Verbal Phrasemes in the *Skånske Lov*:
Towards an Analysis of Old Danish Phraseology with Particular Attention to its Possible Low German Models

The research on the language contact between Middle Low German and the Scandinavian languages has, up to now, focused mainly on its definition as "language" or "dialect contact" or on its influence on the lexicon of the Scandinavian languages (loanwords and loan-translations of Low German words), while studies have less frequently been dedicated to the possibility that, during this intense and prolonged contact, not only single lexemes, but also entire phrases, phrasemes, were borrowed by the Nordic languages. In a previous study of mine (2006), I focused on the phraseology, in particular on the verbal phrasemes, of the first texts written in Swedish (*Äldre Västgötalag*, *Östgötalag* and *Uplandslag*) in order to evaluate the importance of the Low German influence in this field. This research represented the first step of a larger project aimed at following the development not only of Swedish, but also of Danish and Norwegian phraseology.

In order to achieve the best possible picture of the influence of Middle Low German on the phraseology of the early Scandinavian languages, analogous studies have to be conducted on Danish and Norwegian texts. In this paper I'll focus on Danish phraseology, taking into consideration the verbal phrasemes of one of the oldest Danish legal texts (as in Sweden, in Denmark too, legal texts play a fundamental role in the early written tradition), the *Skånske lov*, according to a semantic and syntactic scheme which will allow me to compare them with the data and the results previously achieved in relation to the Swedish language. The *Skånske lov* will, therefore, be scanned in order to identify a *corpus* of verbal phrasemes, which will be, later, classified according to their semantics (meaning and degree of idiomaticity) as well as to their syntax (syntactic structure and valency).

As in the previous investigation the phraseological *corpus* of the *Skånske lov* will be compared with the one identified in a Middle Low German text which, due to its typological affinity with the Scandinavian one, is quite likely to contain similar phrases, Eike von Repgow’s *Sachsenspiegel*. In this way, it will be possible to lay the basis (other texts will have to be taken into consideration later) for the evaluation of the relative degree of penetration of Low German phraseology into Danish, as compared to Swedish.
Language comprehension can be characterised as a process of mapping a linguistic form onto its corresponding meaning in real time. Recent research indicates that – at least for the domain of obligatory sentence constituents (verbs and arguments) – the mechanisms underlying this mapping are subject to substantial cross-linguistic differences (cf. Schlesewsky & Bornkessel, 2004). In languages such as English, the comprehension system primarily draws upon an argument’s linear position to assign grammatical functions / thematic roles. The processing of languages such as German, by contrast, is based primarily on morphological case marking (i.e. linear position is inconsequential when case marking is unambiguous).

An interesting test case within the Germanic language family is constituted by Icelandic, a language in which a rigid word order is accompanied by a rich case system. In this paper, we report a neurocognitive study that investigated whether the processing of Icelandic draws upon position (linear order) or upon morphology (case marking) in the incremental interpretation of arguments. We measured event-related brain potentials (ERPs) as the dependent variable, as these have been shown to yield qualitative distinctions between position- and morphology-based languages.

Thirty students of the University of Reykjavik read Icelandic sentences of the type in (1). The choice of relative clause structures allowed us to manipulate morphological information while keeping positional information constant. Positional information is invariant in structures such as (1) because the relative pronoun (sem) must always be interpreted as the subject and the post-verbal NP (fisksalanum) as the object. Morphological information was varied by using three types of verbs calling for different case marking patterns: (a) active verbs (e.g. ‘to drown’), which require a nominative subject and a dative object, (b) experiencer verbs (e.g. ‘to trust’), which require a dative subject and a nominative object, and (c) ‘alternating’ verbs (e.g. ‘to follow’), which are compatible with both case marking patterns. For each verb class, two types of sentences were created: one with a post-verbal dative object, and one with a post-verbal nominative object. The logic behind this manipulation was as follows: if morphology is dominant in determining argument interpretation, the processing system should be highly sensitive to violations of verb-specific case patterns. If, by contrast, position is the dominant factor, verb class distinctions should have a substantially lower impact, because the subject-before-object principle is fulfilled in all cases.

(1) Example sentence (active verb; post-verbal dative NP; slashes indicate segmentation)
Ég vantreysti sjómanninum …
I distrust seaman-the-DAT …
‘I distrust the seaman.’
sem / hefur / drekkt / fisksalanum / i brunninum.
who has drowned fish-salesman-the-DAT in well-the
‘… who drowned the fish-salesman in the well’.

Sentences with active verbs yielded a centro-parietal negativity (N400) followed by a late positivity for post-verbal nominative arguments in comparison to dative arguments in the same position. Alternating verbs showed the same pattern (with a slightly less pronounced N400). The two sentence types with experiencer verbs did not differ from one another and also showed no ERP differences to the baseline condition (active verb, post-verbal dative).

These findings indicate that there is a strong online preference for a nominative-before-dative case marking pattern: sentences with alternating verbs show a violation-response to the (grammatical) dative-before-nominative pattern and experiencer verbs fail to show a violation response to the (ungrammatical) nominative-before-dative structure. However, the nature of the neuronal response (the type of negativity observed) is characteristic of morphology-based processing systems. Thus, while Icelandic shows a strong tendency towards a neutralisation of case distinctions during processing and, thereby, towards an inherently position-based online interpretation system, the electrophysiological response suggests that remnants of morphological informativity are also still present.

Reference
Attempts at a *Schriftsprache* in Civil War-era Pennsylvania

Letters and diaries contribute immensely to a diachronic perspective in the study of languages. The most visible written German variant in Civil War-era Pennsylvania (both antebellum and Reconstruction periods) was Pennsylvania High German, which was a “standard” language strongly encouraged among upper classes of the Pennsylvania Dutch (Wood 1945). Large amounts of written and print media of the period evidence the extent of literacy in Pennsylvania High German. As such, it was the language of several prominent domains for the early Pennsylvania Dutch: press, school, and church (Huffines 1985). Importantly it shared the status of *Schriftsprache* for German descendants with English, but beginning in the early nineteenth century, it slowly decreased in use in each of its domains. Louden (1988) suggests that by 1876, Pennsylvania High German “ceased to function as a popular literacy medium for most P[ennsylvania]G[erman]-speaking descendants of colonial immigrants” (89). Naturally in such a situation of language contact, especially between languages of pronounced sociolinguistic difference, one expects at least minor contact-induced changes to the languages. The effects of English on Pennsylvania Dutch has been studied elsewhere, but the effect that the other written language (Pennsylvania High German) had on the spoken variant (Pennsylvania Dutch) is debated. Some insist on considerable superstratum influence on the spoken variety (e.g. Wood (1945)), while others argue that the influence was minor (e.g. Louden (1988)). This presentation examines the reverse, substratal influence, namely the influence of Pennsylvania Dutch on Pennsylvania High German.

Civil War letters have become popular in sociohistorical studies, but have found neglect in more linguistic arenas…and considerably more neglect in Pennsylvania Dutch studies. Thus far, only one letter, written by a Mennonite to his wife, has been examined linguistically (Sauer 2005). In this presentation, I will show the substratal influence from Pennsylvania Dutch on Pennsylvania High German from phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic bases. In addition, adstratal influence from English on Pennsylvania High German will be incorporated. The documents under study are a diary and letters written during and after the American Civil War. All of the authors wrote in attempts at Pennsylvania High German and used fraktur script, so there is no doubt that all received some formal education in standard German. The diary spans one-and-a-half years and covers the daily activities of a private during his active duty on Sherman’s March to the Sea. The letters are a series of correspondence between a sister and her brother, a Union soldier stationed in Virginia. While these texts do not directly show us the everyday norm of speech used by the writers, they do offer a glimpse at the codes available for the early German descendants in Pennsylvania, their interplay with each other, and the sociolinguistic implications that each code manifested.
Accounting for opacity in a colloquial variety of German: The role of dialectal influence

The issue of opacity has been extensively discussed in derivational frameworks as well as in Optimality Theory, for which opacity has proven to be particularly challenging to account for (cf. Ito & Mester 2003). Outside of theoretical frameworks there is no dispute that opacity is a frequent cross-linguistic phenomenon. The learnability of “unnatural” patterns is confirmed by evidence from psycholinguistic research (cf. Pyche 2003) and predicted by diachronic approaches to explaining sound patterns, such as Evolutionary Phonology (Blevins 2004). Generally speaking, opacity seems to arise naturally, especially through processes of standardization and dialectal contact. Following this argument, a diachronically motivated investigation of an opaque alternation within a dialect–standard context would give insight into the evolution of opaque alternations, while simultaneously circumventing the problems that occur within traditional theoretical analyses.

The present endeavor will focus on the emergence of opacity within the context of dialectal contact and standardization. Specifically, it will address opaque alternations such as $Ta[x] \sim Ta[g]e$ ‘day(s)’ that exist in a colloquial variant of Northern German standard speech. In an alternation such as this, according to Standard German (henceforth: SG), devoicing should appear as $Ta[k] \sim Ta[g]e$ where the intervocalic /g/ is devoiced word-finally to [k]. Crucially, SG is irregular with regards to the appearance of word-(or syllable-) final obstruents in this context. Whereas, underlying /g/ simply devoices when it follows a [-front] vowel such as /a/ as in $Ta[k] \sim Ta[g]e$, it may spirantize if it occurs in unstressed syllables after [I], e.g. $Köni[c] \sim Köni[g]e$ ‘king(s)’ (cf. Standard German $flie[k]$ ‘fly’ vs. $flie[g]en$ ‘to fly’). In Northern Colloquial German (henceforth: NCG), on the contrary, final [k] does not appear following a [-front] vowel but instead a devoiced fricative as in $Ta[x] \sim Ta[g]e$. The question of opacity arises in attempting to account for the spirantization of the word-final segment in a word such as $Tag$ (‘day’) since based on the surface alternation it is unclear why [x] should appear word-finally and not [k] given that final [k] is found in words such as $dick$ [dIk] ‘fat’.

This diachronic approach was inspired by Ito & Mester (2003:25), who proposed a possible influence of the underlying dialectal variants in NCG that could have motivated the emergence of this opaque alternation. Research into dialectal features of Westphalian dialects (henceforth: WF), one of the Northern German dialects, revealed a widespread spirantization of SG /g/ in nearly all environments (cf. Durell 1989, Stellmacher 1990): $[ç]iëben$ (‘give’), $fråå[ɤ]et$ (‘we asked’), $Da[x]$ (‘day’). Additional research on dialectal data from, e.g. southern Bavarian dialects and Upper Alsace, exposed similar regularization patterns cross-dialectally and corroborate a cross-dialectal tendency to regularize irregular SG patterns based on the substrate dialects.

The evidence collected points to the fact that the appearance of these opaque alternations is due to a diachronic regularization process that originates within the context of standard–dialect contact, in which the more regular dialectal patterns are extended to the ‘regional’ standard variants. The actual extent of the influence of both standardization and the dialectal substrate on this process will have to be determined by further research. However, this analysis suggests that the emergence of opacity can be better understood by investigating the problem under the lens of dialectal contact. This approach will allow us to comprehend different processes that arise from language and dialectal contact and their role within the larger context of language change.
Abstract for paper:

“The Great Gender Shift” revisited in the light of Norwegian diachrony

Based on a diachronic and comparative study of gender systems in a variety of Indo-European languages, Steinmetz shows that in most languages there has been a strong tendency of the neuter gender being marginalised and abandoned (e.g. Steinmetz 1985, 2001, 2006). According to Steinmetz’ hypothesis of “The Great Gender Shift”, this tendency is due to a restructuring of the gender system in these languages. Most striking is the change of the gender hierarchy from n > m > f (with n as the unmarked gender) at an earlier stage to m > f > n (with m as the unmarked gender) as represented in the present state. As one of the main reasons for this change in Germanic, Steinmetz suggests the attrition of the morphological ending in Sg.N. in West Germanic and Mainland Scandinavian. Before the loss of this ending, many masculine (and some few feminine) nouns were assigned their gender by a morphological rule (viz Proto-Germanic: *-Vz = m; Old Norse: -r = m) as is still the case in modern Icelandic (-Vr = m) (Steinmetz 2001:213f., Trosterud 2006).

Trosterud’s (2001, 2006) analyses of Norwegian support Steinmetz’ gender shift hypothesis. However, the loss of -r does not seem to be the most crucial factor in the restructuring of the Norwegian gender system: “[T]he change came after the relexification connected to the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society during the late 19th and early 20th century, and not after the loss of -r, in the 14th-15th centuries, as expected, given Steinmetz’ theory” (Trosterud 2006:1461). The studies mentioned so far are mostly based on selections of nouns, and no detailed investigation has been made into the gender systems in the transitional periods. In my Master’s thesis I am taking a closer look at the development of the gender assignment system in Norwegian. A database has been created covering basically the noun inventory of Old Norse (Fritzner 1973; approx. 30,000 noun entries) and modern Norwegian (NOB; approx. 70,000 noun entries), respectively. The nouns are classified according to traditional word-formation types and declension class membership. Furthermore, root nouns are tagged semantically. In this paper, Steinmetz’ gender shift hypothesis will be examined in the light of more comprehensive empirical data. The following issues are scrutinised: How is the notion of default/unmarked gender to be understood, and, most crucially, is their empirical evidence to claim a radical shift in the gender assignment system of Norwegian? What role did the loss of -r play in the development of the gender system from Old Norse to modern Norwegian?

References:
Dutch verb order variation in a West Germanic perspective

Dutch exhibits synchronic word order variation in the subordinate clause that is absent in the neighbouring languages English and German: both the order auxiliary + lexical verb as the order lexical verb + auxiliary occur.

(1) Wat leuk dat hij een bezoekje heeft gebracht / gebracht heeft.
    How nice that he a visit has-AUX made-PP / made-PP has-AUX.

In a geographical perspective, this variable verb order in Dutch holds an intermediate position between English and German which only show respectively the order auxiliary + verb or verb + auxiliary in subordinate clauses. The central question of this paper is whether the mid-position of Dutch can be traced back to word order changes in the past.

Results from a case study on diachronic verb order in Dutch from the thirteenth century onwards indicate that early verb order variation in Dutch is not abandoned in favour of one verb order variant as in the case in English and German (cf. Denison 1993, Ebert 1999). There are however some significant tendencies in the Middle Dutch period towards a consistent use of auxiliary + verb ordering (13th century) and verb + auxiliary ordering (14th – 16th century), similar to respectively English and German. Dutch thus seems to have been on its way to fix verb order but has obviously not arrived at selecting the appropriate verb order variant.

This “indecisive” verb order in Middle Dutch can be attributed to more global word order changes in the West-Germanic language area, in which English has evolved towards a strict VO language and German towards an underlying OV language. The Middle Dutch data show both VO and OV word order tendencies which are significantly correlated with the use of respectively auxiliary + verb and verb + auxiliary word order. In stead of fully developing either VO or OV tendencies as English and German, Dutch has ultimately grammaticalized an intermediate position with leaky OV word order in the subordinate clause and a variable word order in the verbal cluster.

Recent studies suggest that the shift of pre-OHG *p, t, k (>*pf, ts, kx) began in post-vocalic position after short vowels and emerged after long vowels and in post-consonantal position only later (Davis and Iverson 1995, Davis 2005). In a still later development, these affricates also spread to word-initial position (pre-OHG *pund, *tiohan, *korn > OHG pfund ‘pound’, ziohan ‘pull’, chorn/khorn ‘grain’) while the corresponding affricates in post-vocalic position eventually weakened into the geminate fricatives (-ff-, -ʒʒ-, -xx-) that are attested in literary Old High German (offan ‘open’, ężʒʒan ‘to eat’, maḥhon ‘to make’). In word-initial position, the velar *k- (> kx-) shifted over the smallest geographic area, the labial *p- (> pf-) shifted over a somewhat larger area, and the coronal *t- (> ts) shifted throughout the entire OHG speech area. To explain this disparity, Davis, Iverson, and Salmons (1999:191) appeal to Rice’s (1994) model of feature geometry in which velars are more marked than are labials, and labials are more marked than coronals. Thus place markedness is thought to play a direct role in the extent of the shift in word-initial position.

An analysis of a critically assembled corpus of (26) relic forms from the Rhenish fan area as far south as Trier reveals that unshifted post-vocalic *-p, -t, -k occur more prevalently after (etymologically) long vowels (19) than after (etymologically) short ones (5). The prevalence of unshifted *-p, -t, -k after long vowels in the corpus mirrors their more frequent occurrence in that environment in relic forms along the Benrath line. The present paper interprets this correspondence as a further indication that the OHG shift first began everywhere after short vowels before spreading to the environment after long vowels. The distribution of unshifted *-p, -t, -k after etymologically long vowels in the corpus shows no obvious indications of place bias (VVp =4, VVt=7, VVk=8), however. It is concluded that either there was no place bias present in the original phonological extension of the shift to this environment, or that the original bias has since been rendered unrecoverable by later factors such as paradigmatic leveling.

References
Iván Fónagy made the following provocative claim in 1961 “If we know the topic and basic mood of a given poem, we can predict in what direction and approximately in what measure the relative frequency of certain sounds is likely to deviate from an index number based on statistics of the standard language“ (“Communication in Poetry,” Word 17.2: 194-218 at 194). In other words, the topic and mood of a poetic work largely determines the sounds of the words which the poet chooses. Mounting research in cognitive linguistics and sound symbolism suggests that the association between sound and meaning is not as arbitrary as previously thought and that different language sounds can have different effects on the brain. Certainly this is all the more true of creative language, which is specifically chosen for its probable effect on the audience and may “switch” the listener/reader into a “creative mode” that heightens his/her sensitivity to potential associations between sound and meaning. Given the apparent importance of these associations to the interpretation of a text, a potential problem arises when we read a text at a geographical and/or chronological remove from the dialect in which it was originally composed. Sound changes and dialectal variations can interfere with the sounds originally intended by the author. If our interpretation of a text is as closely associated with the sounds of its words as current findings are suggesting, then reading a medieval text with a pronunciation that is not geographically or chronologically appropriate can have significant ramifications on the psychological effect of the text.

In this paper I review a number of the associations between sound classes and meanings/moods which have been claimed in the literature on cognitive linguistics, poetics, and sound symbolism. While some of these associations are conventionalized in Germanic or Indo-European languages, others seem to be nearly universal and may therefore have their foundations in the physiological or acoustic processes of speech production and perception. In examining these associations, I discuss the degree to which they seem to be based on articulatory gestures or acoustic structures. Judgments include associations between certain consonant classes and feelings of aggressiveness, tenderness, metallic-ness, precision and sharpness, wetness, and softness, as well as judgments on vowel qualities, which include sadness, hollowness, mystic obscurity, freshness, quickness, inferiority, transparency, and light. I then discuss how certain West Germanic sound changes that followed the composition of a text could destroy some of the phonesthetic associations intended by the author and, hence, could interfere with the original mood or imagery of the text. Example texts will be taken from West Germanic, especially those from the Old to late Middle English periods.
The Structure of the Adpositional Phrase in Old Icelandic: Orthographic Evidence from AM 2365 4th

The linear structure of adpositional phrases in Old Icelandic poetry, for example in the *Poetic Edda*, is dependent on the intonational structure of the phrase. Thus when the adposition itself is stressed, the phrase may be postpositional, as in (1). In this as in all following examples, stressed syllables are bolded.

(1) er renn flóði í
    which runs flood.dat in
    ‘which runs in the flood’ (*Regínsmál* 1)

However, when the adposition is unstressed, as is more often the case, the phrase is prepositional, as in (2).

(2) á stafni scal rísta
    on stave.dat shall carve.inf
    ‘on a stave [they shall be] carved’ (*Sigrdrífr*omál 10)

A third option is also possible, where the adposition has two parts, one on either side of the dependent noun, as in (3).

(3) fyr mold neðan
    before earth below
    ‘below the earth’ (*Völuspá* 2)

In the primary manuscript of the *Poetic Edda*, AM 2365 4th, those adpositions that follow their dependent NPs are generally written as independent words, while those that precede their dependent NPs are written together with the first word of the NP, indicating that the scribe perceived them as proclitic to the NP, and therefore unstressed. The analysis of such prepositions provides an interesting challenge, as according to accepted theories of syntax, heads should not be clitics.

This paper will present an analysis of adpositional phrases in terms of topological fields, a framework that is usually only applied at the clausal level. However, there are certain parallels in the linear placement of finite verbs in the clause and adpositions within the adpositional phrase that suggest the same principles are at work in both the clause and the adpositional phrase. It seems that the intonational status of the head is the determining factor in its placement in either initial or final position, thus Old Icelandic can be classified as neither a head-initial or head-final language, but must be seen as exhibiting both head-initial and head-final characteristics.
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Verbal Complex Phenomena in the West Central German Dialects  

A striking syntactic characteristic of the Continental West Germanic languages, including extraterritorial varieties such as Afrikaans and Pennsylvania Dutch, is the clustering of multiple verb forms in what is known as a verbal complex. Such complexes, which may also include additional material (e.g. NPs, adverbs) from the VP, exhibit microparametric variation in the number, type, and relative ordering of elements that cluster, according to language, dialect, and idiolect. For example, while in Standard German there is only one grammatical ordering of verb forms in a complex comprising a modal, auxiliary, and lexical past participle, more than one ordering is possible in Standard Dutch and Swiss German:  

1. Standard German  
   a. \( \text{dass Jan Marie gesehen haben muss} \)  
      \( \text{that Jan Marie seen have must} \)  

2. Standard Dutch  
   a. \( \text{dat Jan Marie moet hebben gezien} \)  
      \( \text{that Jan Marie must have seen} \)  
   b. \( \text{dat Jan Marie moet gezien hebben} \)  
      \( \text{that Jan Marie must seen have} \)  
   c. \( \text{dat Jan Marie gezien moet hebben} \)  
      \( \text{that Jan Marie seen must have} \)  

3. Swiss German  
   a. \( \text{wil er si mues gsee ha} \)  
      \( \text{because he her must seen have} \)  
   b. \( \text{wil er si gsee mues ha} \)  
      \( \text{because he her seen must have} \)  

Though verbal complex phenomena in Standard Dutch, Standard German, as well as Dutch and Upper German dialects are relatively well-documented, the Central German dialects have so far been largely neglected in the literature. In this talk, I will first present the results of a corpus study of verbal complexes occurring in ca. 200 transcripts of recordings from the West Central German dialect area, maintained online by the Institut für Deutsche Sprache. After laying out the relevant aspects of Hawkins’ (1994, 2004) theory of processing, word order, and constituency, I will then attempt to link particular serializations to processing constraints and productive syntactic operations in German such as extraposition, complementing previous descriptive analyses formulated within the generative framework as well as a recent study (Sapp 2006) demonstrating the relationship between the verbal complex and focus.
Speaker Creativity as a Factor in Morphological Change

Speaker creativity or expressiveness is often regarded as a key driving force in much semantic change and grammaticalization. Although it has occasionally been suggested that this also plays a significant role in morphological changes such as regularization, analogical extension, and leveling (e.g. Lehmann 1985), the dominant view is that morphological change is largely a consequence of "imperfect learning", sometimes accompanied by reanalysis. The possibility that deliberate speaker innovation might also be a factor is usually not even considered.

This paper examines the role of conscious creativity in all kinds of language change. While I concur with those who feel that the importance of this factor has often been greatly overstated in grammaticalization studies (Brinton and Traugott 2005:71), I argue that it does occasionally play a role in all types of language change, including at least one kind of morphological change. A number of inflectional irregularizations in modern English and Dutch, such as snuck < sneaked, wung < winged, gefoven < gefuijd, provide fairly clear evidence of deliberate innovation. These relatively well-documented cases can help us understand speakers' motivations for this kind of expressiveness and allow us to identify parallels to certain kinds of semantic change.

These examples also raise the possibility that deliberate creative innovation may have been behind other cases of regularization where no direct evidence is available to us. Using all of the known cases of irregularization in verbal inflection in the West Germanic languages as data, I will discuss the plausibility of this account and compare it with other possible explanations for the poorly understood phenomenon of regularization.

References


An Intermediate Position of Yiddish within the Germanic Languages: Evidence from Word Order

In this paper, some aspects of the Germanic word order will be explored to give a typological classification of Yiddish. In this respect, it will be shown that this language cannot be fully placed in either major branch of the Germanic languages (Scandinavian versus West Germanic languages, respectively VO and OV languages) but must be placed on an intermediate level.

The study of Yiddish word order phenomena has shown evidence for the VO order (Santorini 1993, Diesing 1997) as for the OV order (Haider & Rosengren 1998, 2003, Vikner 2001, 2006) but has not led to a satisfactory conclusion in this respect. Indeed, like the other Germanic languages (except for modern English), Yiddish shows the so-called V2 phenomenon. This phenomenon is not limited to matrix clauses as in the West Germanic languages, it is generalized: in all types of clause, the finite verb is placed in front, the object is parallel to that of Yiddish. Moreover, the unmarked Yiddish word order seems to be of SVO type (e.g. 94% VO clauses in Santorini (1993)'s corpus). This is also the case for the Scandinavian but not for the West Germanic languages. This state of affairs thus favors a placement of Yiddish in the Scandinavian branch.

However, the data concerning other word order phenomena contradicts this hypothesis. First, the Germanic languages exhibit a major difference in the placement of the object arguments. On the one hand, the Scandinavian languages are subject to the Object Shift phenomenon (Holmberg 1986): objects permute with adverbs on condition that they follow the lexical verb. On the other hand, the West Germanic languages are characterized by the occurrence of Scrambling (Ross 1967): the dependents of the verb are freely ordered in their topological field. The Yiddish data shows that there are no restrictions on the placement of objects related to the position of the lexical verb. It seems rather that the elements occurring after the finite verb are freely ordered in a similar way to German. Secondly, the behavior of particle verbs in Yiddish is parallel to German. When the main part of the verb is fronted, the particle occurs after the verb while the particle always precedes the verb, when they are attached.

To sum up, Yiddish exhibits ‘left periphery’ phenomena that lead us to classify the language in the Scandinavian branch while its ‘right periphery’ phenomena are similar to the ones characterizing the West Germanic languages. I will demonstrate that although Yiddish exhibited an OV order - similar to West Germanic languages - in earlier stages, the language is subject to an evolution that seems to lead to a VO order, closer to Scandinavian languages. As for the present stage, I will argue that Yiddish is a semi-free word order language with two major constraints: i. the fronted position for the finite verb and ii. the precedence of the governing verb over the governed verb in complex constructions involving more than two verbs.

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The inspiration for this paper comes from Uriel Weinreich, specifically his “Yiddish and Colonial German: The Differential Impact of Slavic.” However, I will diverge from Uriel’s path and compare the Slavic components of Yiddish and standard, not colonial, German.

There is no doubt that Yiddish, especially east European Yiddish, has been far more heavily influenced by Slavic than German has, for a host of obvious reasons. However, German has not been immune to Slavic influence either. One important area of Slavic influence on German has been in proper names, in particular place names, both in solid Slavic-speaking areas as well as in current and former German-speaking regions that were previously Slavic. It seems that one generalization about the Yiddish and German treatment of Slavic-origin names respectively is that Yiddish assimilates the Slavic material far more than German does. For comparison’s sake, Slavic-origin material from other non-Slavic languages such as Hungarian and Rumanian will also be adduced. One complication is that the Slavic material drawn from several different languages, primarily Polish, Ukrainian, and Belarussian, occasionally Russian, Czech and Slovak. A further complication is that Yiddish is likely to have acquired certain Slavic place names through the mediation of German (see Edward Stankiewicz, “Yiddish Place Names in Poland,” The Field of Yiddish, 2nd collection, 1965). A number of common nouns will be discussed as well, especially in reference to stress patterns (see Eugene Green, “On Accentual Variants in the Slavic Component of Yiddish,” The Field of Yiddish, 3rd collection, 1969).

German mediation between Slavic and Yiddish is presumably more likely the further west one looks in east Europe; while there were German colonists throughout the region, including some quite far east, the easternmost colonies are generally more recent than the Jewish settlements. In Poland, Galicia, Bukovina, Slovakia and Hungary, Germans likely preceded Jews; in Ukraine under the Russian Empire, Belarus, and Moldova (historical Bessarabia), Jews probably preceded Germans. One curious case of the interplay between Slavic, German and Yiddish is that of German Czernowitz, Yiddish Tshernevits (both with initial stress), Ukrainian Chernivtsi and Russian Chernovtsi (both with final stress), part of Austria from the 18th century until World War I, of Rumania between the wars and of Ukraine since World War II. It is likely that the Yiddish name derives from the German and the German name is a result of reshaping to deal with a difficult-to-pronounce Slavic name. However, German retains, or appears to retain, a full unstressed penultimate vowel, whereas the Yiddish name (the spelling notwithstanding) has a reduced unstressed vowel. The initial stress of the German and Yiddish names also contrasts with the final stress in the Ukrainian and Russian forms. The Russian vowels imply that Russian is the most likely source for German and Yiddish.

Even more curious is the name of another town about 100 miles to the east of Chernivtsi - a town called Chernivtsi, with penultimate stress, in Ukrainian and Kleyn-tshernevits in Yiddish. Yiddish must either have transferred the same name to a town with a similar, but not identical, name in Ukrainian or else borrowed both names from Russian, directly or indirectly. (We can assume that German did not play a role in the latter case.) Which means that Yiddish undergoes a similar process as in German, but takes it one step further. It also buttresses an argument I have made in another context, that Russian may have influenced Yiddish more than is generally recognized.
An explanation for the rs > rʃ change in Early New High German

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In the history of German the contrast between /s/ and /ʃ/ was neutralized to /ʃ/ after /r/, e.g. M(idle)H(igh)G(erman) kirse > M(odern) S(tandard) G(erman) Kirsche ‘cherry’. According to Schirmunski (1962: 363) there are numerous dialects (e.g. Hessian), in which this was a regular sound change which affected every /s/ after every /r/, e.g. Hessian ferʃ (cf. MSG Vers ‘verse’), worʃ (cf. MSG Wurst ‘sausage’). Schirmunski also notes that Hessian (and other dialects) apply the rule to inflectional /s/ as well, e.g. ins Millerʃ (cf. MSG zu Müllers).

Any analysis of the regular sound change rs > rʃ needs to answer (at least) the following two questions: (a) Why did /s/ change after /r/ and not after other segments (e.g. laterals, nasals, stops)?; and (b) Why was /s/ the only sound that changed after /r/, while other sounds (stops, affricates, fricatives other than /s/, nasals and /l/) did not change?

In this presentation I argue that both of the questions posed above derive simple answers given certain assumptions in distinctive feature theory and Autosegmental Phonology. Consider the following representations for three separate historical stages:

(1) Three stages in the historical development of rs > rʃ:

```
(1) r s > r s > rʃ
   [+son] [-son] [+son] [-son] [+son] [-son]
   [+cons] [+cons] [+cons] [+cons] [+cons] [+cons]
```

The leftmost structure in (1) represents the earliest historical stage (=MHG). Crucially, /r/ and all fricatives are [+cont] and this feature is situated on its own tier. Following earlier work on MSG, the contrast between /s/ and /ʃ/ requires [high] and not [anterior] (e.g. Wiese 1991); thus, /ʃ/ and velars are [+high] and all other consonants are [-high]. In the first stage OCP violations involving [+cont] and [-high] are tolerated, but in the next stage a strict ban is imposed on adjacent [+cont] segments, thereby motivating the merger of the two [+cont] features into one. In the third stage (=Early New High German) the grammar extends the OCP to the feature [-high], but instead of repairing the violation by merger, the language resolves it with a dissimilation rule, according to which the [-high] /s/ becomes the [+high] /ʃ/, but only after a [-high] segment which shares [+cont] with the following sound. Note that all /r/ sounds are [-high], i.e. alveolar /r/ and uvular /ɾ/, thereby accounting for the fact that dissimilation occurred after either rhotic.

How does the analysis in (1) fare with respect to questions (a)-(b)? First, /s/ changed after /r/ and not after /l/, nasals or stops because only /r/ is [+cont]. Second, only /s/ as opposed to stops, nasals and /l/, could undergo dissimilation because only /rs/ sequences merged [+cont]. (Affricates were unaffected by the merger because these sounds are strident stops unmarked for [+cont]). The reason other fricatives after /r/ did not receive [+high] at the third stage follows from Structure Preservation (Kiparsky 1985): The /ʃ/ in /rʃ/ did not become [+high] because a [+high] /ʃ/ is a palatalized sound (i.e. /ʃ/), which is not in the segmental inventory of any dialect. (rʃ/ did not have to change because /ʃ/ is already [+high]). The preceding explanation also accounts for why fricative plus /r/ sequences (e.g. /frʃ/) did not undergo any change, even though these sequences underwent the merger at the second stage: /r/ in /frʃ/ did not become [+high] because the language did not allow palatalized rhotics.

References
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The German Language in California:  
from the pre-Gold Rush era to Post-World War I

Linguistically speaking, the state of California is a lacuna on a map of German-American research efforts. Whereas the traditional areas of German settlement in the Mid-Atlantic, Midwest and the South (particularly Texas) have attracted the interest of many scholars, California remains the “last frontier” in linguistic research. However, the heritage of German-speaking immigrants to the Pacific Rim is rich and long. It roughly starts in the late 1830s with the Swiss-German John Sutter and his founding of the fort *New Helvetia* (present day Sacramento), and continues until today.

In order to understand that the starting point of the German language in California differs in several respects from other parts of the United States, I will reconstruct the socio-historical framework of the immigrant society on the Pacific coast. Almost no linguistically focused documentation is available for the period preceding and immediately after the discovery of gold in California. In order to bridge this gap, I intend to consult archival documents such as pioneer diaries, travel handbooks and letters, most of them written in the German language. These documents display a rich source not only for the different types of language contact situations in early California history, but also give us an idea of specific American varieties of the German language, such as the technical language used by German-speaking gold-diggers in the mining camps.

For subsequent years, census data and vital statistics make it possible to identify various historical and social variables, for instance the immigration background and numbers of inter-marriages, that influenced the stability of German from the end of the Gold Rush to the most fateful period for the German language in the United States—the period during and following World War I.

This analysis will identify the different linguistic milieux for German in Northern California and the urban environment of San Francisco, as well as the primarily rural settlements in Central and Southern California with its Spanish-English diglossia, which German immigrants were exposed to. The efforts and capabilities of language loyalists and ethnic institutions such as schools (basic and higher education), churches, clubs and the German press in California for promoting and maintaining the language, will be evaluated in contrast to American nativist movements and governmental endeavors of assimilation and elimination of the German tongue. The goal is to recognize and connect language contact, shift and loss to the peculiarities of California’s settlement history.

This study is the first of its kind for the German language in California, and intends to demonstrate the importance of socio-historical settings for the maintenance and loss of an immigrant language.
A phonological explanation of an ‘impossible’ change in Frisian

In her book *Evolutionary Phonology* (2004) Blevins claims that there is (practically) no phonology in synchronic systems. Phonological patterns occurring in synchronic systems are to be explained in terms of phonetic factors driving *language change*. In a few recent papers (full references will be given at my talk) Kiparsky has shown that this view leads to undesirable consequences; it predicts the existence of patterns that are never attested. In this paper I want to address Blevin’s claim from a different perspective. I want to discuss a change that does not make sense phonetically. Phonologically, however, it does.

In the 16th century the mid vowels of Frisian changed into rising diphthongs (van der Meer (1985). Thus, the mid vowels [e:], [o:], for instance, changed to [ie], [uo]. In the course of this change the beginning of the vowel was *raised*, whereas the ending maintained its height. This means that the mid vowels developed into diphthongs of *rising sonority*. This is remarkable. Normally, sonority decreases *at the end* of a long vowel, because the second half of a long vowel is weak. Weakening processes, like reduction of sonority, apply in weak positions, not in strong positions. Yet, the latter seems to have happened in Frisian. It is impossible to solve this problem by saying that in Frisian the rightmost mora of a syllable was strong, as I will show in my talk (the argument is based on the existence of postvocalic moraic consonants in this language). The Frisian process, then, seems to be an impossible change. In a strong position *strengthening* processes should apply (diphthongization of the type [i:] > [ei], for instance), not weakening processes.

I propose that, in fact, the rule of Frisian is indeed strengthening of a strong position. This position is strengthened in the sense that it acquires an additional vocalic place node. Thus, when [e:] changes to [ie], the following happens phonologically:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[e:]</th>
<th>[ie]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v v</td>
<td>v v</td>
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<td>\ /</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>V v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ \</td>
<td>\ /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I v</td>
<td>I v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The new vocalic place node is written with a capital letter. Instead of the traditional place features I use van der Hulst’s elements. In this model the V-element at the place node expresses lowering (‘I’ expresses palatality).

Now we can explain the preference of strong positions for high sonority with the following requirement: ‘Strong positions should have more V-elements than their satellite’. I call this constraint the ‘Complexity Condition’. This condition can also explain the preference of weak positions for low sonority. In this analysis Frisian diphthongization makes perfect sense. Phonologically, it is a strengthening process operating in a strong position, even though the strengthened segment is phonetically raised! The change from [e:] to [ie] is an improvement from the perspective of the Complexity Condition. Before the change the strong position of the long vowel (the first timing unit) has the same number of V-elements (namely 2). After the change, however, it has more V-elements; the satellite has 2 V-elements, and the strong position has 3.

If strength is properly measured, in terms of abstract V-elements, Frisian Diphthongization makes perfect sense as a strengthening process. On the other hand, if it is measured in terms of superficial features, like the ordinary height features, the process does not make any sense at all. If we would do that we would have to recognize the existence of weakening processes operating in strong positions. This, then, shows that autonomous phonology not only exists, but that it also operates in terms of quite abstract features (elements that reoccur at various levels in the segment).
On the Role of Cities in Dialect Continua: The Case of Early Modern Amsterdam

Traditional dialectology has provided us with detailed maps of transitions from one dialect to the next along the entire continental Germanic dialect continuum, a contribution of inestimable value to our understanding of the history of German, Frisian and Dutch. One salient and poorly understood feature of this dialect continuum is the peculiar position of cities in relation to the distribution of isoglosses. In virtually every instance, cities and their immediate environs present a relatively homogeneous dialectal area surrounded by a tangle of isoglosses. Using the development of the urban dialect of Amsterdam in the Early Modern period, this paper investigates just why cities occupy this special place in the continental Germanic dialect continuum. We argue that the development of new urban dialects results from rapid immigration-induced urban expansion followed by intense dialect contact and subsequent koinéization, as in Kerswill and Williams (2000).

Early dialectologists interested in archaic dialect features typically avoided study of “corrupt” urban dialects, a clear recognition of the special status of these varieties. Historical linguists have shown a strong tendency to interpret expansive features of urban dialects as the result of the alleged prestige of the urban variety. Change in the urban varieties is seen as originating in the elite urban classes and then spread to speakers of lower socio-economic classes as they attempt to gain the prestige variety of the elite groups (cf. Kloeke 1927). This paper rejects this type of analysis, instead attributing innovations in the urban varieties to interactions among speakers of immigrant and native dialects, the majority of whom belonged to the lower socio-economic strata.

The development of the Amsterdam city dialect is traced through the 16th and 17th centuries as the city grows from a small city of 14,000 inhabitants to a major metropolis of 200,000. The analysis argues that there are principled reasons for the relative phonological and morphological simplicity of urban dialects compared to their rural counterparts as illustrated by the development of the Amsterdam dialect.

References


Restructuring and Reversion in Old Norse Umlaut

Much of our modern understanding of the life cycle of language change, particularly from a generative perspective, has been charted in the influential and provocative work of Paul Kiparsky. In his GLAC 11 plenary, Kiparsky (2005, 2006) tackled the issue of Old Norse umlaut, developing a novel analysis that reverses traditional chronology to fix the introduction of umlaut after the operation of some forms of syncope. He contrasts this analysis specifically with the account advanced by Iverson & Salmons (2004), who, following the conventional temporal sequencing (cf. Nielsen 2000:259-261), anchor umlaut prior to the syncopes and ascribe instances of the unexpected absence of umlaut to analogical generalizations that learners must have made after the rule’s rather abrupt phonetic demise much later.

In this paper, we evaluate Kiparsky’s criticisms in order to explain, in particular, how umlaut was retained in derived long-stem contexts like bernskr < barn + isk + R ‘childish’ but not in short-stem dansk < *dan + isk + R ‘Danish’, in long-stem weak preterits like daemda < *döm + i + ða ‘judged’ but not in short-stems like talpa < *tal + i + ða ‘told’, and before stem-internal /i/ in ketill < *katil + R ‘kettle’ NOM.SG. but not in syncopated katlar < *katil + aR NOM.PL. Throughout, the analogical changes that ensued from the morphologization of phonetically expiring umlaut cause umlauted vowels to associate morphoprosodically with long-stem words like gestr < *gest + iR < *gast + iR ‘guest’ rather than with short-stems like stadal < *stéal + iR < *stáð + iR ‘place’. This maintains the usual chronology whereby umlaut occurred prior to syncope. (For convenience, we give the dates used by Riad 1992; our concern lies not with absolute dating but with the sequencing, which is consistent with other sources as well, e.g. Gronvik 1987.) On Riad’s view, syncope began around 625 just in long-stem words, then extended to medial environments in short-stems ca. 675 and to final syllables in short-stems ca. 830. Because umlaut remained predictable in short-stem words until these later losses of trigger vowels, short stems retained, and thus surfaced, their underlying unumlauted vowels with the impending death of umlaut as a phonetic process. Underlying vowels in long stems, by contrast, restructured to umlauted variants upon the disappearance of umlaut-inducing vocalism because in these words syncope took place when umlaut was still phonetically alive, forcing generalization to the umlauted side of paradigms.

The alternative syncope-before-umlaut chronology, incompatible with this explanation, rests on a problematic reading of key evidence. In particular, the only empirical support for early final syncope in short stems is Eikeland (ca. 600) wîr < *wiwaz, a controversial interpretation even setting aside the striking loss of medial w. In fact, many analyze this word — assuming it is indeed a personal name rather than pronominal ‘we’ — as arising instead from long-stem *wiwaz (Antonsen 1975:44, Nielsen 2000:269, among others, but Schulte 1998:97-98).

The traditional umlaut-before-syncope chronology also obviates Kiparsky’s assumption that final consonants became moraic, or ‘phonologically visible’, after about 800. Indeed, finals retain their weightlessness even into modern Icelandic (Kiparsky 1984, Iverson & Kesterson 1989, Iverson 1990), whose stressed vowels are predictably long not just in open syllables (af:]kur ‘field’ vs. hardur ‘hard’) but also in monosyllables closed by a single consonant (skif:]p ‘ship’ vs. skips GEN.SG.). Singly closed monosyllables are thus open, too, if the final consonant is disregarded prosodically, as it seems to have been throughout the history of Icelandic.

We conclude that the recently reviewed interweaving of phonetic, phonological, prosodic and morphological changes in the history of Norse supports the traditional relative chronology of umlaut having taken place prior to syncope.
The processing of *wh*-questions among highly proficient L2 speakers of German

Whether or not L2 speakers can acquire L2 syntactic structures when these structures do not exist in their L1 is a central question in second language acquisition research (Frenck-Mestre & Pynte, 1997; Hoover & Dwivedi, 1997). Evidence suggests that even when L2 speakers exhibit explicit knowledge of an L2 structure, this does not mean they can use it during online processing (cf. Jiang, 2004). Other findings show that L2 speakers can develop nativelike processing strategies, although the degree to which they exhibit such strategies may depend on whether or not the particular grammatical structure is present in their L1 (cf. Juffs, 2005).

The current study employs a self-paced moving window reading task with 18 highly proficient L2 speakers of German (English L1) to address questions regarding the acquisition and use of L2 grammatical structures and what role L1 preferences play during L2 processing. The grammatical structures under investigation are *wh*-extractions, given in (1)-(4). Previous research has shown that monolingual English speakers exhibit an object-preference when processing *wh*-extractions, such that extraction from an object position is processed faster than extraction from a subject position. (cf. Juffs & Harrington, 1995). In contrast, German exhibits a subject-preference for these constructions (cf. Meng & Bader, 2000; Fanselow et al., 1999). This subject-preference in German can be traced to its robust morphology, in which grammatical roles are identified via case markings, as opposed to word order, as in English.

1) **Wen denkst du, bewunderte der Sportler nach dem Spiel?** (object-extraction; present tense)
   - *Who*<sub>ACC</sub> thinks you, admired *the athlete*<sub>NOM</sub> after the game?
   - “Who do you think admired the athlete after the game?”

2) **Wer denkst du, bewunderte den Sportler nach dem Spiel?** (subject-extraction; present tense)
   - *Who*<sub>NOM</sub> thinks you, admired *the athlete*<sub>ACC</sub> after the game?
   - “Who do you think the athlete admired after the game?”

3) **Wen hast du gedacht, bewunderte der Sportler nach dem Spiel?** (object-extraction; past-tense)
   - *Who*<sub>ACC</sub> have you thought, admired *the athlete*<sub>NOM</sub> after the game?
   - “Who did you think admired the athlete after the game?”

4) **Wer hast du gedacht, bewunderte den Sportler nach dem Spiel?** (object-extraction; past-tense)
   - *Who*<sub>NOM</sub> have you thought, admired *the athlete*<sub>ACC</sub> after the game?
   - “Who did you think the athlete admired after the game?”

Results comparing reading times for the critical region (underlined in the examples) show that the L2 German speakers exhibit a subject preference similar to that of German native speakers, suggesting that they have acquired the German case system and can use this information during online processing. Furthermore, this subject preference is not modulated by the tense of the matrix clause, indicating that the difficulty with these constructions is not due solely to the presence of two adjacent finite verbs, as suggested in Juffs (2005).
Title: Sociolinguistics on stage: Hermann Leopoldi, Vienna cabaret, and language style(s)

Hermann Leopoldi (1888-1959) was a prominent figure in the Vienna cabaret scene. His career spanned from before World War I through the inter-war period to the post-World War II period; from Vienna to the concentration camps Dachau and Buchenwald to New York and back to Vienna. Leopoldi composed numerous original musical scores, was an outstanding pianist, and was considered the most popular Viennese Klaviersänger up until the Anschluss. In his repertoire Leopoldi sang of the Vienna of his times—from high culture to low culture, from elegance to drunkenness, romance, nostalgia, money problems, vacation excursions. In these songs Leopoldi displayed a remarkable sensitivity to the sociolinguistics of each situation, relating to social class, gender, (Viennese urban) geography, ethnicity, and more. His collective repertoire thus may be used as a textbook body of data for a sociolinguistic investigation of the German language in mid-20th century Vienna. Leopoldi was of Jewish heritage, and born with the surname Kohn. However, the bulk of his repertoire did not touch on Jewish themes, or represent Jewish speech. At the same time, a distinct subset of his repertoire did indeed deal with Jewish themes—either overtly or covertly (Jacobs 2003); here, we can observe representations of Jewish speech—the Vienna Jewish German speech of highly assimilated, German-dominant speakers (Jacobs 1996). The goals of the present paper are the following. First, I will examine the sociolinguistics of Leopoldi’s performance styles, on the background of general sociolinguistic scholarship on Viennese German (e.g., Wodak-Leodolter & Dressler 1978; Moosmüller 1987). Data for discussion will be taken from several Leopoldi songs. (For purposes of comparison, brief reference will be made to a few other prominent Vienna cabaret figures—Moser, Qualtinger, Kreisler, Bronner.) Second, I will look at the representation of Jewish speech—both overt and covert—in the Jewish-themed subset of Leopoldi’s songs, and compare this to the sociolinguistics in his “general Viennese” repertoire. Here I will also present discussion of distinctions between Vienna Jewish speech and general Viennese Urban German which happens to contain significant “Jewish” elements. Third, I will discuss the possible effects of stage performance in skewing the sociolinguistic choices made. This paper seeks to contribute to general discussion of “premeditated sociolinguistics” in performance situations.
To date very little investigation has been done into the syntax of Northwest Germanic (NWG) beyond the level of basic description i.e. Antonsen (1975, 2002). This paper will examine the entire corpus of NWG in the Elder Futharic inscriptions from the standpoint of generative grammar and evolutionary syntax. The dataset and translations employed will be Antonsen’s (1975) unless otherwise noted. Antonsen’s dataset contains 34 clauses in NWG, in which the position of the verb can be determined, 27 noun phrases and 3 prepositional phrases. The paper will attempt to explain as much of the syntax of NWG and as many later syntactic developments as possible using this dataset.

The modern Germanic languages utilize three X-bar levels: the Verb Phrase (VP), the Inflectional Phrase (IP) and the Complementizer Phrase (CP). Paul Kiparsky has argued that Proto-Germanic utilized only one basic phrase in this hierarchy, the Verb Phrase (or the Verb Inflectional Phrase (VIP) as he calls it). I will argue that the only other phrase employed by Proto-Germanic was the Noun Phrase. I will argue that this was still the case for NWG with the exception of a recently developed Prepositional Phrase and that this basic Germanic Verb Phrase would have only Noun or Prepositional Phrases and possibly other Verb Phrases in its complement positions and adverbs in its Adjunct positions. Normal or default word order would be with Subjects in the Specifier node of the Verb Phrase, Objects in the Specifier node of the V’-bar and a single, finite verb in the Head of the Verb Phrase. Adverbs could appear in Adjunct nodes that branch off from the Verb Phrase, the V’-bar or the Head.

The older Germanic languages were heavily reliant on parataxis. Using the rare multi-clause inscriptions of NWG I will show how it relied on parataxis for conditional statements as on the Strøm Whetstone:

```
   wate hali hino horna haha skaþi haþu ligi
   Wet stone this horn, hay may-be-cut, mown-hay may-lie.
```

and relative constructions as on the Vetteland, Björkertorp and Stentoften Curse Stones i.e. the Stentoften Stone:

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   herAmAlAs Az ArAgeu welãduds
   protectionless is through-baseness of-an-insidious-death
   sA þAt bArutz
   he-who it breaks
```

Furthermore, I will outline how hypotactic constructions might have developed from these earlier strategies once the Inflectional and Complementizer Phrases had arisen.

The Noun and Prepositional Phrase, like the Verb Phrase were head-final. I will show how a Noun Phrase might have been reinterpreted as a Prepositional Phrase in Late Proto-Germanic. I will also show how later developments such as the Determiner Phrase could have resulted from reinterpretations of the Noun Phrase. The “double-definite” construction of some modern Scandinavian dialects can be accounted for in this analysis as well.

This paper will attempt to bring a more nuanced approach to the syntactic data available in the NWG corpus than has previously been done. It will show how this data can tell us much more about the evolution of Germanic syntax than has generally been thought possible using runic evidence.
Language and Identity in early Iceland

The linguistic processes pertaining to identity that the settlement of Iceland (landnám) set in motion are not widely understood. Most of the research relating to language and identity in early Iceland has been conducted from an anthropological perspective, with pragmatic and sociolinguistic issues being rarely discussed.

The settlement of Iceland was exceptional in the sense that complex and sophisticated social structures were established ab initio in a relatively short period of time. Iceland as terra nova meant that a dominant discourse was not established in the normal fashion. We are not concerned therefore with the macro issue of establishing a dominant discourse or any form of linguistic colonialism. The language of this period was instead the language of a self-defining social system in which law and society were co-terminous (vár lög ‘our law’).

This paper presents a number of solutions to the problem of understanding how an identitarian discourse may have been established in early Iceland. My main argument is that the settlement (and not colonisation) of early Iceland led to a special type of language community: an identity was established through the discourse of self-referentiality. It is claimed that this identitarian discourse was based on two main principles: grammatical and lexical variables.

One of these grammatical variables was the use of pronominal identity markers to create group indexicality. Throughout the legal code, Grágás, the Icelanders are referred to invariably as vér (‘we’), the first person pronoun being used throughout. It is not clear, however, what constitutes the vér (‘we’) and if it is contrastive in any way (is there an ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ opposition?).

An identitarian discourse may have also been established via social structures in the lexicon. With the onset of the þjóðveldi (‘commonwealth’), social relations became considerably more complex. A comprehensive set of terms was required to describe social positions that focused on the baer (‘farmstead’), godi (‘chieftain’) and þing (‘assembly’) axis. The terminology for these complex social networks is very revealing for what it tells us about how Icelanders structured their society.

This paper suggests ways in which Icelanders may have defined themselves relative to their Norwegian counterparts through the use of grammatical and lexical categories pertaining to social structures. The ultimate defeat of the self-defining society was when Iceland succumbed to the rule of Norway and the society that had been defined in terms of vár lög ‘our law’ had become íslensk lög ‘Icelandic law’.

Such an examination of the discourse of early Iceland highlights the importance of self-definition in this unique linguistic community and raises further questions regarding ethnolinguistic consciousness in early Iceland.
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University of Alabama

An Etymology of the Suffixoid -weise

Etymological entries for the German adverbial suffixoid –weise ‘-wise’ (e.g. glücklicherweise ‘fortunately’, compared to English health-wise, money-wise, etc.) are either vague on semantic history or directly state that it is unclear. This work seeks to draw diachronic connections among the various “wise” words to flesh out the extended etymology. Though the focus is semantic in nature, some commentary on morphosyntactic status is also presented. Based on the notions of heterosemy, persistence, and source structures typically associated with a diachronic grammaticalization framework, and supported by work done on semantic universals, I posit that the relevant connecting thread is the conceptual category of SEEING. Most examples are drawn from German, including the older dialects Middle High German and Old High German, but supportive evidence is also presented from the larger Germanic family, including reconstructed stages.
Synchronic and Diachronic Aspects of Verb Clusters in Pennsylvania Dutch

One of the most vexing areas of Continental West Germanic syntax involves the ordering of two or more verbal elements (“verb clusters”) in subordinate clauses. In this paper I will consider historical and modern data from Pennsylvania Dutch, an American language that developed from Palatine German dialects spoken by immigrants to eighteenth-century Pennsylvania.

The empirical focus of the paper will be on verb clusters consisting of three and four elements, exemplified in (1) and (2), respectively. Following standard practice, each verbal element is numbered sequentially, beginning with the finite verb.

(1) Du hoscht gwisst, as ich net gehe hab welle.

3 1 2
‘You knew that I didn’t want to go.’

(2) Du hoscht gwisst, as ich ne t gehe habe welle schwimme.

3 1 2 4
‘You knew that I didn’t want to go swimming.’

The thrust of the synchronic analysis of Pennsylvania Dutch verb clusters will be based on two assumptions: 1. that the finite verb (a form of the auxiliary *hawwe* ‘have’) and the modal infinitive, that is, verbal elements 1 and 2, respectively, form a single syntactic unit at the right periphery of the clause; and 2. that extraclausal infinitives (e.g., *schwimme* in the second example above) are extraposed. The descriptive rule accounting for the linear structure of verb clusters in Pennsylvania Dutch specifies that maximally one main (meaning-bearing) verb may remain within the clause.

The diachronic part of the part will include a review of reliable historical data from the major Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking regions across which lexical variation has been observed. These regions are basically coterminous with counties in southeastern Pennsylvania, especially Lehigh, Berks, Lancaster, and Lebanon. The historical data will be drawn from reliable textual sources, mainly from the nineteenth century. It will be shown that change from earlier forms of Pennsylvania Dutch to present varieties has definitely occurred, but within clear limits. The diachronic conclusions drawn will be complemented by data from the now distant German linguistic cousins of Pennsylvania Dutch, namely dialects from the Palatinate.
Prefixhood criteria and the Germanic roots of the verb-noun prosodic dichotomy in OE

(Abstract)

Donka Minkova, UCLA

The paper addresses two related areas: (a) the properties of Old English prefixes with reference to the morphological, phonological, orthographic, and semantic criteria used in studies of English prefixation (Hogg (1992), Wennerstrom (1993), Giegerich (1999), Raffelsiefen (1999), Hurrell (2001)), and (b), the origin of the difference between verbal bases and non-verbal bases with respect to prefixal stress. Prefixhood is examined in relation to morphological and semantic autonomy, allomorphy, attachability to bound roots, and phonological integrity. Applying the phonological tests of resyllabification, hiatus elimination, consonant gemination and intervocalic voicing to OE prefixed forms supports the treatment of prefixes as separate morphological domains whose phonology does not affect the phonology of the base.

Traditionally, the verb-noun prosodic split in OE is attributed to the autonomy and positional freedom of prepositional adverbs with verbs in Germanic (Campbell (1959), Kastovsky (1992), Hogg (1992), Lass (1994), Hurrell (2001)). My presentation will identify the typological and empirical difficulties of this widely accepted proposal and will offer an alternative account drawing on the prosodic behavior of verbs and adverbs in larger syntactic domains, on analogy, and on frequency.

The findings in these two areas will be applied to a constraint-based model of stressability of prefixes in Old English.
In this pilot study, we examine the use and distribution of discourse markers in the speech production data of intermediate and advanced L2 learners of German. Although there have been extensive studies over several decades on the use of discourse markers among German native speakers, including Weydt (1989), Abraham (1991), Helbig (1994), and Möllering (2004), the use, frequency, and distribution of such particles among second-language learners of German has been largely ignored. This paper investigates a sub-class of the most frequent discourse markers in German – the modal particles *auch, eben, einfach, halt, ja, mal,* and *vielleicht* – and the relationship between the use of these particles and two other variables, namely, the L2 speaker’s general proficiency level and the frequency of grammatical connectors (anaphors, conjunctions, and *da*-compounds). 12 university students from various proficiency levels were interviewed using a technique similar to that used in ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interviews, and the 25-minute interviews were recorded and transcribed. Subjects were classified according to criteria similar those of the ACTFL scale as being at the Intermediate, Advanced, or Superior proficiency levels. All tokens of modal particles in their speech production data were included in the statistical analysis along with the data on the relative frequency of anaphoric reference, subordinating and coordinating conjunctions, and *da*-compounds.

Results of this pilot study indicate that there is no significant difference in the frequency of modal particles across proficiency levels. Although the subjects with the higher proficiency levels used a wider range of modal particles at a higher rate than those at the lower proficiency levels, the difference in frequency and distribution across levels is not statistically significant. Furthermore, findings of the quantitative analysis of connectors indicates that there is a significant rise of connecting words, including subordinating and coordinating conjunctions, pronominal references, and *da*-compounds across proficiency levels, despite the relatively small increase and expansion of modal particles.

In the final section of the paper, we discuss the implications of this study for future research on interlanguage pragmatic competence, cross-linguistic L2 discourse marker use, and second language acquisition of German, focusing on the similarities and differences between connecting elements in providing discourse coherence at varying proficiency levels.

**References**


Intonational Transfer in L2 German

Accurate prosody is central to communicative success in a second language (e.g., Chun 1998, 2002; Pennington & Richards, 1986); however, classroom training often does not focus on pronunciation (e.g., Derwing & Munro 2005; Hedgcoc k & Lefkowitz 2000). An important step toward determining how to best focus on intonation is to establish both how native and nonnative speakers differ in their intonational patterns and to ascertain whether nonnative speakers are able to perceive infelicitous intonation in the L2. This investigation builds upon current research into second language pronunciation in that it focuses specifically on the acoustics of intonational phrases produced by native and nonnative speakers of German. The goal of this paper is twofold: to investigate how the intonational patterns of native and nonnative speakers of German differ in a highly monitored reading task and to determine how nonnative speakers of German perceive the use of English-like intonation when used by native speakers of German. Three main research questions guide the study:

1. How do phrase-final intonational patterns (i.e., duration of the phrase, pitch range and pitch contour) differ for native speakers of English in a highly monitored reading task in English and a comparable task in German?
2. How do phrase-final intonational patterns (i.e., duration of the phrase, pitch range and pitch contour) differ for native and nonnative speakers of German in a highly monitored reading task in German?
3. How do nonnative speakers of German perceive the use of English-like phrase-final intonation in the speech of native speakers of German?

Subjects in the study were twenty-eight native speakers of English from Western Canada in intermediate levels university German study and twenty-seven native speakers of German. All subjects in the study read a story in German. Additionally, the native speakers of English both read the same story in English and judged the reading of the story when it was told in German with English-like intonation.

Preliminary results indicate that the nonnative speakers differ greatly from the native speakers of German in their use of rising contours phrase finally. Whereas the phrase-final intonational contours of native speakers of German can be classified as restrictive turn-holding gestures, those of the nonnative speakers rise more sharply in a manner similar to activating turn-yielding gestures (e.g., Dombrowski & Niebuhr 2005). This inappropriate use of the high-rise terminal contour (i.e., “upspeak”) by nonnative speakers of German in both English and German was mirrored in perception in that they preferred this high-rise terminal contour when they judged the speech of native speakers.
Understanding German Influence on Wisconsin English:
Van Coetsem’s Stability Gradient

Hundreds of thousands of Germans migrated to Wisconsin during the nineteenth century, making up the largest group of immigrants to the state. With this large influx of immigrants, Germans came into close contact with English speakers, and as they acquired the language of their new home, these German settlers imposed structures from their native language onto English. In two previous papers, we documented a number of these German impositions in Wisconsin English in a corpus of letters spanning several generations of the Krueger family, a German immigrant family that settled near Watertown in the mid-nineteenth century. Their letters contain clear examples of German influence on English even as late as the third and fourth generations, and we have shown that some of these impositions became incorporated into the variety of English and can still be found in Wisconsin today.

In his theory on language contact, Van Coetsem proposes that stability is one of the primary factors influencing the forms speakers impose. He organizes the various components of language along a continuum of inherent stability, based on their structuredness and frequency (Van Coetsem 2000:105-34). In addition to these two primary factors in stability, Van Coetsem also lists some subsidiary determinants including affinity, language consciousness, and markedness. All of these factors interact with one another to produce a total stability that is then unique to each language contact situation. Van Coetsem asserts that while they are learning and speaking the language of their new home, non-native speakers impose the more stable components of their native language onto the new language (Van Coetsem 2000:75).

Our data reveal that the more structured impositions from German remain in the Wisconsin variety of English, such as those based on articulation, which Van Coetsem suggests is one of the most stable domains of language. For example, evidence that final fortition remained for generations in this variety is revealed in the misspellings of fourth generation speakers, such as “twelf” for twelve and “thinks” for things (Krueger Family Papers: Slides 446-48, 482-83). In this paper, we examine the impositions that remain in these speakers’ variety of English from the perspective of Van Coetsem’s stability gradient, providing an account for their maintenance based on the stability factors in the Wisconsin context.

References

Comparative Coordination vs. Comparative Subordination
A Dependency Grammar Analysis

Comparative than-clauses can at times appear clause-internally. At other times, however, they may not. The phenomenon is consistent across English and German.

(1) a. More beer than you can drink, certainly nobody can drink.
(2) a. *More women than men drank beer drank beer.
(3) a. weil mehr Bier als du trinken kannst, niemand trinken kann
(4) a. *weil mehr Frauen als Männer Bier getrunken haben, Bier getrunken haben

The phrasal versions of these structures are, however, all possible:

(1) b. More beer than you, certainly nobody can drink.
(2) b. More women than men drank beer.
(3) b. weil mehr Bier als du niemand trinken kann
(4) b. weil mehr Frauen als Männer Bier getrunken haben

If one assumes that the syntax of comparatives involves both subordination and coordination, as Hankamer (1973) and Napoli (1983) do, these data can be predicted. The relevant rule expressed in a dependency grammar framework is as follows: THE ROOT OF THE CONTRASTING EXPRESSION IN THE MATRIX CLAUSE MAY NOT HEAD THE THAN-EXPRESSION. This rule forces a coordination analysis, as opposed to a subordination analysis, of (2a, 4a) and (2b, 4b), and in so doing, it predicts the associated grammaticality judgments. Full clauses cannot be coordinated with NPs.

A related phenomenon occurs with the following clause-internal than-phrases:

(5) a. More often he has drunk wine than beer at parties.
   b. *More often he than she has drunk wine at parties.
(6) a. Mehr Leute haben Wein als Bier getrunken.
   b. *Öfter haben die Frauen als die Männer Bier getrunken.

The a-sentences have the than-phrases immediately following the contrasting object NP, whereas the b-sentences have it immediately following the contrasting subject NP. The contrast in grammaticality is predicted by the following rule: THE COMPARATIVE GOVERNOR MOST SCOPE OVER THE COORDINATE STRUCTURE. The comparative governor is more/mehr. According to this rule, the a-sentences are fine because the comparative governors more and mehr – which in a dependency grammar framework are daughters of the adverbs often and öfter respectively – can scope over the coordinated object NPs. In contrast, the same governors in the b-sentences cannot scope over coordinated subject NPs. The ability of a governor to scope over a coordinate structure is determined by a hierarchy of grammatical relations, e.g. subjects can scope over objects, but not vice versa.

While the phenomena above have been noted in the literature, e.g. Pinkham (1984) and Lechner (2002), a principled explanation is still wanting. The dependency grammar account just outlined fills the void.
The reconstruction of i-stems has proven very problematic in Germanic languages. From an Indo-European point of view, all i-stem nouns should inflect identically. Yet, unexpectedly, the masculine i-stem nouns behave differently from the corresponding feminines in all Germanic languages.

The problematic forms are the masculine genitive and dative singulars since practically all languages maintain the original endings for plurals, or have replaced them in the historical period. None of the languages can be shown to have preserved the original i-stem inflection. The problems can be identified as follows:

1) Adoption of a-stem endings in the i-stem inflection in the masculine forms, and its chronology
2) Old Norse i-stem genitive singular ending -ar and the status of form vetterges 'nothing', gen.sg.
3) Old Saxon i-stem masculine dative singular in -i
4) Old Norse zero ending for i-stem dative singular

In conjunction with the masculine i-stem endings, I will analyze the development of the corresponding feminines which themselves are not problem-free.

I will discuss the Germanic i-stems in parallel with a similar development in Sanskrit which has also developed similar secondary difference between masculines and neuters. I will present a model how to account for the "leakage" of a-stem endings to the i-stem inflection. I will argue that the confusion of the two paradigms can be analyzed in terms of phonological and morphological factors. The phonological factors are well-known in the literature, but the morphological relationships between the two stem classes have not been emphasized sufficiently. I argue that one of the major contributing factors is the semantic closeness of the prototypical members of these stem classes since both categories typically are used to derive various verbal nouns.
This study investigates the theory of a pluricentric standard German language from an empirical perspective and with a particular focus on the lexicon. Specifically, I analyze how native speakers of German in Austria (n=115), and in two regions of Germany (n=105), rated the frequency of use, pleasantness, and standardness of 36 lexical items designated—by dictionaries of the Austrian and German standard varieties and the newly published Dictionary of Variants of the German Language—as representing either Austrian Standard German (henceforth ASG) or German Standard German (henceforth GSG). All lexical items were presented in written form, randomized, and rated in three separate rating cycles on Likert scales. Analyses consider speaker characteristics, i.e., nationality, regional origin, age, level of education, mobility, and degree of linguistic training; and characteristics of the lexical items, i.e., Austrian or German affiliation, semantic properties, orthographic form, and language political use. After initial quantitative analyses, results were augmented with responses to open-ended questions, which asked respondents to (a) describe associations with ASG and GSG in general as well as with specific words of the two varieties; (b) suggest explanations for select findings from quantitative analyses; (c) express opinions about the general status of ASG vis-à-vis GSG; and (d) elaborate on their attitudes toward the geographic-situational use of the two national varieties.

Numerous significant findings came to light, foremost, in clear support for the up-to-now only theorized pluricentric perception of German among native speakers. Austrian respondents are more likely to consider the ASG items as standard; national provenance (i.e., Austrian or German) alone accounts for 74% of all variation in the standardness ratings of the ASG words, and correlation analyses indicate a statistically significant positive correlation between the variable Austrian national origin and ratings of standardness for the ASG words. Furthermore, German subjects’ regional provenance (from north/central or southern Germany) interacts with ratings of the use and likeability, but not the standardness of the ASG items. Southern subjects report using and liking the ASG items significantly more than the North/Central Germans, yet the data clearly show that both groups agree on their perceptions of the standardness of the GSG words as compared to the non-standardness of the ASG items. Responses from the open-ended questions underscore the quantitative data, indicating that German subjects generally regard Austrian German words as colloquial (“umgangsprechlich”) or dialectal (“Dialekt”), including those ASG lexical items that the Austrians rated highest for standardness. The Austrians consistently comment on the unpleasantness (e.g., “gespreizt”) and avoidance of salient GSG words, but not on the non-standardness of specific ASG words. In conclusion, by showing that Austrians perceive their national variety, as represented by these 36 lexical items, as equally standard to GSG, my study provides empirical evidence for the pluricentricity of German.
On the Gotica of Ernst Ebbinghaus

Ernst Ebbinghaus (1926-1995) was one of the world’s foremost scholars of Gothic. He prepared four of the later editions of Wilhelm Braune’s Gotische Grammatik, one of the standard handbooks in the field, continued the Bibliographica Gotica originated by Fernand Mossé, and published a wide range of articles on Gothic topics. The recent publication of a volume of his selected writings on Gothic (Ebbinghaus 2003) suggests that the time is right for an assessment of his contributions to Gothic studies and his position in the history of the field. This paper offers such an assessment, beginning with a discussion of Ebbinghaus’ Gothic work and then examining its reception, with an eye to situating this work in its larger historiographical context.

Ebbinghaus worked on a number of areas of Gothic studies, most prominently paleography and etymology. He proposed new readings for a number of forms in the Gothic manuscripts, as well as new etymologies for numerous Gothic words (most famously böka ‘book’, where he rejected the traditional etymology in favor of a substrate explanation). However, the reception of his work was mixed; as Liberman (1997: 117) noted, “[a]ll scholars of Medieval Germanic have Ebbinghaus’ books on their shelves, but his articles are read by few.” The discrepancy is striking: if Ebbinghaus’ longer contributions were recognized, why were his shorter publications neglected? I would attribute this development to two main factors. First, Ebbinghaus’ attitude was off-putting. He apparently viewed himself as one of a very few survivors of an earlier, better scholarly era. His published work often laments what he saw as a decline in educational standards, and Ebbinghaus was often harshly critical of other scholars and their work. He seems to have had relatively few students and tense relations with many of his colleagues, presumably at least partially because of his critical attitude. Secondly, and more importantly, Ebbinghaus remained committed to a strictly Neogrammarian model of language and linguistics. Unlike scholars like Leonard Bloomfield, who successfully synthesized Neogrammarian principles with more current theoretical ideas, Ebbinghaus clung to the Neogrammarian principles ideas in him during his time as a student. Ebbinghaus’ negative attitude towards others in the field and his stubborn adherence to an obsolete view of language and linguistics combined to impact the reception of his work negatively. His books presumably found wider circulation because they were the best available at the time, and Germanic linguists therefore could not afford to neglect them. The majority of his shorter articles, however, could be neglected, and apparently often were. Moreover, as newer editions of both Braune’s Gotische Grammatik and the Bibliographica Gotica not prepared by Ebbinghaus have appeared in recent years, Ebbinghaus’ longer contributions to historical Germanic linguistics may also be in danger of being forgotten.

References
Any study of the language found in the Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (KHM) should take into account Jacob Grimm’s monumental and foundational *Deutsche Grammatik*, written (obviously) at the same time that editorial work was proceeding on the fairy tale collection. In this talk I demonstrate this transparent but normally neglected point on the basis of pronouns of address used for (singular) other persons, both historically and in the tales.

In his historically oriented German(ic) grammar, Jacob Grimm distinguishes four stages of singular-address systems in the history of the German language (ignoring possible capitalizations):

1) *du* alone
2) *du* and *ihr*
3) *du*, *ihr*, *er* (singular), *sie* (singular)
4) *du*, *ihr*, *er* (singular), *sie* (singular), *sie* (plural)

If one were to add to this the stage found in Standard German of today (and really in Grimm’s time already), we would have a fifth stage:

5) *du*, *sie* (plural)

The choice of which pronoun to use at any given point, except in stage 1, depended and depends on complicated systems involving degrees of intimacy, formality, social standing, respect or disrespect, and even anger on the part of the speaker with regard to the addressee. Grimm notes that stage 2 basically lasted from the High Middle Ages until the early 17th century, when it was gradually replaced by system 3. System 4 (quickly followed by 5) appeared at the end of the 17th century, thus about 50 years before Jacob wrote his grammar. Jacob obviously heartily disapproved of the addition of *sie* plural to the mix.

A comprehensive study of the tales reveals much about the Grimms’ linguistic biases, and also clearly places the majority of them at stage two. There are only three tokens of *sie* plural in all of the tales, and *er/sie* singular is found in a rather restricted way, mainly when commoners address each other politely (and even then *ihr* is much more common). Tales involving aristocracy and/or magic adhere quite strictly to the *du/ihr* system, with rules reminiscent of those Jacob gives for the Middle High German period. I give some evidence that “folk” tales, involving primarily or only commoners, follow a different, and historically later, *du/ihr* system than these other, “elevated,” tales (which include most of the best-known ones).
Inflectional Parallelism Within Lexical Categories in German

**Background:** There are two much-discussed generalizations of the German noun phrase involving the strong-weak alternation of endings (see, among many others, Duden IV, 1995: pp. 277):

I. The ending on the determiner and the strong ending on the adjective are the same (identity)

II. A weak ending on an adjective is preceded by a strong ending on a determiner (asymmetry)

Besides the well-known exceptions involving *ein* ‘a’ in the nominative masculine and the nominative/accusative neuter as well as adjectives in the genitive masculine/neuter (but see Roehrs 2006 for a different view), Schlenker (1999: 119) discusses another interesting case that involves adjectives in the dative masculine (and neuter) where a weak adjective may follow a strong one as in (1a) (cf. also Gallmann 1996: 296 and Demske 2001: 53). This is not expected under generalization II. Furthermore, the “expected” pattern in (1b) is only fully acceptable to some but not all speakers:

(1) a. mit gutem                 roten             Wein    (German) with good(STRONG) red(WEAK) wine
   b.?/OK mit   gutem                 rotem            Wein

Employing the morphological mechanism of Fission (Halle and Marantz 1994), Schlenker (1999: 124) proposes that the endings on determiners are [+Fission], the endings on adjectives (except for –*em*) are [-Fission], and the adjectival ending –*em* is [+Fission], which, at least for some speakers, must be an optional feature (cf. (1b)). Simplified, the net result of the proposal is that endings marked [+Fission] will bring about a weak ending on the following element, accounting for generalization II and the data in (1).

**Questions:** While I agree with the data in (1), a number of questions arise: (i) why is –*em* the only adjectival ending marked [+Fission] (and not, e.g., also plural –e: *gute rote(n) Weine* ‘good red wines’), and (ii) why is it –*em* that has this marking (and not, e.g., –*er* instead: *guter rote(r) Wein*? Beside these potential quantitative and qualitative issues, Schlenker’s proposal seems to give up generalization I, according to which the strong endings on determiners and adjectives are the same: rather than one type of strong ending, we now have three (determiner ending, adjectival ending [except –*em*], adjectival –*em*).

**Proposal I:** In order to explain the data in (1), while keeping both generalizations intact, I propose a phonetic account. Note that strong –*em* and weak –*en* are the only co-occurring inflections that basically share all the phonetic features except place of articulation. In view of this fact, I propose the following phonetic rule (where I abstract away from the issue of schwa-insertion):

(2) \[ R_1: m \rightarrow n / \sigma [... ] +(_{\text{a}}) # \] (where R1 is oblig. or optional for speakers)

In words, the rule applies to certain inflections of (at least) disyllabic words. This then not only explains the restrictedness to –*em*, but also the change to –*en*, which involves a less marked place of articulation.

**Prediction:** If this were the only rule, we would also expect –*en* to be followed by –*em* or by –*en*, which is not true (3a-b). Interestingly, nasal inflections have less sharp judgments than non-nasal endings (4a-b):

(4) a. * gute roter Wein   b. * gute rote Wein

Comparing (1) to (3), it appears then as if the strong ending has to come first, which, in turn, might imply a proposal involving a structural component (and not just a phonetic rule). However, nominals with a structure different from garden-variety noun phrases (cf. Leu 2005) exhibit a similar phenomenon:

(5) a. mit jemandem (?anderem / anderen with somebody(STRONG) different(STRONG) / different(WEAK)
   b. mit jemanden ??anderem / ?anderen

**Proposal II:** I propose that there are two mechanisms that account for generalization II: in general, the distribution of strong inflections follows from a structural proposal (e.g., Roehrs 2006). This explains the sharp judgments for non-nasal inflections. The less sharp judgments for the nasal endings are also due to this structural account but are “masked” by additional mechanisms, namely the “optional” phonetic rule in (2) “constrained” by a presumably non-linguistic component (in a narrow sense) that allows for easier processing if the strong ending appears earliest (i.e., left-most) in the noun phrase. To be clear, then, the left-right asymmetry of generalization II has two overlapping mechanisms, however, of a different kind. More generally, in the course of the discussion, generalization II will be sharpened.
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Case syncretism in Texas German: On the way to one all-purpose case?

Texas German is a current example of a language in crisis and has been denoted a moribund dialect by recent scholars. It is not expected to survive into the second half of the century and is exhibiting structural signs of attrition in all Texas German communities. This paper will focus on one of the structural changes indicative of language shift, namely morphological reduction of the case system, and will examine the extreme case syncretism which seems to be occurring in Texas German—a general obsolescence of all cases except the nominative.

Case syncretism has been well-researched in the various non-standard German varieties spoken in the United States (Huffines, 1987, 1989; Born 1994; Van Ness, 1996; etc.). In studies of Texas German, Fred Eikel noted this reduction as early as 1949 in New Braunfels, and Gilbert (1965) identified a “new” common object case in his studies in South-Central Texas in the 1960’s. New data collected since 2000 suggests a further reduction in progress.

To form a basis for comparison, I review past research conducted by scholars who have substantiated the general loss of the dative and genitive case in Texas German. In the wake of recent research by Boas (2003), I examine current data available from the Texas German Dialect Project based on dative prepositions such as mit as well as other constructions to extract a sample of dative markers for comparison with previous observations. The data already examined exhibits a sampling of complete case collapse. I conclude with a discussion of internal and external causes involved in Texas German case syncretism posed in the past, but posit an additional factor involved in language shift: imperfect language learning due to inadequate exposure and input.
Geoffrey Russom  
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The metrist and the editor in Old English studies

Theories of Old English meter were formulated by German metrists like Eduard Sievers in part for research on English phonology and in part for identifying scribal errors in Old English poems, which normally survive in unique copies and cannot be evaluated by the more familiar methods that require comparison of variants in multiple copies. Sievers was especially concerned with metrical rules governing vowel length, which cannot be reconstructed from Modern English pronunciation due to regularization of syllable length in Middle English, a manifestation of Prokosch’s Law, which also applies in related Germanic languages. Recently, editor Hoyt Duggan has argued that a meter cannot be constructed reliably from unique copies. If he is right, Old English phonology rests on very shaky foundations. Judith Jefferson and Ad Putter offer a detailed refutation of Duggan’s argument, showing that unique copies of significant length provide perfectly sound evidence for well-formed hypotheses about the meter, especially if other poems in the same meter are available. The dispute is far from resolved at this point, however; and a closer look at relations between metrics and editorial practice is in order.

In this paper, I analyze use of metrical evidence in the standard edition of the Old English poetic corpus, the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (ASPR). Krapp and Dobbie, the editors of ASPR, confine remarks about meter to notes on individual lines, and they nowhere provide an explicit account of their metrical criteria. A survey of metrical observations in the notes reveals that the editors reject all but the most obvious of Sievers’s restrictions as “mere” theorizing with no legitimate authority to indict verses as they stand in the manuscript. Although well-studied poetic manuscripts like those in Classical languages exhibit significant frequencies of scribal error and no significant frequencies of metrical error by the poets, Krapp and Dobbie are inclined, given a choice, to blame defective verses on the Old English poet. Krapp and Dobbie’s quarrel with the metrists cannot be justified entirely as respect for the manuscript, however. In a surprising number of cases, the editors set aside metrical criteria because these criteria tell against emendations they would like to make on other grounds. Such insistence on freedom to speculate in defiance of metrical evidence has proved very infectious, as a recent survey of scholarship by Roy Liuzza makes clear. R. D. Fulk has argued at length against the trend as it relates to questions of dating, but a wide variety of other questions, including purely linguistic questions, should be revisited as well.
The Cause(s) of Präteritumsschwund: New data from an ENHG corpus

There are numerous explanations for the loss of the preterite tense (Präteritumsschwund) in southern dialects of German. The traditional hypothesis, going back to Reis (1891), is that the apocope of word-final -e in those dialects rendered the 3.sg. preterite homophonous with the 3.sg. present in weak verbs, necessitating the present perfect to unambiguously mark past time. An early critic is Dal (1960), who argues that the preterite did not disappear but took over the subjunctive function. More recently, Dentler (1988) proposes a semantic shift in the present perfect, Abraham and Conradie (2001) associate the rise of the present perfect with the rise of the full ‘sentence frame’, and Drinka (2004) maintains that the use of the present perfect tense with a preterite meaning was borrowed from French.

Because this change took place in Early New High German, I have undertaken a study using the Bonner Frühneuhochdeutsch-Korpus to test these hypotheses. The pilot study for this research is based on a database of 5,800 past-tense (preterite, present perfect, and pluperfect) clauses from seven 15th-century texts from the corpus. (Ultimately, the database will draw on at least twenty texts.) The verbs are tagged for tense, verb class, mood, person, number, and the presence of temporal adverbs and conjunctions. The texts are tagged for the rate of apocope, the rate of the full sentence frame, dialect, date, and sociolinguistic factors. The analyses are conducted using GoldVarb.

The initial results of the study show that the rate of the present perfect tense varies widely by verb class. As in some contemporary varieties of German, modal verbs and sein are the most likely to appear in the preterite. The highest rates of the present perfect are found with weak verbs, which would seem to confirm the traditional apocope explanation. However, three other results speak against the traditional hypothesis. First of all, strong verbs also exhibit a relatively high frequency of the present perfect, even though the present and preterite forms of these verbs remain clearly differentiated despite apocope. Secondly, some early texts have an extremely high rate of apocope but also the robust use of the preterite. Thirdly, texts from Cologne and East Middle German have low rates of apocope but robust use of the present perfect. This suggests that the relationship between apocope and Präteritumsschwund is a loose one at best.

No evidence can be found in the pilot study for Abraham & Conradie’s contention that the present perfect is used to build the full sentence frame. The rate of the present perfect is the same regardless of the rate of extraposition. Moreover, there are few instances in these texts of tun-periphrasis, another construction that yields a full sentence frame without altering meaning.

Clauses with the temporal adverb dann or the conjunction als show higher-than-expected rates of the preterite. This suggests that, as in Modern German, the preterite tense in ENHG is associated with narration. Thus far in the study, mood, person, and number have no effect on the choice of tenses.

The use of the perfect varies greatly by text; however, since in the pilot study each dialect is represented by at most one text, the effect of dialect and other sociolinguistic variables will not become clear until the whole corpus has been analyzed. Once complete, this study will be able to evaluate Drinka’s areal hypothesis, as well as Abraham’s (2004) claim that informal registers favor the present perfect.
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COMP-Trace Effects in Standard English, Belfast English and Yiddish

The main purpose of this paper is to provide an explanation for COMP-Trace effects in Standard English, Belfast English and Yiddish in terms of the lifespan of an uninterpretable Case feature. As shown in (1), Standard English exhibits subject-object asymmetry in COMP-Trace effects. Belfast English also has the same effect, as illustrated in (2). The examples in (1) and (2) indicate that when a wh-phrase moves from subject position, the overt complementizer that must be deleted. It is interesting to point out that Yiddish has a slightly different effect from those in (1) and (2). Consider (3). In Yiddish, when a wh-phrase moves from subject position, the overt complementizer az must be deleted. On the other hand, when a wh-phrase moves from object position, the overt complementizer must NOT be deleted. I propose in this paper that the different grammaticality in (1)-(3) can be explained in terms of the lifespan of a Case feature.

Before proceeding to the analysis, let us consider the relationship between Spell-Out (S-O) and a phase (PH) as explained by Chomsky (2004). In the structure PH = [α [H β]], α is the edge of PH. Chomsky (2004: 108) states that "[a] natural condition, which permits spell-out of root phrases and allows for meaningful cyclic computation, is that β must be spelled out at PH, but not the edge." Given this, consider (4), in which traces are represented as copies. In (4a, b), VPs are spelled out at vPs, while TPs are spelled out at CPs. In addition, extending Chomsky's (2001: 12) insight that "features deleted within the cyclic computation remain until the phase level," let us assume here that as soon as S-O occurs, the valued uninterpretable features residing in all copies are deleted at once and turn out to be invisible. Thus, in (4a), the Case feature of the WHSUBJ, which is valued at SPEC-v, remains visible until CP. This is because SPEC-v and SPEC-T are not spelled out until CP is constructed. In (4b), on the other hand, the Case feature of WHOBJ, which is valued in VP, does not remain visible until CP, since it is spelled out when vP is constructed. With this much as background, the definition that I will assume is: Spell-Out renders valued uninterpretable features in all copies invisible. I suggest that this feature visibility is crucial to account for the grammatical contrast in (1)-(3). Bearing the above argument in mind, let us now consider the grammatical contrast found in (1)-(3). Assuming that there are two types of complementizers, that and the null counterpart, we can obtain the structures as illustrated in (5). Note here that the Case feature of WHOBJ is valued and deleted within VP and invisible at SPEC-C, because VP is spelled out at vP, and the valued uninterpretable Case feature residing in all copies becomes invisible when S-O occurs. On the other hand, the Case feature of WHSUBJ is valued and deleted at SPEC-v and still remains at SPEC-C, since the edge of vP is not spelled out until CP. If this is on the right track, the Case feature of WHSUBJ in (5a, c, e, g) is visible at SPEC-C, whereas the one of WHOBJ in (5b, d, f, h) is invisible at SPEC-C. Given this, I propose that the overt complementizer cannot internal-Merge with an element with a Case feature. The null complementizer in Standard and Belfast English can internal-Merge an element either with or without a Case feature. The null complementizer in Yiddish, on the other hand, must internal-Merge with an element with a Case feature. To summarize, COMP-Trace effects can be treated in a principled way considering the lifespan of a Case feature.

(1) a. Who do you think (*that) t₁ saw John?  
    b. Who do you think (that) Mary saw t₁?  

(2) a. * I wonder which theory, that t₁ makes the best predictions. (Henry (1995: 120))  
    b. They asked which book, that I had chosen t₁. (Henry (1995: 120))  

(3) a. * ver, meynetsu [CP t₁ az [TP t₁ hot gekoyft dos oyo]]  
who think-2SG that has bought the car  
'Who do you think bought the car?' (Hoge (2001: 240))
b. veri meynstu [CP t_i [TP t_i hot gekoyft dos oyto]]

'Who do you think bought the car?' (Hoge (2001: 240))

c. voser oyto meynstu [CP t_i az [TP Do\void hot gekoyft]]

'Which car do you think that David bought?' (Hoge (2001: 240))

d. * voser oyto meynstu [CP t_i [TP Do\void hot gekoyft t_i]]

'Which car do you think David bought?' (Hoge (2001: 240))

(4) a. (CP(PH) WH SUBJ [C'(S-O) C [TP PH SUBJ [T [v P(PH) WH SUBJ [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]])]

b. (CP(PH) WH OBJ [C C [TP(S-O) SUBJ [T [v P(PH) WH OBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]])

(5) Standard/ Belfast English

a. * [CP PH WH SUBJ [c that] [TP PH SUBJ [T [v P WH SUBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]

b. [CP PH WH OBJ [c C [TP PH SUBJ [T [v P PH WH OBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]]

c. [CP PH WH SUBJ [c φ] [TP PH SUBJ [T [v P WH SUBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]

d. [CP PH WH OBJ [c φ] [TP PH SUBJ [T [v P WH OBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]

Yiddish

e. * [CP PH WH SUBJ [c az] [TP PH SUBJ [T [v P WH SUBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]

f. [CP PH WH OBJ [c az] [TP SUBJ [T [v P WH OBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]

g. [CP PH WH SUBJ [c φ] [TP PH SUBJ [T [v P WH SUBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]

h. * [CP PH WH OBJ [c φ] [TP SUBJ [T [v P WH OBJ [v [v [v P WH OBJ]]]]]]]

References


Onset Formation in Sanskrit and Gothic Partial Reduplications

This paper presents an OT account of the formation of syllable onsets in partial reduplications yielded by verb tense inflection in Sanskrit and Gothic. For example, NoCompOnset requires the Sanskrit verb stem *mluc- ‘go (down)’ to take the simple-onset prefix *mu-, yielding the inflected form *mumloca and the Gothic verb stem *slēp- ‘sleep’ to take the simple-onset reduplicant prefix *sai-, yielding the inflected form *saísleþ or *saízlēp. Like-sonority clusters in Sanskrit reveal the relevance of segment sequence in the base onset: the nasal-nasal-initial Sanskrit verb stem *mnā- ‘think’ takes the simple-onset reduplicant prefix *ma- to form the inflected form *mamnau. Another contrast appearing between Sanskrit /s/-clusters demonstrates that this effect is not without exception: the verb stem *skand- ‘leap, spurt’ takes the prefix *ca-, yielding inflected *caskanda, and the verb stem *sna- ‘bathe’ takes the prefix *sa-, yielding inflected *sasnau. While the Gothic deletion of /l/ in *saíslēp might be explained by sequential preference for the initial /s/, the Sanskrit data require a more complex explanation. Furthermore, the Gothic verb stem *skáid- ‘divide’ violates NoCompOnset, taking the complex-onset reduplicant prefix *skái- to form the inflected form *skáiskáiþ (cf. the simplification of /sl/ to /s/ with *slēp- above). These differences in onset cluster simplification in reduplicants are explained in an account of the markedness and faithfulness constraint rankings governing reduplications in both languages.

According to Kager (1999), because many I-O faithfulness constraints dominate certain markedness constraints but related Base-Reduplicant (B-R) faithfulness constraints (i.e., correspondence constraints) do not, it is expected that “the emergence of the unmarked” should be observable in reduplication environments. An earlier account of the partial reduplication patterns of Sanskrit and Gothic using a derivational framework (Steriade 1988) relies heavily on the assumption of extrametricality of /s/ in /sk/ clusters but not /sl/ clusters. An OT description of Sanskrit is offered by Gnanadesikan (1995), but it is incomplete and only introduced as evidence supporting her claims about cluster simplification in English L1 child phonology. Her set of sonority-sensitive constraints is improved upon by Smith (2003), who does not deal with Sanskrit. I re-examine the data presented in the earlier literature along with additional examples, and account for both Sanskrit and Gothic in an OT analysis. I begin with Sanskrit, and the resulting constraints, which are built largely on the *ONSET/X constraint family described by Smith (2003) and Anchoring-BR, also account for Gothic with minimal adjustment to the ranking. Finally, I briefly compare the two analyses for typological insight as to the relatedness of Sanskrit and Gothic as descendents of predictable “dialects” of Proto-Indo-European in terms of OT constraint ranking permutations, and then reject the necessity of extrametricality in accounting for these data.

References
Lexical Density and German Bibles: a comparative study

In the 16th Century, Martin Luther sought to make a translation of the Bible with language that was understandable to his contemporary Germans. In the late 20th and early 21st Centuries, the translation Hoffnung für Alle (hereafter HfA) has sought to fill the same niche in the German language. Both Bible works sought to make a translation that was readable to the people of the time (Hirst, 1986; Hoffnung für Alle Homepage). Neither Luther’s translation nor HfA are without their critics and controversies. Most of the linguistic criticism focuses on lexical choices in the translations, words changed, added, or deleted and their implications. Such criticisms have been leveled at both translations (Gelhaus, 1989; Wick, 2003; Wick, Rothen, Felber, 2003). While the critiques are similar, the German language has changed much since the time of Luther. One change that is particularly relevant for this study is in sentence length. According to König (1989), German sentences have gotten progressively shorter in written texts over time. In the field of Systemic Functional Linguistics, there is a measure that takes sentence length and readability into account – lexical density. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) define lexical density as the number of content words per ranked clause. Content words include all non-grammatical words, such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Ranking clauses include all independent clauses, as well as subordinate clauses that are not embedded. Embedded clauses are of a lower rank than the others and are thus not counted here. The number calculated using this lexical density is a measure of the readability of the text. The more dense the text, the more difficult it is to read. This paper compares the lexical densities of several sections of the Gospel of Matthew in Luther’s translation and in HfA.

The goal of this paper is to examine whether or not HfA is more readable than Luther’s translation at the level of lexical density. As stated above, it has been observed that sentence length has decreased over time since Luther’s time (König, 1998). Shorter sentences could be more or less dense depending on whether the number of content words has changed. Two issues will be examined here: whether or not there are differences in the lexical densities of Luther and HfA, and whether or not there has been a consistent change in sentence length following the observations of König. Direct comparison of densities for individual verses and passages shows no consistent trend of one version being denser than the other. When examined in sequence, however, the densities of both versions follow a very similar pattern. While the densities of the two texts are not identical, they do seem to increase and decrease in the same way, both over longer passages and from verse to verse. The consistency of the trend lines leads the author to believe that the number of clauses and content words was largely maintained between Luther and HfA. Sentence length, however, shows a sharp decline between Luther and HfA. Sentences average much lower in length for HfA, as predicted by König’s observation. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings.
A right-headed approach to Old English hypermetrical verse

In a recent article on the formal typology of the Old English hypermetric verse, Bredehoft (2003) has identified three principle variants of this longer verse form. This analysis, along with previous treatments of the hypermetric verse, notably Fulk (2001), Russom (1987), Bliss (1952), Pope (1942 [reprinted in 1966]), and Sievers (1893), understandably approach the meter according to the left-headed rules of Germanic prosody. This paper, however, will argue that in addition to left-headed rules governing word-stress and the placement of alliterative staves, one might also view the hypermetrical foot from right to left. In taking a right-headed approach to the hypermetric verse, one may simplify the model of these forms and produce an explanation for the variant forms of hypermetrical verses as epiphenomenal functions of properties inherent to metrical structures in general.

Several metrical traditions of Indo-European languages show a strong tendency to possess verses in which the initial portion allows greater variety in contrast to the end or cadence which is of a more fixed nature (Meillet 1923, 1935; Jakobson 1950; and Watkins 1963). Allen (1973) dubbed the same tendency in Classical verse a ‘demarcative signal,’ since the fixity of the cadence serves to demarcate the right-handed boundary of each verse or line. The same is visible in the Old English hypermetric verse (as well as in other Germanic verse forms, most notably the trimoraic penultimate syllable in skaldic dróttkvætt). The tendency toward a freer initial evidences itself, furthermore, in the greater number of syllables allowed per dip as one moves from right to left in the hypermetric (and normal) verse.

If one views metrical and rhythmic structures as alternating series of (at least) binary values, for example long vs. short, accented vs. unaccented, lift vs. dip to name a few, then we may view the hypermetric verse in terms of six alternating metrical positions filled by a binary distinction of strong and weak fillers. Strong positions contain lifts and half-lifts, whereas weak positions are prohibited from containing lifts and half-lifts. Since strong positions contain only one syllable, or its resolved sequence, and weak positions may contain multiple syllables, there is a natural prohibition against adjacent weak positions, since they would be indistinguishable from each other. Strong positions may be adjacent to one another in which situation left-headed prosodic rules then tend to subordinate the right-most strong position. The so-called “weak” hypermetric verses, those which do not begin with an alliterating lift, may be viewed as a characteristic of the freer initial and are analogous to the opening of normal Type A3 verses, but are explainable nonetheless.

Giving attention to epiphenomenal and right-headed patterns within the hypermetric verses has the benefit of explaining the distribution of “weak” and “strong” verses in the on- and off-verses of the long-line as well as their metrical patterns within the verse simultaneously, and with a minimum of rules and taxonomization.
Old English Ingressive Aspectualizers: A Structural Analysis

Old English (OE), similar to Old Saxon, Old High German, and Gothic, has a set of verbal forms that function to mark ingressive aspect. Previous studies that discuss the grammaticalization of lexical verbs into ‘auxiliary-like’ lexemes or aspectualizers tend to analyze the process in terms of semantic rather than structural change (i.e., Brinton 1988 discusses ingressive, continuative/iterative, and egressive aspectualizers in Old and Middle English; Grabow 1995 discusses egressive aspectualizers in Middle English). Therefore, in this paper I focus on the grammaticalization of ingressive aspectualizers during the Old English period, examining the structural position(s) of the aspectualizer + to-V and aspectualizer + V-ing periphrastic constructions. In my analysis, I also examine where OE ingressive aspect is base generated and where it is reanalyzed, how prefixes and word order impact structure, and the structural differences between aspectualizer + to-V and aspectualizer + V–ing.

The specific ingressive markers at which I look include: onginnan/aginnan, beginnan/begin, gin (usage is rare), fon/gefon/underfon/onfon, and tacan (usage is rare). In addition to the ingressive periphrastic examples provided by Callaway (1913), I examine the lexical and aspectual occurrences of the specific markers in The Rule of S. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version (Logeman 1888), The Gospel According to St. Matthew in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Version (Skeat 1887 [1970]), and King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care (Sweet 1871 [1930; 1934]).

In my paper I discuss all the ingressive aspectualizers mentioned above, but here I provide fōn as a representative example. Grammatical aspectualizers, including fōn, developed from lexical verbs, but the original verb and the new aspectualizer often coexist in the language. In OE, fōn is a verb of motion meaning ‘to take, grasp, seize, catch, ascend, receive, accept, assume,’ depending on the context. The earliest textual evidence of this verb patterning with an infinitive is from Ælfred’s translation of Bede: heo onfeng mynster to timbrenne. As this example demonstrates, a Noun Phrase (NP) can occur between the aspect marker and the ‘to’ infinitive. A similar example is found in Wulfstan with a bare infinitive (i.e., V-ing): ðonne fehð seo wealaf sorhful and sarigmod geomrigendum mode synna bemaenan and sarlice syfian. In addition to a NP, an adverb can occur between the ingressive marker and the infinitive: hig fengon eft to gremienne ðone . . . god (Ælf. Hept.: Judges 13.1). However, other examples demonstrate that the aspect marker and infinitive often occur together: he feng to rædene (Ælf. XXXXIV. 64). As a lexical verb, fōn is well established in OE, but textual examples of it as an aspectualizer are minimal; Callaway (1913: 280) identifies eight examples in the corpora he examines. However, the fōn example illustrates that the lexical verb has undergone a reanalysis by the language users. (During the Middle English period, textual evidence shows that fōn is established in the language not only as a lexical verb but also as an aspectualizer with an abstract, grammatical function.) Consequently, the structural location of fōn expands from the Verb Phrase (VP) to an aspectual phrase (AspP), allowing the movement of to-V or V–ing to different structural nodes.
The impact of first language vowel mergers on the acquisition of German vowels

Research has shown that learning to perceive and produce the sounds of a second language (L2) is strongly influenced by the speaker’s first language (L1). This influence manifests itself both as a foreign accent in the speaker’s L2 and/or in difficulty being able to distinguish between L2 sound contrasts not present in the L1, e.g., the German contrast between /y:/, as in führen ‘to lead’, and /u:/ as in fuhren ‘drove, pl.’ is difficult for speakers of English to learn to hear and produce. Numerous theories, including the Speech Learning Model (SLM) (Flege 1987, 1995) and the Perceptual Assimilation Model (PAM) (e.g., Best, McRoberts and Sithole 1988), have been proposed to account for difficulties in learning L2 sounds. The theories, however, have focussed extensively on difficulties learners encounter when learning individual sounds. Moreover, they typically assume a homogenous L1 ignoring the potential effect of a learner’s L1 dialect on L2 acquisition.

This paper examines one potential source of influence that the L1 may have on the L2, namely the impact of L1 vowel mergers on learning L2 vowel contrasts. In some varieties of English, vowel contrasts have come to be pronounced or heard as the same vowel, e.g. pin (/ɪ/) and pen (/ɛ/) are both often spoken as [pEn] in Utah English. This leads to the question: Can speakers of dialects with merged vowels, e.g., where /ɪ/ in pin and /ɛ/ in pen are both produced as in pen, learn to unmerge these vowels, i.e., produce and perceive them as distinct vowels when learning languages in which they are separate and distinct vowels? Since researchers have recently argued that transfer from the first language is not as direct as once thought (e.g., Bohn & Flege, 1992; Flege, 1995; Major & Kim, 1996; Jacewicz, 1999), such mergers provide an excellent test case for the role of the L1 to determine whether L1 mergers inhibit acquisition of the unmerged sounds in the L2, or whether learners can overcome their L1 mergers to produce and perceive the contrasts in the L2. Simply, we ask how do L1 mergers impact the learning of corresponding contrasts in the L2?

To answer this question, we report the results of a study examining whether speakers with the L1 mergers /ɪ/-/ɛ/, /ɛ/ (sell)/ɛ/ (sale), and/or /u/ (pool)/ʊ/ (pull)/o/ (pole) also merged the same vowel contrasts when learning German. Perceptual and production tasks were administered to determine whether subjects had any of the vowel mergers. First, subjects were asked to identify a series of English words presented to them aurally in a forced-choice task using E-Prime. For instance, if they thought they heard pin and their choices were pin and pen, they would press the key corresponding to pin. Some tokens were produced by speakers with merged vowels, while the others were produced by speakers with fully contrasting vowels. Subjects then performed the same task with phonologically similar German words containing the same vowels, e.g., zehn ‘ten’ and Sinn ‘mind’. In the production task, subjects read a list of English and German words all containing the vowels under investigation. These tokens were then played to native speakers of English and German to determine whether subjects had merged their vowels. Subsequent acoustic analysis was used to substantiate results. All subjects were university students in fifth semester German or higher.

The results of this study indicate that some subjects who had vowel mergers in their L1 often continued to struggle with the corresponding contrasts in German merging them both perceptually and productively. However, this transfer was not direct. In some cases, for instance, the default vowel in the L1, e.g., pen in the case of pin-pen, was not necessarily the same default vowel for the merger in their German productions or perceptions. Results are discussed in terms of differences between the acoustic space of English and German vowels and provide insight into the need for language instructors to be sensitive to the potential impact that students’ L1 dialect can have on learning the sound system of an L2.
The phonological conservatism of the Alemannic dialect is well known; for example, the New High German diphthongization, one of the key vowel developments marking the divergence of the Middle High German phonemic inventory from Modern Standard German, only partially expanded into Alemannic. Nonetheless, the graphemic representation of diphthongization began appearing as early as the mid-fifteenth century in cities such as Strasburg, Freiburg im Breisgau, and Basel (Moser 1929:162-3). Diphthongal representation appears consistently in official documents and publications from these cities by the mid-sixteenth century. However, these findings provide only an incomplete picture of the development; since they do not draw upon the full range of text-types produced in this period. This study makes use of a different set of source texts to give a fuller picture of the graphemic representation of diphthongization in Freiburg.

Previous studies on the graphemic representation of diphthongization in Alemannic have been based on municipal records and books, both of which were produced by people trained in an orthographic tradition which was regionally, rather than locally, oriented, with a focus on consistent representation. The orthography of private individuals during this period, on the other hand, varied significantly, depending on factors such as the writer’s level of education and the extent of his writing experience. This variability is clearly shown in a group of letters from seventeenth-century inhabitants of Freiburg. While most writers do follow the same orthographic pattern of the chancery and printers, the size and range of their graphemic inventories differ greatly. While this factor does not affect their representation of diphthongization, the two tend to correspond: the larger the graphemic inventory, the more consistent and chancery-like the orthography. Both factors are tied to the educational level of the writer, insofar as this can be determined.

The study begins with an overview of the difficulties faced by the Alemannic-speaking writers in Freiburg, who used an orthographic tradition, das gemeine Deutsch, which was based mainly on the phonology of Bavarian. The complex differences between the two dialects meant that spellings for certain vowel sounds could not be learned as a set of one-to-one correspondences, but rather had to be memorized word by word. The analysis of these differences allows for the explanation of hypercorrections in the texts, such as eüfrig for Modern Standard German eifrig, or äummer for MSG Eimer. The second part of the paper focuses on patterns of variation in vowel representation. The final section looks at the orthography of selected writers, especially the less educated ones, whose orthography, while generally regular, diverges from that of das gemeine Deutsch in some remarkable ways. This paper gives a much more detailed understanding of the representation of the NHG diphthongization by speakers of a nondiphthongizing dialect, showing especially that the transition was not as smooth and complete as previous studies have suggested.
The Geolinguistics of Middle Low German

This paper employs a geolinguistic modeling technique based on the gravity model of diffusion to explore questions related to the early emergence of a written standard for Middle Low German. The gravity model (Trudgill 1974, see also Trudgill 1986 and Chambers and Trudgill 1998) assumes that the spread of linguistic features from one community to another is related to the cumulative, direct interactions between individuals from those communities. The frequency and intensity of these interactions can be estimated using a formula that incorporates data on the population size of urban centers, the geographic distance between them, and the degree of linguistic similarity between relevant varieties. The model assumes that the language varieties of larger cities have greater influence on those of smaller cities than vice versa, that linguistic influence decreases with geographic distance, and that linguistic similarity is conducive to the adoption of linguistic features. By employing the gravity model, it is possible to calculate interaction index scores for pairs of cities which (in the absence of confounding social factors) reflect the potential for linguistic features to spread from one city to another. This geolinguistic modeling technique has been employed in studies of many contemporary varieties (e.g. Callary 1975, Bailey, Wikel, Tillery and Sand 1993, Hernández-Campoy 1999, and Boberg 2000) and has found some use in historical sociolinguistics (e.g. Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy 2002).

In this paper, historical population data are used to create a geolinguistic model for Low German speaking areas in the period from 1300 to 1600, adapting the model to account for large shifts in the size and distribution of population that occur in this time period. Many researchers have argued that written Middle Low German, following a model provided by the city of Lübeck, attained a relatively high degree of standardization prior to the early modern shift to written High German (see Foerste 1957, Sanders 1982, Peters 1983 and 1985). This relatively early onset of standardization and Lübeck’s role as a linguistic model are usually attributed to political and economic factors related to Lübeck’s economic and political position in the Hanseatic League. The model indicates that the geolinguistic situation in northern Germany, the size and location of urban centers relative to one another, would have been extremely favorable to the spread of linguistic features from Lübeck to other Low German-speaking cities and should be considered as an additional explanatory factor.

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Anatomy and the Germanic gender shift

Nouns denoting body parts present an interesting semantic field for theories of gender assignment. This paper follows the approach to gender assignment outlined in Steinmetz (1985, 1986, 2001) and Rice (2006), where two distinct default hierarchies are distinguished in the gender systems of the three-gender Germanic languages. Specifically, but ignoring here the special case of English, the hierarchy in Icelandic and Faroese is neuter > masculine > feminine, i.e. neuter is the default gender, while in the remaining languages the hierarchy is masculine > feminine > neuter, i.e. the default gender is masculine. Among other things, the two hierarchies entail differences in the assignment rules of these languages, i.e. rules that assign gender on the basis of morphological or phonetic shape (M-rules) or rules that assign gender on the basis of meaning (semantic or S-rules). Consider the following examples from Icelandic and German using gender tables as per Steinmetz (ibid):

**Icelandic (default hierarchy: neuter > masculine > feminine)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gender Assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fótur</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyra</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**German (default hierarchy: masculine > feminine > neuter)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gender Assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fuß</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohr</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we see here, in Icelandic the masculine gender of fótur is assigned by an M-rule while the neuter gender of eyra is assigned by default. In German, by contrast, the masculine gender of Fuß is assigned by default and the neuter gender of Ohr by an S-rule. Details concerning these and other assignment rules and their scope are explained in the body of the paper.

In this paper, nouns denoting body parts are examined in Icelandic (neuter default) and in three masculine-default languages: German, South Netherlandic (i.e. the three-gender variety of Netherlandic), and Yiddish. The paper goes beyond discussion of differences such as those illustrated in the above examples to examine the many instances where the genders of nouns in this semantic field reflect various anatomical groupings, e.g. glands, organs of the alimentary canal, vessels, fibrous structures (muscles, nerves, etc.), sack-like organs (e.g. bladder, stomach), different types of apertures, etc.

Thus the paper proposes to provide evidence that in these representative Germanic languages, the genders of nouns referring to body parts are not only rule-governed and predictable but in many cases also coincide with familiar anatomical categories.

References

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Doing away with weak adjectives forever

Everyone is familiar with Chomsky's Martian linguist. Now if this linguist were to confront German adjective endings (assuming that he approaches them descriptively and not historically), it seems doubtful that his analysis would involve the notion of two declensions that can, on occasions, be mixed. It seems more likely that he would postulate a single declension that undergoes certain modifications. In any case, that's the way I have been presenting these structures for the past ten years in my own teaching materials.

In this paper I show how in this approach a single set of endings is subject to modification by two simple processes, clipping and the N-change, to yield the correct results, as illustrated in the following examples.

**Clipping:** Clipping is indicated in the examples below by underlined, boldfaced italics. Clipping affects only two endings, masculine -(e)r and neuter -(e)s, and results in the deletion of these endings under two circumstances: (a) the determiner is an *ein-word*, or (b) one of these endings appears on an adjective preceded by an unclipped determiner. When adjectives are clipped, only the consonant is deleted, leaving -e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>det/adj + endings</th>
<th>clipping</th>
<th>result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guter Wein</td>
<td>guter Wein</td>
<td>guter Wein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meiner Wein</td>
<td>meine(r) Wein</td>
<td>mein Wein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meiner guter Wein</td>
<td>meine(r) guter Wein</td>
<td>mein guter Wein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dieser Wein</td>
<td>dieser Wein</td>
<td>dieser Wein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dieser guter Wein</td>
<td>dieser guter Wein</td>
<td>dieser gute Wein</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that *ein-words* are not clipped when they appear in the predicate, e.g. *Der gute Wein ist meiner.*

**N-change:** The N-change involves adding (n) to adjectives preceded by determiners in the following instances: (a) in the plural, (b) in the dative, and (c) in the genitive (where some unpreceded adjectives are also affected). If the added (n) follows a consonant, it replaces that consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>det/adj + endings</th>
<th>N-change</th>
<th>result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gute Weine</td>
<td>gute Weine</td>
<td>gute Weine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meine Weine</td>
<td>meine Weine</td>
<td>meine Weine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meine gute Weine</td>
<td>meine gute(n) Weine</td>
<td>meine guten Weine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diese Weine</td>
<td>diese Weine</td>
<td>diese Weine</td>
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<tr>
<td>diese gute Weine</td>
<td>diese gute(n) Weine</td>
<td>diese guten Weine</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>mit guter Seife</th>
<th>mit guter Seife</th>
<th>mit guter Seife</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mit meiner Seife</td>
<td>mit meiner Seife</td>
<td>mit meiner Seife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit meiner guter Seife</td>
<td>mit meiner guter(n) Seife</td>
<td>mit meiner guten Seife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mir dieser Seife</td>
<td>mit dieser Seife</td>
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<td>mit dieser Seife</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: Do not confuse the feminine dative ending with the clippable masculine -(e)r.

The paper will, of course, present more examples illustrating how this approach results in correct forms in all possible cases. The objectives of this paper are, however, not purely descriptive. The paper will also discuss various ways in which the notion of weak adjectives is theoretically questionable, not only in German but even more so in Yiddish and other continental West Germanic languages.

Nevertheless, the author believes that the German system of adjective endings is not entirely devoid of all linguistic function, and the paper will conclude with some speculations in this regard.
Shetland Vowel Mutation and the TRAP /a/-PALM /ã/ contrast in Lerwick, Shetland

This paper presents a phonological study of the speech of the Shetland Islands, the northernmost locality of the British Isles. The current language situation in Shetland may be characterised as a bidialectal continuum. At one end is a local dialect of Scots, (Shetland dialect), which displays various features of a Scandinavian influence due to earlier Viking settlements on Shetland. At the other is a form of Scottish Standard English (SSE), which is heavily influenced by the local Scots dialect. The present analysis is based on data from a recent survey, in which a judgement sample of thirteen speakers was obtained through a network model. A range of elicitation methods were utilized, including a traditional dialectological questionnaire, a minimal pairs test, a self-commutation test, sociolinguistic interviews and word lists.

The paper begins with an account of the local phenomenon of Shetland Vowel Mutation (Tait 2000, Sundkvist 2004, 2007), which stems from the local Scots dialect. It is a major realizational process that affects a large part of the vowel system, and arguably gives rise to some of the most salient characteristics of Shetland speech. The paper also looks at a form of speech towards SSE, elicited from a group of speakers from the main town of Lerwick. We investigate the contrast between TRAP /a/ and PALM /ã/, which is variable among accents of SSE (cf. e.g. Wells 1982) and constitutes one of the parameters within Abercrombie’s (1979) classic schema for classifying SSE vowel systems. We examine monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, assess the effects of final and intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters, and consider the effects of morphology and various types of morphological boundaries (root vs. word level). The results indicate that the potential for a contrast is dependent on a number of phonetic, phonological and morphological factors, and in fact point towards a pattern that differs from what is commonly reported for either Shetland dialect or accents of SSE on the Scottish mainland. It is argued that the pattern of contrast can be accounted for in relation to Shetland Vowel Mutation.

Case Attraction and Relative Clause Variation in the Old Saxon *Héliand*

This paper investigates the phenomenon of case attraction in relative clauses in the Old Saxon *Héliand*. Case attraction is the tendency of a relative pronoun to adopt the case, number, and gender of its antecedent in the matrix clause rather than the morphological features required by the syntactic environment of the relative clause. Although case attraction has been discussed specifically by Lenerz (1984) and more recently by Pittner (1995) and Janko (2001) for Old High German and by Hock (1991) for early Germanic in general, extensive data from Old Saxon have not been included in this discussion. Because of the high number and wide and variable use of different relative clause types in the *Héliand*, an analysis of case attraction in Old Saxon provides interesting data for comparison with previous studies of relative clauses in Germanic.

The first portion of the paper involves a quantitative analysis of relative clause variation in Old Saxon. As is evident from descriptive analyses from Behaghel (1897) and Holthausen (1900), Old Saxon exhibits a wide variety of relative clause constructions. We examine four main types and provide data on their frequency and distribution. These types include relative clauses introduced by a relative particle (*the*), clauses with both a relative pronoun and particle, and those clauses without a relative particle. Of the latter group, we examine two sub-groups: those in which the relative pronoun exhibits morphological features required by the relative clause and those in which the relative pronoun matches the case, gender, and number of its antecedent in the matrix clause. It is this second set of clauses which will be of relevance to the subsequent analysis of case attraction. In total, we analyze 227 relative clauses in the *Héliand*, 57 of which exhibit case attraction.

Using GOLDVARB to analyze statistical patterns of variation, we determine that two main factors play a role in whether a relative clause will exhibit case attraction or not. In particular, we follow Dekeyser (1989) and Sundquist (2002) and propose that the relative distance of the antecedent to the relative pronoun plays a significant role: case attraction takes place significantly more often when the antecedent is further away from the relative pronoun. Secondly, we determined that position of the finite verb in the relative clause is a significant factor: case attraction is less common when the finite verb is in final position in the relative clause than when it occurs earlier in the clause. Thirdly, we examine briefly some of the manuscript differences with respect to relative clause variation and conclude that case attraction was not used universally among Old Saxon scribes and that preferences of rhetorical style must be considered in such statistical analyses of relative clause variation.

In the last portion of the paper, we discuss the implications of this study for previous research on case attraction and relative clause distribution. In addition, we address the significance of these findings, in general, for future diachronic analyses of relative clauses in Germanic.

Selected References
On the stressing of polysyllabic French loans in English and German

One of the factors which separated the Germanic languages from the other Indo-European languages was the fixing of word stress on the first syllable. This stressing was “typical of the Germanic sound system” (Bammersberger 1992:118) and gave special prominence to the vowel sound in the first syllable of a word and weakened the other vowels.

When French words are borrowed into Germanic languages, their stress on the last heavy syllable comes into conflict with the root-initial Germanic stress pattern. As a result of the Norman Conquest and subsequent French rule in England, ca 10 000 French words were introduced into English in the years 1250-1500. As pointed out by Minkova (1997:144) the stress pattern “which would have been alien to the uneducated monolingual speaker of ME would have been the pattern of final stress”, and these early French loanwords were soon subject to an adaptation to the Germanic stress pattern, which can be seen in Levins’ *Manipulus Vocabulorum* from 1570, where the great majority of the polysyllabic French loans, e.g. *appetite, arrogance, heritage, liberty*, are given with first-syllable stress.

Is this adaptation of French loans to the Germanic prosodic pattern a uniquely English phenomenon that can be ascribed to the massive introduction of loanwords in a short period of time, or can a similar stress shift be seen in other Germanic languages like German?

French loanwords have been introduced into German over the centuries but not so early and not in such large numbers as in English, but nevertheless a stress shift, although less dramatic, can be discerned here too (cf Viëtor 1912 and Duden 2005). As early as 1905 Curme was aware of the fact that “[s]ome words which are now accented as German words had foreign accent in earlier periods of the language”, and he goes on to say that “[t]he accent here depends upon whether the word is still distinctly felt as a foreign or as a German word” (p 49). Thus French loans in German as well as in English appear to be subject to an adaptation to the Germanic prosody once they have become fully integrated into the vocabulary.

-- Is this stress shift a move towards the root-initial syllable (cf Bammersberger 1992:118) or is it rather a shift to avoid final stress (cf Minkova 1997:144) in the stress-timed prosodic pattern, i.e. “to avoid having stresses too close together” (Ladefoged 1993:118)?

-- Is a stress shift still going on, and are there any differences as regards English and German adaptation of French loans to the Germanic stress pattern?

The discussion will be based on the stressing of 600 polysyllabic French nouns borrowed into German and 600 polysyllabic French nouns borrowed into English before 1500.
Some Asymmetries of Coordinate Structures in Germanic and the Syntax of Agreement

Coordinate Structures are known mostly for their symmetries, as illustrated in (1):

(1) a. [Hans und Petra]$_{PL}$ lieben$_{PL}$ sich$_{PL}$

b. Hans mag$_{TRANS}$ [sie$_{AKK}$, ihre$_{AKK}$ Haarfarbe und ihre$_{AKK}$ Intelligenz]

c. [CP Ha / *Ha-st [CoP [do en Marie]] dit wykein yn Rome west?] (Frisian)

Have$_{PL}$ / Have$_{2P,SG}$ [you$_{2P,SG}$ and M]

etc.

It is therefore surprising at first glance to find constructions with asymmetries like those in (2):

(2) a. Ik tink [CP dat$_{st}$-st [do en Marie] dit wykein yn Rome west ha] (Frisian)

b. In den Wald ging$_{SG}$ [der Jäger$_{SG}$ und sein Hund]$_{PL}$

c. Es gibt Sehenswürdigkeiten [in$_{DAT}$ und um$_{AKK}$] *der$_{DAT}$ / die$_{AKK}$ Stadt

d. Hans [begrüßt$_{AKK}$ und dankt$_{DAT}$] *den$_{AKK}$ / dem$_{DAT}$ Herrn

Van Koppen (2006) proposes a theory that can account for the symmetric agreement in (1c) and the asymmetric agreement in (2a) using the same structure and the projection CoP, under the assumption that complementizers as probes (Chomsky 2000) can have multiple goals (Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998), either the first conjunct cf. (2a), or the projection CoP cf. (1c), depending on which takes precedence in the morphology. (2b) has the same configuration as (1c), and both structures have a finite verb in C˚ via $V \rightarrow C$. Van Koppen’s proposal does not predict the asymmetric agreement in (2b), however, because Standard German does not have the morphological options that her theory requires.

Agreement in both (1c) and (2b) is arguably determined by the c-command relation of C˚ to the immediately dominated DP(s). When a Comp sits in C˚, asymmetry is allowed, but in (2b) a V$_{fin}$ sits in C˚ and agrees asymmetrically. In Spec-head agreement relations, asymmetry is out:

(3) a. Do en Marie ha / *hast dit wykein yn Rome west

b. Der Jäger und sein Hund gingen / *ging in den Wald

c. Ich weiß, dass Hans *den / *dem Herrn / Herrn Schmidt begrüßt und dankt

Apparently symmetry is a requirement of agreement in a Spec-head configuration. Thus, a proposal must be able to account for both symmetry and asymmetry in subject-verb agreement in the configuration [C˚/T˚ [ DP + DP [ ...]]] cf. (1b) and (2a,b), and for the asymmetry of Case assignment in the configuration [T˚/P˚ & T˚/P˚ [DP]] cf. (2c,d). In my proposal I argue that one point of unification is the c-command relation between probe and goal, which may result in asymmetry regardless of what element sits in C˚; another is the Spec-head relation cf. (3), which requires symmetry. In the Spec-head configuration cf. (3) shared, conjoined subjects require a plural finite verb, and conjoined finite verbs require an object in a Spec position that does not have a Case marker that conflicts with the Case requirements of either verb cf. (3c).

The symmetry requirement in the Spec-head agreement relation supports the assumption that this relation is syntactically superior to c-command for inducing agreement, if we assume that symmetry in coordinate structures is preferred over asymmetry. Thus, Spec-head agreement is a syntactic fundamental; c-command is also fundamental, but it induces agreement in a probe-goal relation that favors strict asymmetry and thus does not necessarily require coordinate symmetry.

References


Velar Palatalization and Medieval Orthography

The northwestern dialects of the medieval West-Germanic languages underwent velar palatalization. Old English very regularly palatalized both \(g\) and \(k\) when adjacent to a front vowel or \(j\) (e.g. *giefan, cirice*), as did Old Saxon and the Franconian dialects. However, some aspects of this sound change are unclear. The relative chronology as well as the origin of velar palatalization and some other changes remain debated. Minkova (1998, 2003) has recently challenged the traditional view that Old English completed velar palatalization at an early stage, claiming instead that, on a phonemic level, this change could not have taken place before the 11th century. Lange (1998, 1999) proposes that velar palatalization in Northwestern West Germanic was adopted from Piccardian French (Gallo-Roman) and spread from West Franconian to the neighboring Franconian, Frisian, and Anglo-Saxon dialects.

One major obstacle to our understanding of velar palatalization is that we know very little about Old (Low) West Franconian. Not much has come down to us, and most of it is for some reason or other little trustworthy. A West-Franconian provenance of velar palatalization is hard to substantiate in view of this lack of knowledge. Another problem, in its turn compounded by our limited understanding of West Franconian, is the interpretation of the orthography employed to represent palatalized velars. Prokosch (1939) proposed that in West Saxon, the grapheme <i> was used as a diacritic next to \(g\) to indicate its palatal quality, meaning that *giefan* would have represented /je:f\(\text{\'}n/\). Similarly, some Old Saxon texts seem to have used <ki> to indicate palatalized *k*. This paper will examine some of these problems with special reference to Old Low West Franconian phonology and orthography. In particular, we will look at the development of Gmc. *g* and the way it was represented. One peculiar orthography is <gh>, common in Middle Dutch but also used in the Leiden Willeram and the Old High German Isidore. This diacritic use of <h> after <g> has steadfastly been explained as a borrowing from a Merovingian spelling tradition. Not only is this claim dubious (palatalized Latin g was not represented by <gh> until Old French of the 13th century), it tends to ignore the historical phonology of the Germanic dialects. Regardless of the origin of this orthographic convention, its use in Franconian texts clearly points to a phonemic distinction between palatalized and non-palatalized Gmc. *g*.

References
The Linguistic Cycle in the (early) History of English

It has long been recognized that language change is cyclical (e.g. de Condillac 1746, Tooke 1786-1805, von Humboldt 1822, Bopp 1816, and more recently Tauli 1958). Hodge (1970: 3) calls this cyclical phenomenon the ‘Linguistic Cycle’. Grammaticalization is the main component in this cycle. Some well-known cycles involve Negatives (Jespersen's Cycle, a cross-linguistic change of full negative phrases to words to affixes), Agreement (where full pronouns are reanalyzed as agreement markers), Clauses (where phrases in the CP are reanalyzed as heads, and then disappear), Aspect (Adverbs become aspectual markers), and Articles (where demonstrative pronouns are reanalyzed as articles and then as affixes).

In this paper, I examine three of these cycles in English. The Negative Cycle is well-known and after giving a review of it, I focus on some dialectal differences. Changes took place much faster in the South than in the North and I link a number of other phenomena to this. The article cycle is perhaps most obvious in Old Norse. I first review these changes and then examine Old English where demonstratives are being reanalyzed as articles and then as clitics. Again, a dialect difference is obvious. Clausal cycles involve the use of an adverb or preposition as a complementizer. I show that early Old English texts use certain PPs (preposition phrases) only inside the VP but that by late Old English these are increasingly used in a preposed position linking one clause to another.

At the end of each cycle, the lexical items are reduced to zero or almost zero and there needs to be a renewal. I discuss the new sources and what they tell us. Negatives in English are renewed through indefinites (but this is not universal as Chinese and Athabaskan show for instance), demonstratives are often renewed through location adverbs, and complementizers through causal, spatial, or temporal markers. These renewals are interesting in that they show that semantic features are reanalyzed as grammatical ones.

To finish, I look at how these cycle can be understood in a formal, Minimalist framework. I will propose that cognitive economy principles (formulated within the Minimalist program) account for these cycles.
On the decrease of language norms in a disintegrating language

In the second half of the nineteenth century a number of ‘Hollanders’ emigrated to the USA. Surprisingly, quite a few of their descendants still have at least some knowledge of Dutch. That is, it is not uncommon to find third and even fourth generation ‘Dutch Americans’ who can still speak Dutch (some of them even fluently), although nearly all of them have English as their linguistically dominant language. However, the variety of Dutch that they speak is highly variable. It may be very similar to the variety that is presently spoken in the Netherlands, but it may also differ from ‘Continental Dutch’ considerably. Clearly, from a linguistic point of view the latter variety is most fascinating. This is all the more so, because the ‘deviations’ in American Dutch are nothing but straightforward ‘mistakes’ in the eyes of speakers of Continental Dutch. One part of the grammar that has been affected very seriously is inflectional morphology which, as a result, has become extremely variable. Within a few sentences, one and the same speaker may e.g. use both *hij lopen* and *hij loopt*, in addition to ‘correct’ *hij loopt* (Eng. ‘he walks’).

This paper presents the results of a detailed investigation of ‘norm awareness’ among the present-day speakers of American Dutch. The outcome is remarkable since it turns out that it is hardly possible to make a mistake in this language. Even in the realm of inflectional morphology, a domain of language often associated with ‘tightly structured’, ‘mistakes’ of the kind that were shown above were hardly ever recognized. It will be claimed that weak awareness of language norms is typical of specific bilingual situations, situations in which the ethnic language is held in high esteem but in which, at the same time, the language has lost its natural functions.
Lexical ambiguity and corpus annotation:  
The temporal “mal” and the temporary “mal” in German

The phenomena of polysemy and homonymy are not exceptional in world languages but rather represent “the natural outcome of constant and pervasive language change” (Diewald, 2006). However, this “basic non-discreteness of categories” (Traugott & Heine, 1991) poses a considerable challenge for part-of-speech annotation of corpora, large electronic collections of authentic language data.

In this paper, I discuss the issue of disambiguation of German modal particles, small words that lack propositional meaning but function as important pragmatic markers in informal conversations while expressing illocutionary force and indexing the speaker’s attitude toward particular utterances and interlocutors (Abraham, 1991; Helbig, 1988; Hentschel, 1986; Thurmair, 1989; Weydt, 1969). All German modal particles have homonyms among other word classes. At the current state of corpus annotation, the disambiguation of modal particles from their counterparts cannot be performed automatically. This may be the reason why modal particles are lumped together with other non-declinable word categories such as adverbs and interjections in available annotated German language corpora. However, for fine-grained analyses, this state of affairs is unsatisfactory since modal particles have their own unique semantic, syntactic, distributional, and discursive characteristics.

I report on a procedure of part-of-speech tagging that was applied to the occurrences of the German modal particle mal and its homonyms in a new integrated native speaker-learner corpus of computer-mediated communication. For this purpose, I used a variety of disambiguation criteria previously suggested by different scholars and applied them to the corpus data. The resulting taxonomy was mapped back to existing taxonomies (Bublitz, 2003; Helbig, 1988; Moellering, 2004; Weydt et al., 1983). The taxonomy developed in this study expands the scope of the modal particle mal based on its pragmatic meaning and collocational patterns.
Widely attested throughout Otfrid von Weissenburg’s ninth century Evangelienbuch are the forms *theih*, *theiz*, and *theist*, which appear alongside their uncliticized counterparts *thaz ih* ‘that I’, *thaz iz* ‘that it’, and *thaz ist* ‘that is’, respectively. Apparent in the first set of forms is the presence of umlaut, which was effected once cliticization had incorporated the second constituent into the same prosodic word structure as the first. In the second set of forms, in which two separate prosodic words were maintained, we see no umlaut. When endeavoring to account for the clitic forms, analyses that discuss the nature of umlaut in Old High German (OHG) must play a fundamental role in our reckoning. If we are to adopt the view that umlaut was still an active phonological process in OHG, as argued in works such as Holsinger & Salmons (1999) and Iverson & Salmons (2003), we can allow for the possibility that the above structures are the product of similarly active processes of cliticization and umlaut. If, however, we assume that umlaut was no longer phonological in OHG, then we must subscribe to the alternate explanation most explicitly articulated in Janda (1998), which argues that clitic forms exhibiting umlaut have, in fact, been adopted into the lexicon. This paper argues against the latter viewpoint and maintains that the *theih* data are more consistent with an analysis that assumes active cliticization and umlaut.

One way to argue against a fossilized treatment of the aforementioned forms is to establish that the Otfrid clitics cannot be understood as lexically listed. To this end, this analysis first defines the parameters against which we may measure the data. The fossilization of a clitic form and its adoption into the lexicon is usually discussed within the framework of grammaticalization theory, which assumes the following cline, based on Zwicky (1977) and presented in Klavans (1982).

(1) (lexical) word > **simple clitic** > **special clitic** > (bound) affix

Referring to those elements located on the cline that are most relevant to our analysis, we note that a special clitic should show a greater degree of grammaticalization than a simple clitic. Similarly, a special clitic should be one step closer to full adoption into the lexicon than a simple clitic. We can translate these theoretical observations into more concrete, observable terms; i.e., in contrast to a simple clitic, a more grammaticalized special clitic should 1. be less regularly associated with its full form, 2. exhibit special syntax, and 3. be more narrowly defined in terms of syntactic structure, as well as function.

Given these parameters, this paper concludes that *theih*, *theiz*, and *theist* are actively derived in the lexicon based on the following patterns identified in the data: 1. Clitics and non-clitics (e.g., *theih* and *thaz ih*) show the same syntactic distribution within the clause; i.e., the clitic exhibits no special syntax. 2. There is no syntactic unity among the clitic forms; e.g., *iz* in the structure *theiz* is attested as both a subject and an object. 3. There is also no unity with regard to the way in which the clitic’s constituent parts function; e.g., *thaz* in the structure *theih* is used as both an unambiguous complementizer, as well as a demonstrative pronoun. 4. Semantically, the constituent parts contained within the syntagm are still treated as separate units in the mind of the author (e.g., *wer guédent sie theih sculi sin odo ouh rácha wese min?* ‘Who do they say that I might be or (that) my situation be?’ III 12, 8). In the course of this discussion, this paper also briefly discusses the limitations of grammaticalization theory as a practicable method for the analysis of the Otfrid clitics. Grammaticalization’s treatment of clitics as primarily a way station in the unidirectional transition from word to affix falls short as a means of elucidating clitic behavior in the Evangelienbuch.