luhun (盧渾, 陸渾, 鹿渾). Guta is comparable with Hindi *kuttā*, Sogdian *'kwt-* and Shughni *kud* ‘dog’, and Gushi can be analyzed as consisting of the root *gu-* and the suffix *-shi* (< *\*-s*), with the root being connected with Tokharian *ku* ‘dog’. As cognate to Greek *lúkos* ‘wolf’ is Latin *lupus* (its accusative form *lupum*), Loufan (*f* of which pronounced *\*b* in Old Chinese), Louban and Luhun were from Latin *lupus* (cf. French *loup* ~ *louve*) and Greek *lúkos* (its accusative form *lúkon*), respectively.