

# **30<sup>th</sup> Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference (GLAC-30)**

and

## **Symposium in memory of Kari Ellen Gade**

April 25-27, 2024

Indiana University



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1. In your device settings, make sure wireless networking (or WiFi) is turned on.
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3. Log in using the email address and password associated with your account at your home institution.

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## Parking

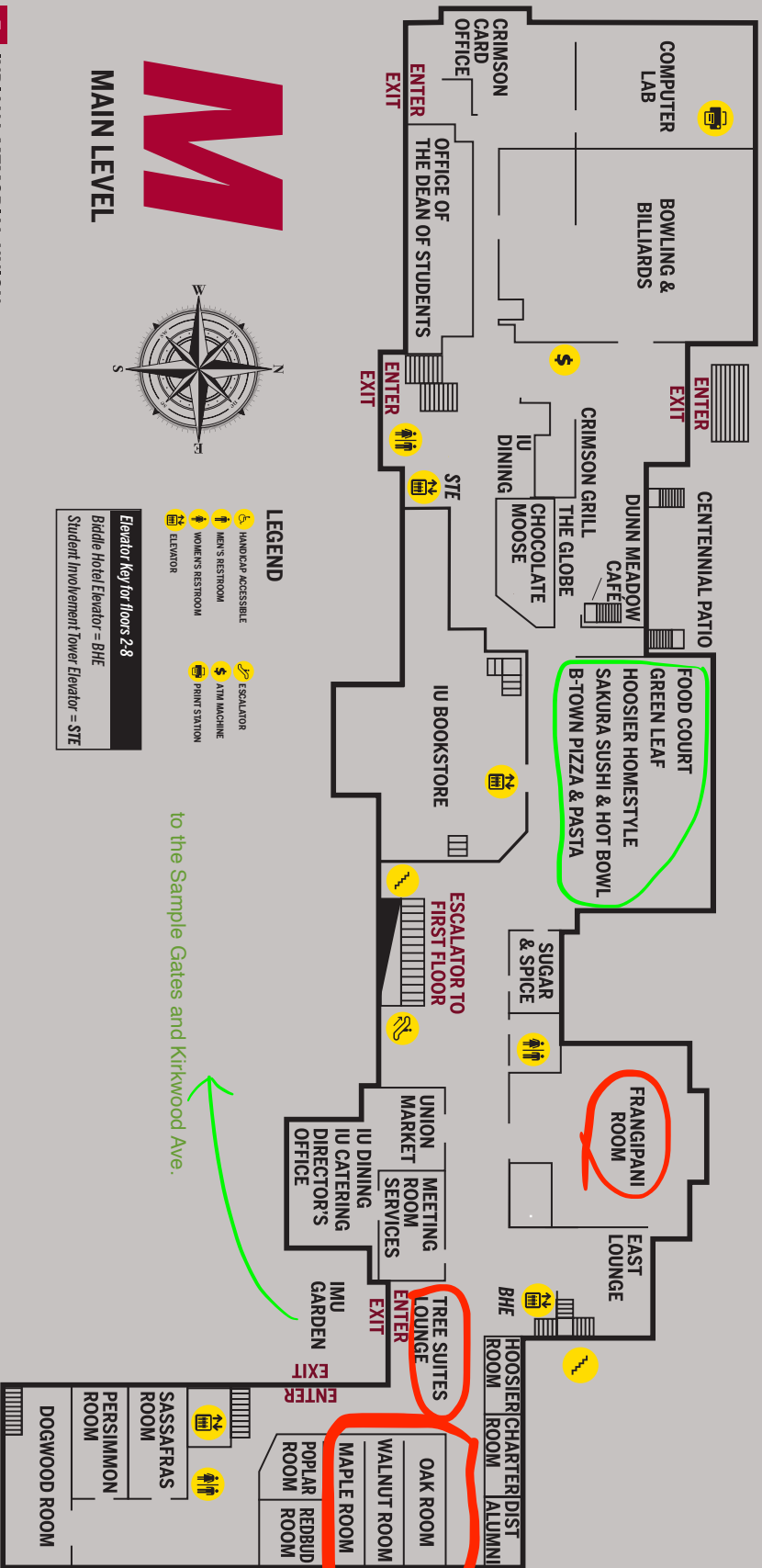
Visitors bringing their own vehicle to campus should park in one of the two pay lots at the IMU. All GLAC guests can request a voucher for discounted daily parking from our conference manager Riley Reese. Show the voucher when paying at the front desk of the Biddle hotel or upon exiting the lot.

## Visiting Bloomington

On campus, we recommend a visit to the Eskenazi Art Museum and the Lilly Library of rare books and manuscripts, both near the IMU.

Runners and cyclists should check out the B-line, with access just one block west of the Courthouse Square. Hikers will enjoy Griffy Lake just north of campus, the Pate Hollow trail at Lake Monroe, or further afield, McCormick's Creek State Park and Brown County State Park.

# BUILDING DIRECTORY

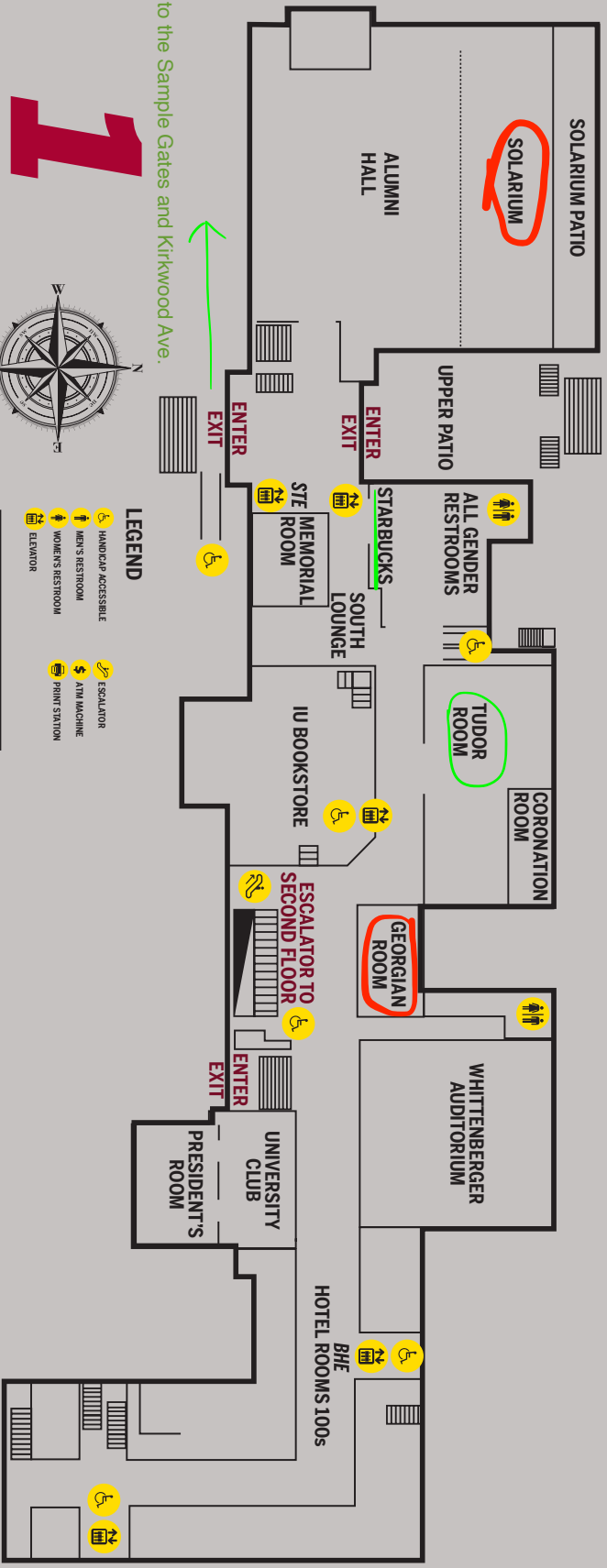


to the Sample Gates and Kirkwood Ave.



MAIN LEVEL

# BUILDING DIRECTORY



to the Sample Gates and Kirkwood Ave.

# 1

FIRST FLOOR



### LEGEND

- HANDICAP ACCESSIBLE
- MEN'S RESTROOM
- WOMEN'S RESTROOM
- ELEVATOR
- ESCALATOR
- ATM MACHINE
- PRINT STATION

**Elevator Key for floors 2-8**  
 Biddle Hotel Elevator = BHF  
 Student Involvement Tower Elevator = STE

## Dining within the Indiana Memorial Union (IMU)

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- The Globe | M-Sat 11am-2pm, 5:30-8:30pm | Main Level | catering from local restaurants without leaving campus
- Lantern | M-Sun 11am-3pm, 5-9pm | Main Level | A Pan-Asian-style street kitchen
- The Mix | M-Sun 7-10am, M-F 11am-6pm | Main Level | Salads and breakfast buffet
- Quarry Pie Co. | M-F 11am-9pm | Main Level | Oven fired pizza and breadsticks
- Starbucks | M-F 7:30am-9pm, 8am-6pm | First Floor | Enjoy the antique interior of the IMU along with your starbucks
- Tudor Room | M-F 11am-2pm, Sun 10am-2pm | First Floor | Lunch buffet, beautiful atmosphere
- Whitfield Grill | M-F 10:30am-8pm | Main Level | Diner-inspired menu
- Vault Pub | T-F 4-10pm, Sat 12pm-12am | Lobby Level | Pub conveniently positioned within the IMU

## Dining Near the IMU

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### Walking from the IMU

1. When leaving the conference lounge, exit the IMU building through the doors leading into the garden.
2. Walk up the stairs to the sidewalk, turn right and walk along the sidewalk until you see the large limestone gates (sample gates).
3. Walk through the sample gates.
  1. For Kirkwood Avenue: Kirkwood is straight in front of you as you walk through the Sample Gates.
  2. To get to Indiana Ave. and Fourth Street: Turn left on Indiana Ave., then turn right on to 4th St.
  3. To get to the Square: continue 5 blocks along Kirkwood.

### Fourth Street Area

- Siam House | 430 E 4th St. | Thai, plentiful outdoor seating
- Do Asian Fusion | E 4th St. | Laid-back Korean food, open late!
- Taste of India | 316 E 4th St. | Indian restaurant, northern Indian specialties
- Little Tibet | 415 E 4th St. | Tibetan, cozy outdoor seating available
- Kimu | 413 E 4th St. | Burmese, snug interior adorned with Burmese art
- Korea Restaurant | 409 E 4th St. | Korean served with small side dishes
- Lan Ramen & Aqua Tea | 250 S Washington St. | Chinese ramen, watch the chef hand-pull noodles as you eat, great boba!
- Marco and Polo Restaurant | 209 S Grant St. | Uyghur dining with cozy cushion seating available, reservation recommended

- Longfei | 113 S Grant St. | Chinese, enjoy dishes from their whelming amount of authentic and american-style offerings
- Uncle Wang's Alley | 300 E 3rd St. | Chinese with portions meant to share
- Cafe Turkuaz | 301 E 3rd. St. | Turkish dining with seated cushion area and a recently updated interior
- Da Vinci Pizza and Pasta | 250 S Washington St. | Italian restaurant known for its Neapolitan-style pizza
- Rainbow Bakery | 201 S Rogers St. | Vegan Bakery famed for its creative donut flavors

## Kirkwood

- BuffaLouie's | 114 S Indiana Ave. | Wings, Burgers
- Dagwoods Deli Sub Shop | 116 S Indiana Ave. | Deli
- Lennie's Brewpub | 514 E Kirkwood Ave. | Brewpub with wood-fired pizzas
- Yatagarasu | 430 E Kirkwood Ave. | Ramen bar with upstairs club area
- Goodfella's Pizzeria | 427 E Kirkwood Ave. | Pizza by the slice until 3am on Friday and Saturday
- Village Deli | 409 E Kirkwood Ave. | Breakfast
- Bloomington Bagle Co | 113 N Dunn St. | Local bagels with large selection of toppings
- Runcible Spoon | 412 E 6th St. | Breakfast and brunch at a Bloomington staple

## On the Square

- Samira Restaurant | 100 W 6th St. | Afghan cuisine, a favorite for many IU professors
- The Owlery | 118 W 6th St. | Vegetarian/Vegan
- Social Cantina | 125 N College Ave. | Mexican
- FARMbloomington | 108 E Kirkwood Ave. | American, farm-to-table
- Uptown Cafe | 102 E Kirkwood Ave. | American
- Trojan Horse | 100 E Kirkwood Ave. | Greek
- Homey Hot Pot | 306 N Walnut St. | All you can eat hot pot and sushi
- Irish Lion | 212 W Kirkwood Ave. | Irish, enjoy the restored 19th-century interior as you dine on traditional pub grub
- Malibu Grill | 106 N Walnut St. | American

## Further Out

- Upland Brewing | Contemporary gastropub with rotating house brews
- The Elm | Seasonal, modern American dining, excellent cocktail bar
- Feast Market and Cellar | Upscale American with large wine selection

# Schedule

Thursday, April 25

## Symposium in memory of Kari Ellen Gade

All events take place in the Georgian Room, 1<sup>st</sup> floor of the Indiana Memorial Union.

8:00-6:00	<b>Registration</b>
8:00-9:00	<b>Light breakfast</b>
9:00-9:15	<b>Opening remarks</b>
9:15-10:45	<b>1<sup>st</sup> session: Structure in Germanic Poetry</b> Chair: Lane Sorensen
	<b>John Sundquist</b> Clause Arrangement in the Poetry of Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld Óttarsson
	<b>Tarrin Wills</b> Non-formal phonic repetition in the poetry of <i>Bergsbúa þátrr</i>
	<b>Mary Gilbert</b> Kaluza's Law and Resolution in Early Old English Meter
10:45-11:00	<b>Coffee break</b>
11:00-12:00	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> session: Metrics in Runic Inscriptions</b> Chair: John Sundquist
	<b>Klaus Johan Myrvoll</b> The metrics and syntax of the Rök stanza
	<b>Michael Schulte</b> Resolution and anacrusis in Ancient Nordic metrics
12:00-1:30	<b>Lunch break</b>
1:30-3:00	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> session: Lexical studies</b> Chair: David Bolter
	<b>Diana Whaley</b> Scandinavian lexis in the place-names of northernmost England
	<b>Jane Harris</b> On Norwegianisms in the Kings' Saga Manuscript Hrokkinskinna
	<b>Ben Yusen</b> Ship of nails, ship of death: <i>Naglfar</i> as unified signifier of feud, cosmogony, and eschatology
3:00-3:15	<b>Coffee break</b>
3:15-4:15	<b>Symposium Keynote</b> <b>Robert Fulk</b> Philology and the Editing of Skaldic Verse
4:15-4:30	<b>Closing remarks</b>
5:00-7:00	<b>Reception</b>

## Friday, April 26, morning

Registration, paper sessions, and breaks take place in the Tree Suites, Main floor of the IMU.

8:00-12:00	<b>Registration, Tree Suites Lounge</b>		
8:00-9:00	<b>Light breakfast, Tree Suites Lounge</b>		
9:00-10:30	<b>Early Germanic Syntax</b> Oak Room  Chair: John Sundquist	<b>Language Contact</b> Maple Room  Chair: Mark Louden	<b>The linguistics of poetry (Memorial symposium 2)</b> Walnut Room Chair: Jane Harris
	<b>Katerina Somers</b> The literization approach to early German syntax	<b>Joshua Bousquette</b> Here you spoke Frisian; here you spoke Dutch: Domain-specific language shift in Wisconsin West Frisian	<b>Carsten P. Haas</b> If it looks like a blood-goose, and it honks like a blood-goose...: Towards a descriptive definition of kennings as abstract cognitive structures
	<b>Daniel Mitropoulos</b> Grammaticalization of the Old High German perfect through adjective endings	<b>Mary Gilbert</b> Medieval German influence on Czech: Shifting multilingualisms	<b>Stephen Hopkins</b> High-timbered houses: Lexical evidence of English missionary influence in Eddic poetry
	<b>Elaine Dalida</b> Null subjects in Old High German alliterative verse: A partial null argument analysis	<b>Erin Osterhaus</b> Language contact and maintenance among Old Colony Mennonites in Latin America	<b>John Paul Ewing</b> Morphosyntactic features of Old Saxon poetic circumlocutions
10:30-11:00	<b>Coffee break, Tree Suites Lounge</b>		
11:00-12:00	<b>Early Germanic Phonology</b> Oak Room Chair: Andrew Kostakis	<b>Applied Linguistics</b> Maple Room  Chair: Nick Henry	<b>Early Germanic Morphology (Memorial symposium 3)</b> Walnut Room Chair: Elaine Dalida
	<b>Frederik Hartman &amp; Joseph Salmons</b> The Verschärfung and Germanic subgrouping: Inheritance by proxy	<b>Sofiya Bodnar</b> Explicit and implicit instruction of discourse marker in German	<b>Elliott Evans &amp; Dorian Roehrs</b> Adjective inflections in Old Norse DPs
	<b>B. Richard Page</b> A three-way consonantal length contrast in Notker's Old High German dialect	<b>Nick Ott</b> Foreigner talk: Cognitive benefits or social costs?	<b>Erin Noelliste</b> Gothic derivations: Predictability and productivity
12:00-1:30	<b>Lunch break</b>		



## Friday, April 26, afternoon

Registration, paper sessions, and breaks take place in the Tree Suites, Main floor of the IMU.  
Plenary and reception are in the Solarium, on the 1<sup>st</sup> floor, opposite end of the IMU.

1:30-3:00	<b>Historical Morphology</b> Oak Room Chair: Elijah Peters	<b>Historical Sociolinguistics</b> Maple Room Chair: Finn Shepherd	<b>Early Germanic phonology (Memorial symposium 4)</b> Walnut Room Chair: Richard Page
	<b>David Fertig</b> The historical development of English irregular weak verbs	<b>Amanda Tipton</b> Found in translation: A sociolinguistic comparison of Old English biblical translations	<b>David Bolter</b> A note on syllable constituency in Old Norse: Coda maximization or onset maximization?
	<b>Will Thurlwell</b> Remnant case forms and patterns of syncretism in early West Germanic	<b>Ariana Gunderson</b> Lebkuchen then and now: Diachronic Bavarian recipe structure and style	<b>Andrew Kostakis</b> A history of rhotic structure in early Germanic languages
	<b>Jón Símon Markússon</b> Determining basic forms for levelling in the paradigms of Faroese <i>vøllur</i> and <i>ffjörður</i>	<b>Julie Larson-Guenette, Seth Maxfield, Patricia Haberkorn, &amp; Alex Cook</b> “... so wünsche ich dir a merry Christmas”: A sociohistorical exploration of immigrant family letters during the Civil War era	<b>Ian Stewart Cameron</b> What in a god’s name? Early evidence for syncope in the Vindelev bracteates
3:00-3:30	<b>Coffee break, Tree Suites Lounge</b>		
3:30-4:30	<b>South African Languages</b> Oak Room Chair: Rose Fisher	<b>Applied Linguistics</b> Maple Room Chair: Nick Ott	<b>Old Norse pragmatics (Memorial symposium 5)</b> Walnut Room Chair: Carsten P. Haas
	<b>Lizanne Thornton</b> Exploring the post-apartheid relevance of German in Southern Africa	<b>Sophia Strietholt &amp; Julie Larson-Guenette</b> Exploring genre convention transfer in L2 writing: A case study in the intermediate German classroom	<b>Sofiya Bodnar</b> Direct <i>dýra</i> munnsköfn: An analysis of direct speech in Eddic and Skaldic poetry
	<b>Paul Roberge</b> Caste nomenclature in the Cape Dutch vernacular: Imposition, appropriation, reclamation	<b>Nick Henry, Bradley Weiss, &amp; Karoline Kiefel</b> The role of orthography in high-variability phonetic training: a study of beginning L2 German learners	<b>Megan Hartman</b> Speech acts in Ljóðahátttr: The case of Lokasenna
5:00-6:10	<b>Plenary, Ulrike Demske</b> Narrative Inversion in Early New High German: Insights from Information and Discourse Structure Solarium		
6:10-9:00	<b>Reception</b> Solarium		

## Saturday, April 27, morning

Paper sessions and breaks take place in the Tree Suites.  
Keynote will take place in the Frangipani Room, same floor as the Tree Suites.

8:00-9:00	<b>Light breakfast</b> , Tree Suites Lounge		
9:00-10:00	<b>Keynote, Joseph Salmons</b> Laryngeal Realism Frangipani room		
10:00-10:30	<b>Coffee break</b> , Tree Suites Lounge		
10:30-12:00	<b>Phonology</b> Oak Room Chair: David Bolter  <b>Andrew Kostakis</b> Palatal diphthongization: Implications for interpreting Old English digraphs	<b>Syntax</b> Maple Room Chair: Dorian Roehrs  <b>Jeanne McGill</b> L3 structural priming with Germanic languages	<b>Language Contact</b> Walnut Room Chair: James Stratton  <b>Finn Shepherd</b> <i>Egosurfen, fidgetspinner</i> , and dab: Analyzing the spread of English influence through youth word of the year lists in Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands
	<b>Janine Emerson</b> From Middle High German intervocalic geminates to ambisyllabic singletons in Early New High German	<b>Kari Kinn &amp; Michael T. Putnam</b> Free relative clauses in North American Norwegian	<b>Mark L. Louden</b> Quantifying the semantic influence of English on Pennsylvania Dutch
	<b>Marc Pierce</b> The history of dorsal fricatives in Texas German	<b>Emmeline Wilson &amp; Deborah Adeyeye</b> (Span) size matters: Pennsylvania Dutch participles at the syntax- morphology interface	<b>Marlene Burtscher</b> English as an “influencer” of the German language: A semantic analysis of anglicized and German adjectives in German instagram comments
12:00-1:30	<b>Lunch break</b> (EC luncheon, Frangipani Room)		

## Saturday, April 27, afternoon

Conference dinner will take place in the Frangipani Room, same floor as the Tree Suites.

1:30-3:00	<b>Phonology</b> Oak Room  Chair: Marc Pierce	<b>Historical Morpho-Syntax</b> Maple Room Chair: Katerina Somers	<b>Philology</b> Walnut Room  Chair: Mary Gilbert
	<b>Björn Köhnlein</b> Three-for-two is a good deal: How two layers of feet solve three puzzles of German phonology	<b>Nakita Barakadyn</b> A quantitative analysis of prepositions as a compensation Strategy for the loss of morphological case marking in English	<b>Rachel Lulich</b> Translation, transmission, and theological bias: A text critical approach to the Gothic New Testament
	<b>Katharine Schuhmann &amp; Laura Catharine Smith</b> The role of proficiency in the L2 acquisition of German plural formation: How prosody, noun classes, and suffix choices interact	<b>Elliott Evans</b> Nominal and pronominal Adjective endings in Gothic and Old High German	<b>Carsten P. Haas</b> Galumphing into the Viking Age: Kennings as structures of play in a preliterate context
	<b>Rose Arlene Fisher</b> <i>Wunn(e)re, bigg(e)le</i> : A sonority-based explanation for the (non)-occurrence of schwa epenthesis in unstressed syllables in Pennsylvania Dutch	<b>Carter Smith &amp; Frederik Hartmann</b> Neural part-of-speech analysis of historical Germanic languages	<b>Jenny Robins</b> <i>Medical Meister</i> : Citation and intertextuality in the German medical incunabula corpus (GeMedIC)
3:00-3:30	<b>Coffee break, Tree Suites Lounge</b>		
3:30-5:00	<b>Sociolinguistics</b> Oak Room Chair: Sofiya Bodnar	<b>The profession</b> Maple Room Chair: Elliott Evans	<b>Phonology</b> Walnut Room Chair: Bradley Weiss
	<b>Cassandra Winkelman</b> Lexical differences between East and West Germany result in communication difficulties	<b>Howard Jones, Luise Morawetz &amp; Will Thurlwell</b> Old High German & Old Saxon: A grammar and reader	<b>Ragnhild Eik, David Natvig &amp; Michael T. Putnam</b> Syntax and tonal accent: Deriving 'affixes' and 'clitics' in Norwegian compounds
	<b>James Stratton &amp; Karen Beaman</b> Intensifiers in Swabian German: Change across the lifespan	<b>Nick Henry &amp; Laura Catherine Smith</b> Professional development workshop for graduate students (4:00-5:00)	<b>Bolter David</b> On the non-minimality of the Swedish tonal accent contrast  <b>Abigail Amick</b> Pitch accent adaptation in speech islands: The case of Texas German
5:15-6:15	<b>Society for Germanic Linguistics Business Meeting, Oak Room</b>		
6:30-9:30	<b>Conference Dinner, Frangipani Room</b>		

## Invited Speakers

**Robert D. Fulk, Indiana University**

### Philology and the Editing of Skaldic Verse

Honoring the life's work of the great philologist Kari Ellen Gade in whose memory this pre-conference symposium will be held, this presentation examines the various branches of philological inquiry involved in the editing of skaldic poetry. The varieties of philology that are in requisition in such editing are diverse. They include, for example, the components of manuscript studies, such as paleography, codicology, and semmatics, and if the term "manuscript" is defined broadly, runology must also be included. Closely related is the study of orthographic systems and scribal habits, including orthoepy, or the study of the relation between spelling and pronunciation. That in turn is a subdivision of the much larger field of Scandinavian historical linguistics, also vital to the editing of skaldic texts. Of course there is also poetic form, a subject dear to Kari Gade's heart, including meter, alliteration, and rhyme. And although the syntax of dróttkætt poetry can be quite complex, it is still necessary to take into consideration what sorts of word order are really plausible and what sorts are not. In reconstructing the skaldic corpus it is also necessary to have an intimate knowledge poetic conventions, especially poetic diction, knowing what are and are not plausible heiti and kennings. And then it is also vital to have a firm command of the specifics of Old Norse history and culture, both the cultural norms and the material culture. Very often more than one of these considerations must be taken into account in connection with a specific word or passage in a poem. This presentation surveys the application of such philological considerations in the editing of skaldic poetry, illustrating with examples from the poetry edited by Kari Gade for the Skaldic Project.

## Ulrike Demske, Universität Potsdam

### Narrative Inversion in Early New High German: Insights from Information and Discourse Structure

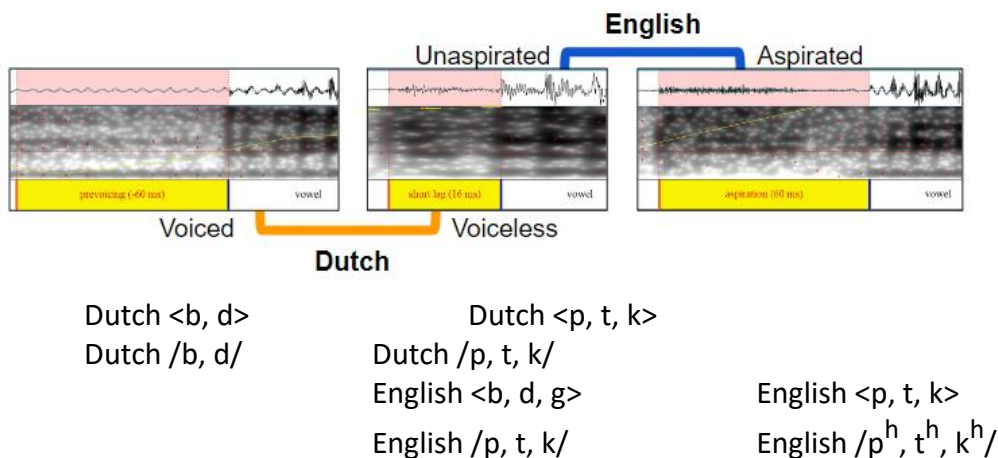
**Abstract:** Declarative V1 sentences are not very common in present-day German. Their occurrence is taken to be limited tothetic sentences, which typically appear at the beginning of jokes (*Kommt ein Pferd in eine Bar*, lit.: comes a horse into a bar) and are considered sentence-focus structures (Önnerfors 1997; Reis 2000). From a diachronic point of view, the development of V1 declaratives is characterized by a constant up and down in productivity, which has raised the question of the extent to which we can speak of a single type of V1 declarative at all (Axel 2007; Coniglio 2012; Maurer 1926). On the basis of new and comprehensive data from five 15th century prose novels, I will show that we must indeed assume a repertoire of distinct types of V1 declaratives in German. As the literature suggests (Coniglio 2012; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2011), two types ofthetic sentences can in fact be found throughout the history of German: the presentational and the event-reporting type with the latter still being used in present-day German. However, another type of V1 declarative is likewise highly productive in Early New High German, so-called narrative inversion, a type which is also frequently found in other Germanic languages such as Icelandic (Booth & Beck 2021). In contrast to presentational and event-reportingthetic sentences discussed so far for the history of German, V1 declaratives of the narrative inversion type have a topic-comment structure, i.e. they include anaphoric subjects. Occasionally, this type can still be found in spoken varieties of German today (Behaghel 1932; Oppenrieder 2010). Its considerable productivity in Early New High German can be accounted for in terms of discourse structure: A quantitative analysis of all declarative sentences in the five prose novels under study reveals that, in terms of linking strategies, the marking of temporal continuity clearly predominates over the marking of referential continuity. And narrative inversion is just one linguistic device that marks temporal continuity in the Early New High German period alongside other linguistic devices such as temporal adverbials at the left periphery of their host clause. In my view, this finding suggests that any account that attributes the increasing productivity of V1 declaratives in Early New High German solely to the influence of Latin does not tell the whole story, to say the least (Behaghel 1932; Maurer 1926); Maurer's (1926) claim that V1 declaratives are not attested in the early prose novels due to the Latin origin of the sentence pattern has already been refuted by Buschinger (2007).

The present study on V1 declaratives in Early New High German not only fills a crucial empirical gap, but also contributes to a more differentiated view of this sentence type in contemporary German, because the historical data from Early New High German suggest thatthetic and narrative V1 declaratives must be considered as two distinct types of the V1-pattern with different discourse functions.

## Joseph Salmons, University of Wisconsin - Madison

### Laryngeal Realism

Since almost as long as GLAC has existed, work has been presented in this venue on Laryngeal Realism (LR). LR posits a phonological difference in the obstruent systems of languages like Dutch, French and Polish on the one hand and Mandarin, Somali and most Germanic languages on the other (Iverson and Salmons 1995, Salmons 2020), leaving aside for the moment other systems like those involving glottalization or more than two series of obstruents. Assuming privative (unary) specifications, the former, it is argued, contrast [voice] (or Glottal Tension = GT in the terms of Avery and Idsardi 2001) on <b, d, g> vs. laryngeally unmarked <p, t, k>. The latter contrast [spread glottis] (or Glottal Width = GW) <p, t, k> vs. unmarked <b, d, g>, see Figure 1. LR differs from the traditional ‘broad voice’ analysis, where all such systems involve phonological voicing. (A more recent alternative proposes that all such systems involve GW and not GT, e.g., Schwartz and Arndt 2018.)



**Figure 1:** Phonetic-orthographic-phonological relationships in Dutch and English stops, Hietpas 2020.

After briefly showing how ‘broad voice’ was built into theorizing about speech sounds from the 19th century onward, I turn to different current understandings of LR regarding the relationship between phonology and phonetics. LR has been adopted by linguists working in a wide range of theories. Those include views where the underlying phonology is taken to directly determine surface phonetics (e.g., Beckman et al. 2013) at one end of the spectrum, while at the other, ‘substance-free’ phonology denies direct connections between phonology and phonetics (e.g., Iosad 2017). We draw to on pieces of both perspectives. Phonological specification or its absence is indirectly but still strongly connected to phonetic realizations. In particular, phonological contrasts are often enhanced phonetically: “some contrasts, most notably those for phonation, use a large number of cues for each distinctive feature” (Henton et al. 1992), leading to surface realizations that go beyond what would come from phonological specification alone. This perspective places value on using phonological activity, like assimilation in clusters, as opposed to phonetic realization as a sole diagnostic. Further tests involve, inter alia,, phonetic variation, which correlates with less phonological specification.

Finally, I review new evidence, including from typology, acquisition, diachrony, neurolinguistics and sociolinguistics, as the following two examples illustrate. First, WALS (wals.info) overwhelmingly labels the type of two-way systems discussed here as ‘voicing’, albeit with a few exceptions like Chinese languages. Many of these are better analyzed as GW, including Somali (Kiparsky 2006) or Aleut, Amharic, Evenki, others (Vaux and Samuels 2005), to which we add new ones like the Austronesian language Subanen. A realistic typology, then, is more balanced between GW and GT systems than current typologies would show. Second, building on some earlier work, Annear (2023) and Annear et al. (2023) present evidence that child acquisition of laryngeal contrasts looks far clearer if we assume LR and privativity. Children appear to acquire unmarked stop series first (so, using the phonological analysis in Figure 1, Dutch /p, t, k/ and English /p, t, k/) and only later the marked series (Dutch /b, d/ and English /p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>/). Broad voice analyses cannot capture this generalization.

Laryngeal Realism has been steadily developing for over three decades now. There’s much we don’t know yet, but today we are refining the diagnostics, compiling new data, and exploring new generalizations. LR started with a heavy focus on Germanic and recent work is sharpening our understanding of that family while integrating it now into a crosslinguistic context.

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# Abstracts

Pitch accent adaptation in speech islands: The case of Texas German  
*Abigail Amick, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

**Introduction:** Standard varieties of German and English are known to contrast in their realizations of phrase-final falling pitch accents. German “truncates” these falls in response to a decrease in available sonorant space, cutting the falls short and ending at a higher F0 value, while English “compresses” them, increasing the F0 slope to reach the same ending F0 value.

**This study identifies an exception to the attested typology in Texas German (TG)**, an English-surrounded variety which compresses falls in the manner attributed to English. This raises the question of whether the pattern was inherited from a European German variety or borrowed from the surrounding English.

**Background:**

Small German communities have lived in the Texas Hill Country since the 1840s. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, English-only education policies and increased contact with English caused a decrease in the use of German in these communities. As of 2009, there are less than 10,000 surviving Texas German speakers, and the language variety is predicted to fall out of use by 2040 (Boas 2009).

**Research Question:** Texas German extensively borrows lexical items, syntax, and segmental phonology from English. This study investigates possible suprasegmental borrowings. Does Texas German compress phrase-final falling pitch accents in the manner of English or truncate in the manner of German?

**Methods and results:** This study replicated Esther Grabe’s (1998) study, which compared nuclear fall realizations in English and German. Data were taken from the Texas German Dialect Archive (Boas et al., 2010). Three falling pitch accents of different durations were selected, produced by 18 TG speakers. Pitch accent duration, rate of F0 change, and F0 excursion were measured in Praat (Boersma & Weenik, 2024) for each pitch accent. The analyzed utterances, from longest to shortest pitch accent duration, are *Ziegen* (“goats”), *Kie* (“cows”), and *Krick* (“creek”). Results showed that, as the available sonorant space decreases, the falling pitch accents in TG accelerate enough to constitute compression.

**Discussion:** The results of this analysis contradict the attested typology of German and English pitch accent realizations. **Texas German exhibits a clear compression pattern where previous research would predict truncation.** The two most likely hypotheses are that compression in TG was a) inherited from an earlier European German, or b) borrowed from the surrounding English. If the former, there are historical and/or current compressing German varieties in Europe yet to be described; if the latter, Texas German has likely borrowed other prosodic features from the standard and Southern American English varieties in its environment.

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A Quantitative Analysis of Prepositions as a Compensation Strategy for the Loss of Morphological Case Marking in English

The purpose of this paper is to provide a brief examination of the use of prepositions, as well as the loss of grammatical case marking, in the history of English. While it is intuitive to assume the use of prepositions is more common in Present Day English (PDE) than in earlier stages of the language, the present study seeks to quantify this understanding and provide a concrete figure to confirm this assumption and present a clearer picture of the impact of the loss of case marking. Examples of this can be seen in (1) where Old English (OE) requires no preposition, but PDE does:

(1) Use of prepositions and case in OE and PDE

Old English (Onions (1959))

wīgend	cruncon	wundum	wērige
warriors	died	wounds.dat	exhausted

Present Day English

The warriors died, exhausted **by (their) wounds**.

To explore this function in a quantitative manner, I compared the number of prepositions in a collection of texts in OE and PDE. Texts in both languages were taken from The Helsinki Corpus, and reviewed for strategy with regard to case marking (case endings, or prepositional phrasing). Both the total frequency of preposition use, as well as those prepositions which mark case function, were seen with dramatically higher frequency in PDE. A table of these numbers is seen below in (2)

	Old English	Present Day English
<b>Total Frequency of All Prepositions</b> <i>total prep / total words</i>	7.97%	13.64%
<b>Total Frequency of Case Prepositions</b> <i>case prep / total words</i>	1.58%	9.28%
<b>Percentage of Prepositions Marking Case</b> <i>case prep / total prep</i>	19.87%	74.41%

This work is a part of a larger look at case syncretism in Indo-European languages and prepositional case assignment throughout the daughter languages.

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## Direct *dýra munnsöfn*

### An analysis of direct speech in eddic and skaldic poetry

Sofiya Bodnar, Indiana University-Bloomington

Much research has been done on direct speech and quotatives in Old Norse sagas and eddic poetry. In modern typographical conventions direct speech is displayed by using quotation marks and introduced by quotatives. Those quotatives are grammatical devices marking quoted or direct speech and can be expressed through verbs of speech like *say*, *answer*, *speak*. Typically, direct speech does not display any change in grammar. Some examples of quotatives in Old Norse are *kveða* (say/claim), *mæla* (speak), *segja* (say), *svara* (reply), *biðja* (ask), *spyrja* (ask). My study delves into the examination of these linguistic features, which are vital components of narrative structure.

In Old Norse sagas, direct speech plays a very important role in the narrative. For instance, by using direct speech the action in the story can be developed further by having the characters make commands or requests. This type of speech would lead the story to change action or show the characters' purpose in it. Another way in which direct speech can be used is to set up a scene or to explain why the scene is happening. Other reasons would be dramatic effect of the narrative, showing familiarity of the protagonists or connecting scenes (Jeffrey 1934:85). Also, according to Jeffrey (1934), the use of direct rather than indirect speech in sagas usually places more emphasis on the context and meaning of the speech and focuses the readers' attention more on the spoken words.

Direct speech has been analyzed in eddic poetry, which has led to the conclusion that direct speech and quotatives are used in similar ways as they would in the prose sagas. Many eddic poems have words of speech in their titles (e.g., *Hávamál* 'Words/Speech of the High One [Óðin],' *Hamðismál* 'Words of [about] Hamðir,' *Þrymskviða* 'Poem about Þrymr [a giant]') indicating how important the role of direct speech was for mythological poems. These poems are often presented as the direct discourse of gods and heroes (Clunies Ross 2005: 28). As for skaldic poetry, the use of direct speech and quotatives has not been investigated. In this paper I will provide a review of quotatives in eddic and skaldic poetry and address the following research questions:

1. How do quotatives behave in skaldic poetry?
2. What are the similarities and differences between quotatives in eddic and skaldic poetry?
3. What could the reasons for the differences be?

The analysis in the present paper uncovers that, among other things, skaldic poetry does not use many quotatives to introduce direct speech and the use of *kveða* changes over time. However, when comparing direct speech in eddic and skaldic poetry they are both often introduced by *kvað*. The direct speech formulas are very concise, only mentioning the speaker's name or a brief description of them. Additionally, the quotatives are unstressed and do not alliterate.

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# Explicit and Implicit Instruction of Discourse Marker in German

Sofiya Bodnar, Indiana University-Bloomington

The importance of teaching Discourse Markers DMs in L2 German can be attributed to their role in enhancing the fluency and coherence of spoken language. By using DMs like *doch* (yes), *also* (so), *genau* (exactly) speakers can organize their speech and create connections between different pieces of information, thus making the conversation more cohesive and easier to understand. However, there is a significant lack of material in textbooks and grammars regarding the instruction of DMs. This lack of instruction is often rationalized by the perception of unteachability of DMs due to the numerous functions they can have in usage. Moreover, in certain cases teachers tend to disregard DMs, either because they are not obligatory in a sentence, or the instructors are uncomfortable teaching them (Kindl 2016), or they reason that learners will pick them up while in the target language country (De Cristofaro & Badan 2019).

There has been a long-standing debate whether explicit instruction is better than implicit instruction for DMs, which remains a complex issue. On the one hand, implicit instruction provides learners with opportunities to infer language rules and meanings through exposure and context, leading to a more natural and authentic way of processing and understanding language. On the other hand, explicit instruction directly presents and explains language rules, making it suitable for learners who may struggle with the process of inferring the rules. It does, however, seem that only using one or the other approach will only lead to limited success. So the question remains: what is the methodology to use when instructing on DMs?

The present paper summarizes two pilot studies performed on the instruction of DMs in German. The first pilot study looked at the relative effectiveness of implicit an explicit instruction of DMs in advanced learners of German. The second pilot study dealt with two types of implicit instruction to determine which instruction style is more beneficial to the learner and if the learners retain the material from pretest to delayed posttest.

The findings of the first pilot study were consistent with some previous studies (de la Fuente, 2009; Hernández, 2011) and show that explicit instruction is more beneficial for learners while learning DMs. In the second pilot study the results show that both types (awareness raising and input flood) of implicit instruction is beneficial for learners while learning DMs compared to the control group. Furthermore, future research could explore the combination of explicit and implicit instruction and its effectiveness in teaching DMs, examining their impact on long-term retention and application across diverse contexts in language acquisition.

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## A note on syllable constituency in Old Norse: Coda maximization or onset maximization?

David Bolter, *Denison University*

In the Old Norse philological tradition, it has been argued that Old Norse intervocalic consonants are syllabified following the principle of coda maximization. The idea dates as far back as Pipping (1903) and has been picked up by Kuhn (1983: 53-55) and Gade (1995, elsewhere). The idea can be explained on the following principles (see Gade's (1995: 31) translation of Pipping 1903: 1):

- (1) A long sound has two morae.
- (2) A short sound has one mora.
- (3) Those syllables that have fewer than three morae are short, all other syllables are long.
- (4) The morae of a syllable are counted from its vowel to (but not including) the vowel of the following syllable.

In this way, coda maximal syllabification dictates that the monosyllabic *fǫr* 'journey (nom/acc/dat sg)' and the initial syllable in *farar* 'journey (gen sg, nom/acc pl)' are syllabified as /fǫr/ and /far.ar/, both counting as short. Conversely, the bisyllabic *landi* 'land (dat sg)' and *sókna* 'attack (gen pl)' are syllabified as long e.g. /land.i/ and /sókn.a/ and both count first syllables count as long. Crucially, the bisyllabic *búa* 'to prepare, to live' is syllabified as /bú.a/, making the first syllable short.

In contrast to the scholarly tradition articulated above, there exists a second scholarly tradition, which analyzes syllable boundaries in a different way. In the phonological literature, it is generally held that intervocalic consonants are onsets (of a second syllable) provided they can occur as word onsets. In the context of Old Norse poetics, this is most clearly articulated by Árnason (1991). Under this tradition, the initial syllable in /fa.rar/ has one mora, where initial syllables in /lan.di/ and /só.kna/ are long due to the presence of two moras in the first syllable. Word-final consonants can be interpreted as extrametrical and thus monosyllables like /fǫr/ are short and /land/ or /sókn/ are not necessarily overheavy. A bisyllabic /bú.a/, if taken at face value, should be long, but Árnason (1991), for example, does not interpret it this way.

In this paper, I compare and evaluate these two competing hypotheses, emphasizing that for the most part the two theses overlap. Under either framework, *land*, *landi*, *sókn*, *sókna* are all heavy and the initial syllable of *farar* is light. Syllables of the *búa* type, about which much has been written, present the largest conflict between the two. Another point of conflict can be found in the realm of internal rhyme, where coda maximalization appears to offer a more economical account, in that it can specify that it is the coda sequences are repeated. On both points, it seems to me that the coda maximalization position is best supported by the data, even though it might not seem fashionable to some linguists today.

It is important to recognize that syllabic boundaries are abstract and rarely empirically testable, with the best evidence often being internal intuition. In the case of a dead language such as Old Norse, internal intuition is not on offer, meaning that we can only consider other factors. Poetic verse, it turns out, might just be the best evidence available.

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## On the non-minimality of the Swedish tonal accent contrast

David Bolter, *Denison University*

In recent years, many have argued that the contrast in Swedish between fortis /p<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>/ and lenis /b d g/ is maximally contrastive in that the two categories are distinguished by both voicing and aspiration (see Helgason & Ringen 2008 and Beckman et al. 2011). In this paper, I seek to apply this reasoning to Swedish tonal accent contrast. I demonstrate that Swedish tonal accent contour between Accent 1 and Accent 2 is maximally contrastive in a similar regard that the fortis vs. lenis contrast is, presenting three types of evidence along the way.

First, the tonal contrast between Accent 1 and Accent 2 is non-minimal in the sense that there is more than one property that cues the contrast. As mentioned in Gårding & Lindblad (1973: 92), words with Accent 2 tend to be overall longer than words with Accent 1. Additionally, Riad (2000), citing Bleckert (1987), discusses the phenomenon known as Eskilstuna-curl found in the Western Mälardalen dialect of Swedish, where the tonal contour contrast found in Swedish is augmented with the addition of steep pitch fall often resulting in a glottal stop. The location of this glottal stop furthers the contrasts, occurring word-medially in Accent 1 words and word-finally in Accent 2, providing a second phonetic cue to the tonal contrast.

Secondly, Swedish tonal accents are non-minimal in the sense that the contrast between the categories is not local i.e. it is not limited to a particular prosodic domain. Although varieties differ in how the tonal contrast is realized (see the four types in Gårding & Lindblad 1973: 46), the two accent contours generally differ in both syllables. This is especially true of the Type 2 two-peaked varieties. Furthermore, it is also the case that tonal contour differences can be detected in adjacent words, meaning that the domain for the tonal realization could be larger than the word itself.

Third, it has long been noted that Accent 1 and Accent 2 words differ in their underlying morphological structure e.g. /<sup>1</sup>'and-en/ 'the duck' /<sup>1</sup>'steg-en / 'the steps' vs. /<sup>2</sup>'ande-n/ 'the spirit' and /<sup>2</sup>'steg-en/ 'the ladder', given rise to terms such as *enstavelseaccent* for Accent 1 and *tvåstavelseaccent* for Accent 2 (cf. Bruce 2010: 55). In other words, the "phonological" contrast is not purely a phonological one, but equally a property of morphological status.

In phonology, the devil is very much in the details and it is striking how one phonological contrast is augmented by a myriad of phonetic cues. Classifying a given phonological contrast as tonal and nothing else, in the opinion of the present author, misses the fact that such tonal contrasts are often paired with segmental properties such as voicing, length, and glottalization.

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*Here You Spoke Frisian; here you spoke Dutch:*  
Domain-specific language shift in Wisconsin West Frisian

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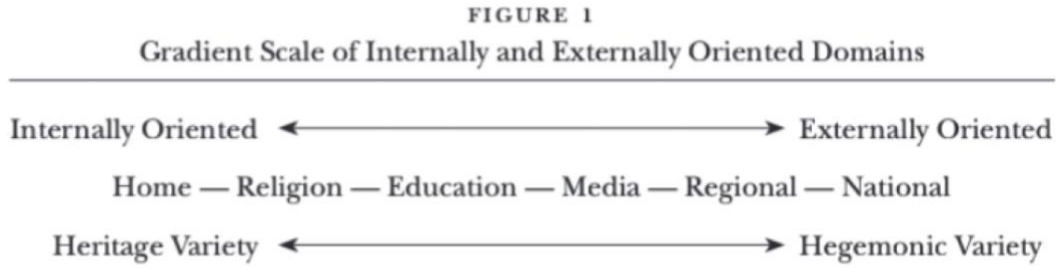
This presentation works towards a unified view of stable bilingualism and domain-specific language shift. Bousquette & Ehresmann (2010: 271) argue that West Frisian speakers immigrating to Randolph, Wisconsin in the late 19th and early 20th century "only needed to supplant their already restricted use of Dutch with use of English in the same restricted settings," which insulated their West Frisian domains from language shift. However, these sociolinguistic contexts are only superficially similar, as Dutch-Frisian bilingualism was – and remains – stable, while Wisconsin West Frisian is now moribund. This presentation revisits this heritage language community in light of recent work on domain-specific language shift (Bousquette 2020, Litty & Bousquette forthcoming), recasting English-Frisian bilingualism in Wisconsin in the early 20th century as an early stage of language shift. As such, the sociolinguistic context of language use in this heritage language community becomes integrated into the broader discussions of language maintenance and language shift (cf. Brown 2022).

Randolph Township, Columbia County, Wisconsin was originally settled by German and Welsh immigrants in the mid-19th century, before subsequent West Frisian immigration in the early 20th century made the latter group the largest ethnic and linguistic group by 1910, eventually leading to a name change from Randolph to Friesland when the town was incorporated in 1946 (cf. Johannessen & Salmons 2015). Most of the community emigrated from the area around Dokkum, NL, where they spoke West Frisian at home in surrounding areas like Oostrum, NL, switching to Dutch at the market in Dokkum, or in school or at church. The 1930 US census for the Wisconsin community lists 43 adults and 278 children who were monolingual, out of a total population of 1192 (Bousquette & Natvig 2020), suggesting that 1) Friesland, WI was a bilingual community in 1930, with domain-specific use of the majority and heritage languages; and 2) children were sequential bilinguals, learning West Frisian at home, and subsequently acquiring English through formal education in English-language public schools, and later using English in their interactions outside the home, or with members from outside the community.

Summarized in Table 1 is a comparison between pre- and post-immigration bilingualism among the Wisconsin West Frisians, showing that English supplanted Dutch as the majority language upon arrival in Wisconsin, but did so specifically in the domains most susceptible to verticalization: education, and domains with community-external ties, such as labor (see figure 1, Bousquette 2020: 513). Consistent with other heritage language communities undergoing language shift, the heritage language is retained longest in domestic, social, and religious domains, with the last visit from a Dutch-proficient minister occurring in 1999, and use of West Frisian persisting in social contexts into the early 21st century. As such, the domain-specific, post-immigration language use in Wisconsin was superficially similar to the stable bilingualism in Europe, but was actually a progressive stage of language shift. This analysis is consistent with other heritage communities undergoing language shift in the Upper Midwest, such as Finnish, German, and Norwegian (Brown 2022).

Table 1 – Domain-specific language use pre- and post-immigration

	Fryslân, NL pre-1910	Randolph, WI 1910-1930
School	Dutch	English
Work	Dutch	English
Church	Dutch	Dutch/English
Home	West Frisian	West Frisian



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## English as an “Influencer” of the German Language

A Semantic Analysis of Anglicized and German Adjectives in German Instagram Comments

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In this study, I examine the evolving dynamics of online language in German Instagram comments, specifically focusing on the semantic functions attributed to both German and anglicized adjectives. Motivated by the widespread use of anglicized adjectives such as *nice*, *cool*, or *cute*, this research argues that professional status (i.e., public figure, athlete, entrepreneur, musician), age (i.e., 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, and 46-55), and gender of user profiles significantly influence the semantic functions attributed to adjectives in German Instagram comments. The analysis reveals a consistent trend of positive qualifying adjectives across different professional statuses, ages, and genders, with distinct preferences for German and anglicized adjectives in specific age groups. This study provides valuable insights into the semantics of adjectives, thereby bridging the gap in the existing body of research on anglicisms by analyzing a social media corpus.

This study is based on a corpus of Instagram comments taken from users who vary by age and gender, encompassing diverse professional statuses. In particular, the study utilized predefined selection criteria to analyze 18,087 words from 31 Instagram profiles and 2,671 comments, ultimately incorporating 3,305 lemmatized adjectives (tokens) into the corpus. The evidence within the corpus was systematically classified into three main semantic groups (i.e., qualifying, relational, and quantitative) as well as eleven sub-categories (e.g., descriptive, evaluative, emotional, etc.). This categorization was achieved through a meticulously designed analysis grid, allowing further research to delve into the nuanced aspects of language use on social media platforms.

Results of the semantic analysis of adjective usage on Instagram reveal a consistent trend of positive qualifying adjectives across different professional statuses, ages, and genders. German and English adjectives contribute to this positive expression, with a preference for anglicized adjectives in the 26-35, 36-45, and 46-55 age groups and positive German adjectives in the 18-25 age group. Furthermore, evidence shows a weak correlation between positive adjective preferences and the indicated gender of the profile users. However, a stronger correlation was found with female accounts exhibiting a heightened usage of emotional adjectives, while male profiles lean toward negatively valenced adjectives in German and English. These gender-specific divergences in adjective usage indicate possible variations in communication styles and modes of expression.

The findings align with the social media trend towards “*positivity bias*” (Reinecke/Trepte 2014: 98). Moreover, the present study provides evidence for an increasing integration of English into the language use of younger generations. Therefore, this study contributes to a broader understanding of language use in digital communication spaces and offers insights into the transformation of the German language in the context of social media and globalization.

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## What in a god's name? Early evidence for syncope in the Vindelev bracteates

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**Issue.** In this study, I argue that recently found inscriptions containing the earliest attestations of *Odin*'s name not only shed light on the name's complex etymology, but also inform our understanding of sound change and morphological variation in early Germanic.

**Background.** In 2021, the earliest attestation of *Odin*'s name was discovered in a gold hoard in Vindelev, Denmark (Imer & Vasshus 2023). The name is attested on two bracteates, ostensibly inscribed by different hands: IK 738, which reads *wod(n)as* and IK 31, which, under certain assumptions, reads *(w)o(b)a(nas)*. The inscriptions, as interpreted by Imer & Vasshus (2023), are provided below:

(1) hos(t)i-z he(l=p)u ufar fat=ai jag=a iz **wod(n)as** we(=ra)z (IK 738)

(2) ho(s)ti(a)z hetu u(ff)?(i)ku?-?- (i)z **(p)o(w)(a)...** -e-az (IK 31)

The names are both attested in what appears to be a relative clause beginning with *iz* 'who (is)' and ending with *weraz* 'man-NOM.SG'. The bracteate labeled IK 738 features *Odin*'s name in the form *wod(n)as* 'Odin-GEN.SG' (reconstructed *\*Wōdanas* or *\*Wōdinas*), notably missing the suffix-initial vowel. By contrast, IK 31 contains a similar clause, though much less legible. The interpretation offered by Imer and Vasshus suggests that the inscriber confused the runes ⟨P⟩ (*w*) and ⟨b⟩ (*b*). This is understandable not only due to the similar shape of the graphemes, but also the sounds they represent. In early runic script, ⟨b⟩ likely represented [θ]; the expected rune ⟨M⟩ (*d*), exemplified in IK 738, likely represented [ð] word-medially, but [d] word-initially.

**Relevance and analysis.** *Odin*'s name poses interesting questions due to the nature of its formation. It appears to descend from either *\*Wōdinaz* (< PIE *\*weh₂t-* 'mad'), proposed due to *i*-mutation in forms like English *Wednesday*, or *\*Wōdanaz* (cf. OHG *Wuotan*). The alternation of *\*-ina-* and *\*-ana-* appears variably throughout Germanic, often occurring in adjectives and verbs formed from adjectives with analogical leveling abound. Since the hoard's contents likely date to the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, the discovery is particularly illuminating to understanding this early Germanic alternation for two reasons. Firstly, I argue that the former attested alternant *wod(n)as* reflects the form in *\*-ina-*, which had evidently already undergone syncope of its high vowel after a stressed, heavy syllable (e.g., Prokosch 1939; Drescher & Lahiri 1991). Such a development indicates that this form is West Germanic in origin, as it closely mirrors a sound change exemplified by Old Saxon verbs: for example, forms like Old Saxon *nerida* exhibit *i*-mutation (cf. Gothic *nasida*), whereas forms like *sōhta* (cf. Gothic *sōkida*) lose their medial-*i* but do not exhibit *i*-mutation. Thus, this runic inscription may be the earliest attested evidence of this change in an early West Germanic variety. The form found in IK 31, *(b)o(w)(a)...*, was likely meant to reflect *\*Wōdanas* and retains the suffix-initial *\*a*.

Secondly, the attested forms provide further evidence for the sporadicity and likely analogical nature of the alternation between *\*-ina-* and *\*-ana-*. For example, the change seen in PG *\*slahanaz* > Runic *slaginar* > OI *sleginn* 'slain' points to a participle formed with *\*-ina-*, whereas OS *(gi-)slagan* suggests *\*-ana-*. Thus, the *\*-ina-* and *\*-ana-* development may be a much earlier analogical development that underwent subsequent further analogies throughout the

daughter languages (see Ringe & Taylor 2014: 21-22 for an overview). The proposed *\*-ina-* variant of *Odin*'s name may well be one such sporadic development of West Germanic origin. This is consistent with the observation that *i*-mutated forms of the name are primarily attested in Old English and Old Frisian, though not in Old Saxon. Furthermore, the lack of *i*-mutation in Old *Óðinn* points to a secondary development of the high vowel from original non-mutating *\*-ana-*, consistent with the apparent attestation of such a form near the early North Germanic area.

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## Null subjects in Old High German alliterative verse: A partial null argument analysis

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Ninth-century Old High German (OHG) frequently shows the phenomenon of “pro-drop” or null subjects. A typical example is given in (1):

- (1) *steig tho i skifilin* (T 193,1)  
went-up then into boat  
‘then he got on a boat’

The subject pronoun *her* (‘he’) does not appear overtly in the sentence, even though it is inferable from the verb and presumably the context. While such null subjects are common in 9<sup>th</sup>-century OHG texts, they disappear by the time of Notker (Axel 2007: 298). This paper investigates the null subjects present in three OHG alliterative poems, namely *Hildebrandslied*, *Muspilli*, and the *Merseberger Zauberspüch*e. The poems were chosen because, as part of a native Germanic poetic tradition, translation effects from Latin can safely be ruled out.

Scholars since at least Eggenberger (1961) have proposed various analyses to explain the presence of null subjects in OHG, with Latin influence from loan translation being the traditional account. This explanation turned out to be clearly deficient, since OHG null subjects show a sensitivity to clause type that is not present in the Latin originals: pro-drop is much more common in main clauses than in subordinate clauses. Walkden (2014) presents a partial null argument analysis for pro-drop in Old High German, which has thus far been the most successful in accounting for the asymmetry between clause types. Under this analysis, pro-drop is valued by agreement with an “aboutness” operator in the left periphery. This explains why subordinate clauses cannot have null subjects: the “aboutness” operator is in the syntactic position normally occupied by a complementizer.

The data from the three poems conform to Walkden’s expectation that null subjects will only be licensed in main clauses: only two of the null subjects occur in subordinate clauses, and one can be easily explained by the lack of a complementizer. The presence of null subjects in these poems furthermore demonstrates that pro-drop was a native possibility in OHG without the need for translation influence.

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# Syntax and tonal accent: Deriving ‘affixes’ and ‘clitics’ in Norwegian compounds

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Stress assignment distributions, and prosodic patterns more broadly, are important for understanding the architecture of the grammar (Newell, 2021). We investigate a related phenomenon, Norwegian tonal accents, to analyze the relationship between syntax and phonology in tonal accent alternations in compounds. Tonal accent is a contrast between two ‘tonal’ melodies as part of the realization of stress that is partially predictable, but which also undergoes complex morpho-phonological alternations (Kristoffersen, 2000). The basic pattern is that monosyllabic words must be *accent 1* and most multisyllabic words with trochaic feet are *accent 2* (e.g., Wetterlin and Lahiri 2012; superscript numbers to the left of the stressed syllable indicate the tonal accent: <sup>1</sup>*dag* ‘dag’ and <sup>2</sup>*skole* ‘school’). Unpredictable tonal accent assignment concerns multisyllabic words with *accent 1*. Although there are a number of different approaches to these alternations based the phonological specification of tonal accents (Kaldhol & Köhnlein, 2021; Kristoffersen, 2000; Wetterlin & Lahiri, 2012), our primary focus in this presentation is compounds that are composed of left-hand members (the location of primary stress and tonal accent) that have predictable tonal accents based on their syllable structure, i.e., monosyllabic for *accent 1* and a trochaic foot for *accent 2*. These include compounds like the following, which may or may not have the linking elements =*s* or -*e*. These, according to Wetterlin and Lahiri (2012), are **clitics** and **affixes**, respectively, a distinction they argue has consequences for tonal accent assignment.

<sup>1</sup> <i>land=s-lag</i> ‘national team’	<sup>2</sup> <i>land-kart</i> ‘(country) map’	<sup>2</sup> <i>land-e-merke</i> ‘landmark’
<sup>1</sup> <i>land=s-mann</i> ‘compatriot’	<sup>2</sup> <i>land-mann</i> ‘farmer’	<sup>2</sup> <i>land-bruk=s-høy-skole</i> ‘agricultural school’

Here we see that *land* ‘land, country’ hosts primary stress in all compounds, but with both *accent 1* (<sup>1</sup>*lands-lag* and <sup>1</sup>*lands-mann*) and *accent 2* (<sup>2</sup>*land-kart*, <sup>2</sup>*land-mann* <sup>2</sup>*lande-merke*, and <sup>2</sup>*land-bruks-høy-skole*). Our analysis builds on Wetterlin and Lahiri (2012), who operationalize a grammatical distinction between **clitic** =*s* and **affix** -*e* to determine prosodic domains for tonal accent assignment. We show, however, that this difference is unnecessary and that the relevant domains can be derived by the syntactic structure of Norwegian compounds, following Eik (2019). Specifically, we claim that linking elements project phrases that mark the boundary of a cyclic domain in the syntax, which concomitantly serves as the relevant phonological domain for stress and tonal accent computation. Compounds without linkers lack this structure and, accordingly, the phonological domain extends over the whole compound rather than just the left-hand constituent. As a whole, this analysis supports a late-insertion, modular architecture of grammar (e.g., Newell, 2021), where syntax is distinct from phonology, but where each plays a role in determining morphological patterns and alternations.

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# From Middle High German Intervocalic Geminate to Ambisyllabic Singletons in Early New High German

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New High German (NHG) does not have a quantity distinction between short and long consonants and only retains a contrast in vowel length (see Page 2020: 98, 109). This is especially striking, considering the fact that Old High German (OHG) shows more geminates than any of its Germanic contemporaries (cf. Braune & Heidermanns 2018: 132, §91). In this paper, I aim to capture this shift in quantity distinctions from Middle High German (MHG) to Early New High German (ENHG) from the perspective of Optimality Theory (OT). Focusing on intervocalic geminates, I claim that there is a connection between the loss of intervocalic geminates and the emergence of ambisyllabic consonants in ENHG.

It is generally (albeit not universally) assumed that the relevant contrast in consonants in MHG was one of quantity (cf. Seiler 2009: 261). Thus, MHG distinguished between singleton and geminate consonants, as exemplified in (1) (data taken from Seiler 2009: 240):

(1) [la.ḡə] ‘shutter’ vs. [lat.tə] ‘lath’

Standard NHG no longer shows geminates in intervocalic contexts, while some dialects, such as Southern Bavarian and High Alemannic (Swiss German) have retained a consonantal quantity contrast (see Page 2020: 98). Of particular interest are geminates after a short vowel: in Standard NHG ambisyllabic singleton consonants occur in this context (Seiler 2009: 250):

(2) [bɪʦən] ‘bid, ask’

Using mora as the relevant unit of analysis, I propose that ambisyllabic consonants arose in this specific context in ENHG as another way to satisfy a minimality constraint that came about in MHG: syllables have to be bimoraic (cf. Seiler 2009: 256). In order to support this claim, I first establish a constraint ranking for each relevant stage, tracing the development of intervocalic geminates: one for Early MHG (before the minimality constraint), Late MHG (once the new minimality constraint takes effect), and ENHG (geminates are disallowed). Moreover, I also consider data from a NHG dialect that still preserves a singleton-geminate alternation to show that NHG ambisyllabic consonants and MHG intervocalic geminates appear in the same context.

Since I draw a direct connection between former intervocalic geminates and ambisyllabic consonants, this raises the question of whether or not ambisyllabic consonants are underlyingly moraic or should even be distinguished from geminates at all. I posit that the two should be regarded as separate entities. I conclude that, unlike geminates, ambisyllabic consonants are non-moraic. However, my data shows that they behave moraicly, i.e. are assigned a mora on the output level, similar to the notion of WEIGHT-BY-POSITION, due to their special prosodic status.

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## Nominal and Pronominal Adjective Endings in Gothic and Old High German

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Adjectives in the Germanic languages inflect for two paradigms, strong and weak. In two varieties, namely Gothic and Old High German (OHG), the strong paradigm itself comprises two separate historical paradigms, the nominal and the pronominal. For certain cells, the extant texts attest both nominal and pronominal adjectives. In Gothic, these cells are the neuter singular nominative and accusative, while in OHG these cells are nominative singular of all three genders and neuter accusative singular. This is expressed tabularly in (1). The relevant forms are in bold, the nominal form before the slash and the pronominal after the slash.

(1)	a. Gothic	b. OHG				
		<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>f.</i>		
<i>nom.</i>	blinds	<b>blind/</b> <b>blindata</b>	blinda	<b>blint/</b> <b>blinter</b>	<b>blint/</b> <b>blintaz</b>	<b>blint/</b> <b>blintiu</b>
<i>acc.</i>	blindana	<b>blind/</b> <b>blindata</b>	blinda	blintan	<b>blint/</b> <b>blintaz</b>	blinta
<i>dat.</i>	blindamma	blindamma	blindai	blintemu	blintemu	blinteru
<i>gen.</i>	blindis	blindis	blindaizos	blintes	blintes	blintera

Ratkus (2015) argues that the Gothic pronominal forms are stylistically charged and are “more proper, or formal, or emphatic” (p. 270-271). To test this claim, I examined all 178 instances of a nominative or accusative singular neuter adjective in the four Gothic gospels and compared them against the corresponding passages in the OHG translation of Tatian and the extant passages of Matthew in the OHG Mondsee Fragments. The following facts emerge.

- Of the 178 Gothic adjectives, 41 have a translation in the OHG Tatian whose form can vacillate between nominal and pronominal, i.e. the bolded cells in (1b).
- The nominal is more common than the pronominal. Of the 178 Gothic examples, 140 (78.7%) are nominal, and of the 41 OHG Tatian examples, 39 (95.1%) are nominal.
- Predicate position resists the pronominal. Of the 38 pronominal Gothic forms and the 2 pronominal OHG Tatian forms, none are unambiguously predicative.
- The Gothic and OHG data largely agree. Of the 41 passages where both languages could permit vacillation, 34 (82.9%) have nominal adjectives in both languages. Of the remaining 7, 5 times the Gothic has a pronominal adjective corresponding to a nominal adjective in OHG, and 2 times a nominal adjective in Gothic corresponds to a pronominal OHG adjective. In both OHG passages, the neuter adjective occurs together with the determiner, such that both end in *-az*.

The final point has bearing on Ratkus’ (2015) claim. None of the 41 passages that could show a pronominal adjective in both Gothic and OHG do so. It is mysterious why the Gothic and OHG translators never agreed that a given Biblical passage called for propriety, formality, or emphasis. Instead, I posit in this paper that the Gothic and OHG translations capture two stages of a change in progress, namely the supplanting of the old nominal forms by the new pronominal ones. By OHG, the old pronominal forms showed morphological agreement with determiners.

Ratkus, Artūras. (2015). Gothic possessives, adjectives, and other Modifiers in *-ata*. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 27(3). 238-307.



# Adjective Inflections in Old Norse DPs

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**Background:** Consensus seems to be emerging that the inflections of adjectives in Old Norse (ON) DPs were regulated by the semantics: indefinite DPs involve strong adjectives, and definite DPs contain weak adjectives (Evans 2019, Pfaff 2020). While indefinite DPs invariably show strong adjectives, definite DPs exhibit some variation – in certain cases, strong adjectives appear.

**Focus:** In this paper, we examine the variation in definite DPs. We extracted DPs containing a definite determiner and a prenominal adjective from all texts dating from 1150 to 1350 available on IcePaHC (Wallenberg et al 2011). Focusing on the determiners *hinn* ‘that/the other, the’, *sá* ‘that, the’, and *þessi* ‘this’, we compiled 636 examples of noun phrases with attributive adjectives. The results are as follows (parentheses around determiners means that only one of the two occurs in the nominal):

#	Schematic pattern of the nominal	Number = 636	Percentage = 100%
(1a)	(DET) ADJ-WK N(- <i>inn</i> )	559	87.9%
(1b)	(DET) ADJ-WK N(- <i>inn</i> ) (ambiguous DAT PL)	17	2.7%
(2)	ADJ-ST N- <i>inn</i>	6	0.9%
(3)	ADJ-ST N <i>sá</i> (/þessi)	17	2.7%
(4)	DET ADJ-ST N	13	2.0%
(5)	(DET) ADJ-ST N(- <i>inn</i> ) (certain adj. = ‘middle’, etc.)	23	3.6%
(6)	DET ADJ-WK ADJ-ST N	1	0.2%

**Proposal:** Pfaff (2017) proposes for Modern Icelandic that adjectives in the scope of definite determiners get a weak inflection; strong adjectives involve the elsewhere case. We follow Pfaff in our discussion of ON.

**ON data and explanation:** As is clear from the table above, the overwhelming majority (almost 88%) involves weak adjectives in the presence of a definite determiner (1a). This follows from Pfaff’s (2017) account. There are 17 examples where the inflection on the adjectives is ambiguous between weak and strong (1b) (and we will not comment on those cases further).

Case (2) involves a strong adjective followed by a noun and a suffixal article (*heilagri kristninni* ‘the holy Christianity’). These adjectives have a non-restrictive reading. Again, following Pfaff (2017), we assume that such cases involve the adjective in a position higher than the DP proper. This immediately accounts for the strong inflection. This high position is overtly indicated by certain quantifying adjectives: *flester ener stórre bóndr* ‘[the] most bigger farmers’.

The schematic pattern in (3) consists of strong adjectives followed by a noun and a demonstrative: *rikur hertogi sá...* We interpret these cases as indefinite DPs followed by a relative clause that is introduced by the demonstrative and a relative particle: *sá* is followed by *er*; *þessi* is followed by *sem*. The example just given can be rendered as ‘a rich duke who...’.

Case (4) appears to involve a free-standing determiner followed by a strong adjective and a noun (*þá dauða menn*). The strong ending is unexpected given that it seems to be in the scope

of a definite determiner. Note though that all definite determiners appear to be demonstratives. As such, we interpret these cases as demonstratives followed by (indefinite) appositives ('those ones, dead men'). Significantly, free-standing (*h*)inn in (4) always appears with initial *h*- (*hinn*).

Instances in (5) involve certain adjectives that never appear with a weak inflection (*annarr*, *hálfur*, *miður*, *þver*, and compounds with *-verður*). With the exception of 'other', they all have to do with location or dimension ('half', 'middle', 'transverse', 'upper/interior/exterior'). In other words, this is a lexically restricted set, which has a lexical explanation.

Finally, in one example, two adjectives have a different ending: the first one is weak, but the second one is strong (6). While interesting, the number is too small to make any strong claim.

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Morphosyntactic Structures of Old Saxon Poetic Circumlocutions  
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This presentation concentrates on the morphosyntactic classifications and features of poetic circumlocutions in the Old Saxon poem *Heliand*, especially *noun periphrasis*, *verb metaphors*, and *circumlocutions for prepositional phrases*. As concerns noun periphrasis particularly, I identify and describe six general categories based on structural configurations of base-words and determinants: 1. *simplex nouns* (e.g., Common Noun [BW] + Descriptive Adjective),<sup>1</sup> 2. *simplex noun base-words with dependent genitives* (e.g., Common Noun [BW] + Common Noun [Det.]),<sup>2</sup> 3. *composite nouns* (e.g., Common Noun [Det.]—Common Noun [BW]),<sup>3</sup> 4. *Juxtapositions* (e.g., Common Noun | Common Noun),<sup>4</sup> 5. *hybrid structures* (Common Noun [Det.] + (Common Noun [Det.]—Common Noun [BW]) [BW]),<sup>5</sup> and 6. *exceptional forms*.<sup>6</sup> Each general category contains multiple subtypes that reflect variable structural configurations and idiosyncratic features. This presentation also addresses genitive case functions relevant to nominal determinants, as well as compound types based on the semantic interrelationships between the components.

The remaining two expression types examined in this presentation, circumlocutions for verb phrases<sup>7</sup> and those for prepositional phrases,<sup>8</sup> frequently utilize nominal periphrasis to reformulate longer phrases. However, it will be explained that the structural features of verb-based and preposition-based circumlocutions do not reflect cohesive patterns; consequently, such expressions do not lend themselves to expedient categories and subtypes.

Various aspects of skaldic kenning scholarship inform this examination, especially the observations of Meissner (1921) and Marold (1983), as skaldic kennings provide a relevant contrast to Old Saxon poetic expressions. Additionally, several studies of variation and parallelism in Germanic alliterative verse, including Paetzel (1913), Pachaly (1899), and Colliander (1912), provide the foundation for an updated model of structural characteristics in Old Saxon periphrasis. This study differs from prior scholarship in two key respects. Firstly, although researchers have addressed a range of morphosyntactic topics connected to compounding in early Germanic and to nominal determination in skaldic kennings, I describe in detail the structural features and conventions strictly pertinent to noun periphrasis in Old Saxon verse. Additionally, whereas the ‘kenning types’ posited by Marold (1983) aim to account for all pertinent linguistic characteristics of a given expression, the model proposed here concentrates on lexical types and morphosyntactic construction. This focused approach allows for more detailed descriptive models than those provided in earlier studies. The key observation of this presentation is that the multifarious morphological and lexical characteristics of Old Saxon circumlocutions provide surprising compositional variability across numerous dimensions, even as compared to skaldic kennings and similar Old English expressions.

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<sup>1</sup> *eðili thiorne* (*Hel* 508, ‘noble virgin’ = ANNA THE PROPHETESS)

<sup>2</sup> *bodo drohtines* (*Hel* 446, 702, 770, ‘messenger of the Lord’ = ANGEL)

<sup>3</sup> *hebancuning* (*Hel* 130, ‘heaven-king’ = GOD)

<sup>4</sup> *drohtin god* (*Hel* 53, 1670, ‘lord God’ = GOD)

<sup>5</sup> *friðubarn godes* (*Hel* 983, ‘peace-child of God’ = CHRIST)

<sup>6</sup> *friðu uuið fiundun* (*Hel* 1011, ‘peace against enemies’ = CHRIST)

<sup>7</sup> *an thesan middilgard gidragan* (*Hel* 588, ‘to carry into this middle-earth’ = TO GIVE BIRTH)

<sup>8</sup> *fora godes ôgun* (*Hel* 1564, 1969, ‘before God’s eyes’ = IN HEAVEN)

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## The historical development of English irregular weak verbs

Many studies of historical verb regularizations in English (e.g. Lieberman et al. 2007) focus exclusively on originally strong (ablauting) verbs. The lack of attention paid to irregular weak verbs in such studies is problematic for two reasons. First, unlike modern German and Dutch, where the regularization of weak verbs has been highly systematic, with only a handful of irregular weak verbs surviving, such as German *brennen–brannte–gebrannt* ‘burn’ or Dutch *kopen–kochte–gekocht* ‘buy’, the number of irregular (historically) weak verbs in present-day English rivals the number of surviving strong verbs, with about 70 or so of each in common use (not counting prefixed forms such as *understand* or *upset*). Second, historical developments in English have obscured the strong–weak distinction in many verbs with stem-final *t* or *d*, such as *let* and *slide* (historically strong) vs. *set* and *hide* (historically weak), making it impossible to tell the story of the fates of English strong verbs coherently without also including the irregular weak verbs.

The ancestors of most of the irregular weak verbs of present-day English are to be found among what Mossé (1952: 73–81) refers to as Group II weak verbs of early Middle English (ca. 1100–1350). Among other properties, Group II verbs attach the past-tense *d* suffix directly to the stem without any intervening connecting vowel. They descend mostly from the largest subclass of class-1 weak verbs of Old English and Proto-Germanic. Before variable syncope in later Middle English affected the unstressed vowel in the *ed* suffix of Group I verbs, the Group I vs. II distinction was maintained quite consistently, and in verbs with stem-final *t* or *d* – where variable syncope in Group I was generally resolved in favor of unsyncopeated *-ed* forms – it is still largely maintained today, with the largest irregular weak classes represented by verbs that lack any overt past-tense suffix, such as *shut*, *send*, *bleed* and *light*.

Using data from the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*, the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots*, the *Middle English Dictionary*, and a database of all relevant tokens from the conservative late 14th century southwestern romance *Sir Firumbras*, this study takes a close, quantitative look at the development of the Group II weak verbs in Middle English, focusing on those with stem-final *t* or *d*. In addition to providing a detailed chronology of the analogical and sound changes that blurred the lines between these weak verbs and phonologically similar strong verbs, the study reveals that the behavior of this large subset of Group II weak verbs with respect to regularization, or lack thereof, is parallel to that of the strong verbs, making them an indispensable part the story of the fates of irregular verbs in the history of English.

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***Wunn(e)re, bigg(e)le: A sonority-based explanation for the (non)-occurrence of schwa epenthesis in unstressed syllables in Pennsylvania Dutch***

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Pennsylvania Dutch (PD), a Palatinate-based Germanic language spoken in the US, shows interesting variation in phonological patterns involving liquids. One of these patterns is compared here across three PD varieties: one older (Nonsectarian PD) and two modern dialects (Midwestern and Eastern PD). The observations for the analysis are taken from dictionaries and other linguistic sources. The pattern of interest is whether or not a penultimate schwa is inserted in forms like those referenced in the title, *wunn(e)re* ‘to wonder’ and *bigg(e)le* ‘to iron’, to break up liquids and other consonants. The relevant phonological contexts include cases where the cluster (without schwa) is licit (/gl/ in *bigg(e)le*) and cases where it is not (\*/nr/ in *wunn(e)re*). Nonsectarian PD, which uses the tapped realization for /r/ [ɾ], shows some variation in whether or not it will realize a penultimate schwa in these contexts in sequences involving both /l/ and /r/. Nevertheless, there is a clear tendency to prefer penultimate schwa before /r/ + schwa sequences and to disprefer it before /l/ + schwa sequences. For Midwestern PD, which also has the tapped /r/, this preference for penultimate schwa with /r/ but not with /l/ appears to be systematic. Modern Eastern PD, which has the retroflex realization of /r/ [ɻ] borrowed from American English, does not have penultimate schwas in these contexts for both /l/ and /r/ sequences.

**RQ:** How can we explain these conditions involving schwa and the different liquids?

**Analysis:** I propose that this distribution of epenthesized penultimate schwa is related to the sonority of the liquid in question. Although some sources classify rhotics as more sonorous than laterals, Noelliste (2019) argued that the flapped /r/ in Bavarian German is less sonorous than the lateral. For PD where the retroflex is also relevant, I assume that it is the most sonorous liquid (see Parker 2008) and otherwise borrow Noelliste’s ordering, retroflex > lateral > flap/tap, to explain why schwa epenthesis becomes increasingly likely going from left to right. Although the tap can appear in complex clusters in onsets Keiser (2012), I argue that it is more dispreferred in clusters than the lateral and the retroflex in unstressed syllables due to its low sonority (tautomarginal consonant clusters should have the maximum amount of sonority distance; Parker 2008).

**Conclusions:** Epenthesis between liquids (especially the tap) and other consonants in unstressed syllables resyllabifies coda and clustered consonants into simple onsets creating CV syllables. The more sonorous retroflex and lateral liquids are more likely to form clusters and allow coda consonants at their left edge and thus less likely to trigger schwa epenthesis. Inter- and intra-dialectal variation in occurrence of epenthesis within PD offers new insights on the sonority of the different liquids in relation to one another. Like Noelliste (2019), I provide evidence that sonority hierarchies can have language-specific orderings.

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Kaluza's Law and resolution in early Old English meter: an Optimality Theory reanalysis  
Mary Gilbert

Resolution – the condensing of two syllables into one metrical position in a poetic line – obviates a unique phenomenon in early Old English alliterative poetry: the *etymological* length of certain vowels appears to affect syllable weight. Syllables with vowels descended from the Proto-Germanic circumflex, or trimoraic, vowels pattern with heavy syllables in the suspension of resolution under secondary stress, in contradistinction to the required resolution of two short syllables under secondary stress. For example, the five syllables of *Beowulf* 764a *flēon on fenhōpu* scan into four metrical positions, with resolution of *hōpu*, in contrast with a line such as 1845a *wīs word-cwida*, where *cwida* does not resolve. While strongly present in early OE, particularly *Beowulf*, the contrast is gradually lost in later poetry. Thus, there are several phonological issues interacting: syllable weight; vowel quality; foot structure; stress, both full and secondary; diachronic vowel change in unstressed syllables; and metrical structure.

Historically, this distribution, titled Kaluza's Law (styled as a law first by R.D. Fulk in 1992) after its first formulator, Max Kaluza (1896), has been treated as a phenomenon both metrical and linguistic. However, the extent to which the phonological or morphological structure of the words in question conditions the metrical aspect, or how much the metrical arrangement may coerce resolution or lack thereof, such as by limitations on the line types in which Kaluza's Law occurs, remains controversial.

In this paper, I will present a diachronic Optimality Theory analysis of quantity and phonological foot structure in both early and later OE, where a re-ranking of the constraints that produce the attested long and short forms of early OE results in the later OE forms as well. Furthermore, I address the assignment of stress, also within Optimality Theory, which is critical to the application of Kaluza's Law. My argument moves the discussion of Kaluza's Law from phonologically descriptive and metrically analytical to phonologically analytical, and, although de-emphasizing it significantly, metrically descriptive. Under this analysis, the applicability of Kaluza's Law to particular line types tells us more about the structure of the line than the stipulations of the law.

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## Medieval German Influence on Czech: Shifting Multilingualisms

Mary Gilbert

Czech has long been noted to share features typologically different from its Slavic heritage and strikingly similar to the German it has shared borders with since the Middle Ages. Some prominent features attributed to medieval German influence include fixed initial stress, loss of nasal and reduced vowels, the umlaut-like *prěhláska*, nominal compounding, verb second main clauses beside verb final subordinate clauses, borrowed modal verbs and shifted modal forces (Berger 2014, Martínek 2020, Newerkla 2011) – and yet, few medieval loanwords. Questions of how, when, and where exactly this influence occurred have remained vital and elusive. In this paper, I contextualize recent research on linguistic features in Czech that have arisen from contact with German with a more detailed examination of both the history of medieval Bohemia and language contact theory in order to present a resolution for these diachronic issues.

In the Old High German period, the primarily structural change undergone by Czech, unaccompanied by many loanwords (and with several of those loanwords being restricted to religious vocabulary), is reflective of a situation Thomason & Kaufman (1988) describe as “extensive bilingualism”, not necessarily referring to most of the population, but more likely an influential segment, such as the German-speaking religious centers. Later on in the Middle Ages, there is a significant expansion of loanwords, with continuing structural change. I correlate this change to the developing wealth and stability of Czech-speaking Bohemia, especially under the Holy Roman Empire. The Czech can be more securely attributed to influence by Old and Middle High German than has been claimed in the literature before, being indeed the typologically likely results of the shifting language contact situations in Bohemia throughout the Middle Ages.

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## Lebkuchen Then and Now: Diachronic Bavarian Recipe Structure and Style

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How has the genre of the recipe developed over time? I compared two Bavarian recipes for Lebkuchen, one written in 1706 and the other in 2020, to identify how they differ in structure and style, and to understand how these differences reflect the social role and food system context of the recipe at the time of publication. To compare these recipes, I parsed them according to the style of the Indiana Parsed Corpus of Historical High German and coded them for structure and style (Table 1). These variables were drawn from previous diachronic recipe studies (Arendholz et al 2013) and my own ethnographic research on present-day recipe production in Germany.

<b>Structure</b>	Verb tense; verb mood; word order; coordination; punctuation; sentence complexity; temporal sequencing
<b>Style</b>	Measurement; ingredient list; equipment expectations; addressing the audience; purpose; headnote; other paratext

Table 1:  
Dependent  
Variables

**I found that the recipes differ in both structure and style, and that these differences shed light on the social role of the recipe.** One way these recipes diverged was in the relationship between writer and reader, which I found grew both closer and more direct over time. While the 1706 recipe's impersonal third person pronoun "Man" keeps the reader at a distance in a display of the writer's authority (1), the 2020 recipe engages the reader directly in dialogue through the playful posing and answering of questions (2) and direct address through the use of sentence-final infinitives as polite directives (3).

- (1) "MAn nimmt erftlich fchõnes Meel"

One takes first nice flour

*First, one takes nice flour*

**1706 Recipe**

- (2) "Wia lang dauerts?"

How long lasts-it

*How long is it gonna take?*

**2020 Recipe**

- (3) "Olle Zutaten bis auf de Hafaflockn und de Schokoglasur

All ingredients except the oats and the chocolate glaze

in am großen Topf verrührn

in a large vessel mix

*Mix all the ingredients except the oats and the chocolate glaze in a large vessel*

Some features of the recipes' structure and style do index their relative cultural contexts, but the similarities between the recipes indicate the durability and "changing continuities" of food culture as preserved in recipes (Sutton 2021, xi). Close reading of these recipes also offered insight into the relative globalization of their food systems, and how verbal forms can establish authority through timelessness and impersonality.

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**Galumphing into the Viking Age**  
Kennings as Structures of Play in a Preliterate Context  
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One of the most salient features of Old Norse and, to a lesser extent, Old English poetry is the kenning. A kenning is a poetic structure which consists of at least two nouns, which together indicate another, unspoken concept. Examples include the Old English *hronrad* (“whale-riding”), a kenning for SEA, or the Old Norse *blóðgögl* (“blood-geese”), a kenning for RAVENS.

Kennings have received much analysis over the years, but scholars have struggled to pinpoint the reason kennings emerged in early Germanic poetry. Oral theorists, like Walter Ong (1982) and John Foley (1991), argue that kennings are mnemonic devices, but this does not account for aspects of the kenning system that are obviously antagonistic to easy memorization, such as the hyper-complex *rekit* kennings. These complexities are accounted for by other scholars, such as John Lindow (1975), who indicates kennings’ possible role as an in-group language, but these studies in turn often disregard those traits of kennings that seem representative of a preliterate origin.

The tension between these interpretations can be resolved via a philological-anthropological approach. This paper uses traditional philological methods in conjunction with the model of play developed by Stephen Miller (1973), which has been widely used in fields such as education and anthropology but has seen no use in a philological context. Per Miller, play is typified by what he calls *galumphing*, a tendency towards recombination, repetition, inefficiency and lack of economy (89). Analysis of a corpus of over 700 ninth- and tenth-century kennings demonstrates that *galumphing* is a core trait of the kenning, both in Old English and in Old Norse poetry, which in turn suggests that kennings emerged neither as mnemonic structures nor as an in-group language, but as instances of anthropological play within the linguistic environment of a primary-oral culture. Furthermore, Miller’s model of play suggests that kennings may have evolved from descriptive expressions, like the *sann-* or *viðkenningar*, which were systematically modified via experimental play. Such an interpretation not only sheds light on the kenning’s more unusual linguistic attributes, but also illuminates the societal roles kennings played as early Germanic cultures shifted from orality to incipient literacy.

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## **If it Looks Like a Blood-Goose, and it Honks Like a Blood-Goose...**

Towards a Descriptive Definition of Kennings as Abstract Cognitive Structures

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As perhaps the most prominent feature of early Germanic poetry, the kenning has received much scholarly attention. Most analyses of the kenning system attempt to come to a structural definition, often moving forward from Snorri Sturluson's description of the kenning in the 13<sup>th</sup> century *Skáldskaparmál*. Although Snorri's treatment of the kenning is sometimes contradictory or inconsistent, it is a very systematic one – kennings are categorized by referent, and he describes the forms of replacement and variation that are permissible within a kenning. This notion of the kenning operating within a fixed framework, limited to a finite pool of referents and forms, is often perpetuated in modern scholarship, beginning with Meissner's influential *Die Kenningar der Skalden*. But while this approach has definite value in understanding kennings in their later forms, it does little to help us understand kennings as emergent oral structures, well before they were fully systematized by written record and study.

Accordingly, this study takes a different tack. Rather than taking the kenning as the output of a prescriptive poetic system, this study builds a descriptive definition of the kenning rooted in the aesthetic and cognitive roles that they play in early skaldic poetry. To accomplish this, this study uses cognitive-linguistic models of figurative language drawn from Radden & Kövecses (1999), which are better suited to pinpointing kennings' poetic function than the rhetorical models of figurative language used in the scholarship thus far. This study also pays particular attention to the pre- or semi-literate context in which kennings first emerged, centuries before Snorri described them. These ideas are applied to a corpus of nearly 700 potential kennings in order to suggest a common definition of the kenning that is *functional* rather than *structural* in nature – it claims that a kenning is *a poetic formulation, functioning in a metaphoric, metonymic, or circumlocutory manner, that allows for the heightening of cognitive abstraction using only the concrete vocabulary typical of a primary-oral society*. This definition is not intended to be a replacement for those structural conceptions mentioned above, which are better descriptive of kennings in their later stages - rather, this is intended to be a complementary definition that may help illuminate and identify kennings in their very earliest periods.

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### On Norwegianisms in the Kings' Saga Manuscript *Hrokkinskinna* ('wrinkly skin')

Icelandic manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries show Norwegian orthographic influence (Karlsson, 1978; 1989). The Norwegian character of Icelandic mss. disappears almost entirely after the beginning of the 15th century, but some Norwegian features remained (Karlsson 1989).

The Icelandic ms. of kings' sagas, *Hrokkinskinna*, is dated to 1400-1450. Yet *Hr.* contains Norwegianisms which disappeared from Icelandic mss. after 1400, and it does not contain other Norwegianisms known to persist in other mss.; furthermore, instances of *Hr.*'s Norwegianisms are at variance with corresponding forms in its older sister ms., *Hulda*, and in forms utilized by the *Hr.* scribe in the diploma AM FASC VIII,7 (Karlsson 1963).

The following linguistic forms, all characteristic of Old and Middle Norwegian, are attested sporadically in *Hr.*:

- a. the 1st pers. pres. sg. ind. assumes the form of the 3rd pers.: *ek hefír/ek segir* in *Hr.* for Old Icelandic (OÍcel.) *ek hef(i)/ek segi* 'I have/I say.
- b. the spelling of the products of u-umlaut: primarily <au> and <o>, with very little representation of <q>; note also *kattr* (nom. masc. sg., OÍcel. *kǫttr* 'cat').
- c. monophthongization of the diphthong /ei/ > /e:/, or as Björn K. Þórólfsson (1925, p. XV) posits, the sporadic merger of /e:/ and /ei/: *Gerasonar* for OÍcel. *Geirasonar* '(personal name)', *ena/enu* for *eina/einu* 'one,' *beinleki* for *beinleiki* 'hospitality').

This paper will analyze the extent to which these features can be attributed to:

1. foreign influence/readership, i.e., Norwegian scribal prestige/audience
2. poorly understood linguistic developments in 15th-century Icelandic
3. Late Medieval Icelandic scribal culture

This paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the linguistic history of Icelandic by the careful evaluation and employment of data from a sizeable, yet infrequently studied manuscript of the 15th century (as well as contemporary charters).

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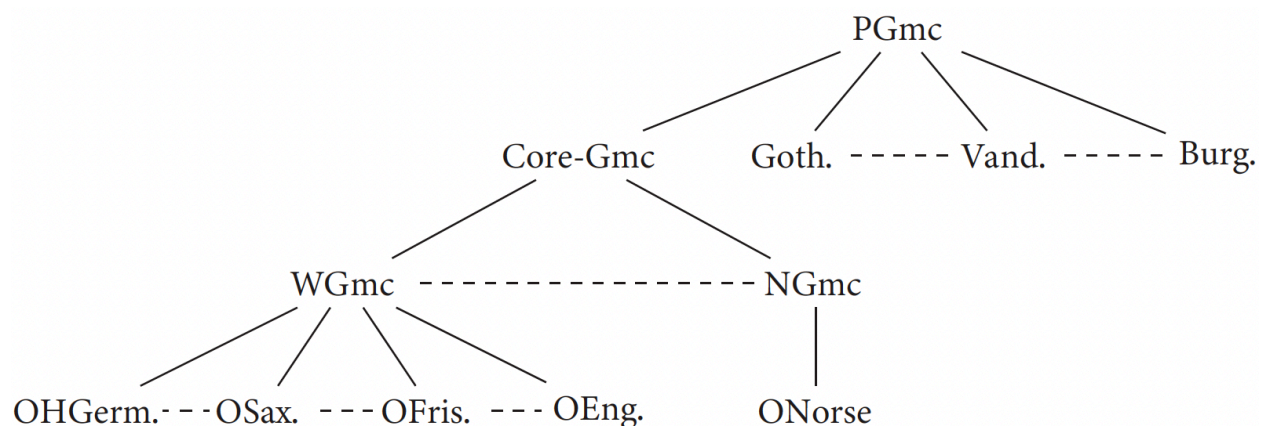


## The *Verschärfung* and Germanic subgrouping: Inheritance by proxy

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Germanic subgrouping remains unsettled, a discussion often including the role of the *Verschärfung*, a process of glide gemination and then hardening to geminate stops, cf. Old Norse *tveggja* and Gothic *twaddjē* ‘of two’ < \**twajj*- (Fulk 2018:117). At issue is whether the change was shared between these languages or developed independently (Hartmann 2023:258). The situation is complicated by the fact that early Germanic languages emerged in a high-contact dialect continuum (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Horizontal lines indicate lateral diffusion (Hartmann 2023:208)

A shared innovation would support a closer genetic connection between North Germanic and Gothic versus West Germanic but as Ringe & Taylor (2014:65) note, “Whether this could be a historically shared change is unclear”.

In classic cladistic models, languages only share traits and experience common development at the proto-language stage — innovations either occur then or are independent, aside from effects of areal diffusion/contact. Using the *Verschärfung*, we explore a possible third innovation type that can account for parallel changes: A proto-language passes on not just completed innovations or innovations in progress but also entire phonological (and other) systems. We hypothesize that changes in daughter languages can be triggered independently by the same conditions, and we explore the *Verschärfung* as such a case.

From singleton glides in medial position after short vowels, Proto-Germanic first developed geminate glides, \**jj* and \**ww*. Cross-linguistically, geminate glides are relatively uncommon. Maddieson (2007:1934) motivates this by noting that the margins of glides “are poorly defined, which may make perception of length differences more

problematic for the listener”. This, in turn, would make them diachronically unstable, with learners less likely to acquire an existing distinction. One response to this is glide hardening. Hall (2022:148, elsewhere) provides extensive, compelling evidence that “Glide Hardening independent of *Verschärfung* has been attested throughout the history of Gmc” and in other families. This allows us to capture both the similarities and differences in *Verschärfung* across Germanic.

Proto-Germanic phonological structure, notably the presence of relatively rare and potentially unstable geminate glides, set the table for innovations based on inherited structures and operations – shared preconditions for changes in the daughter languages away from geminate glides. Those changes therefore are neither entirely independent nor directly inherited, but constitute *innovations by proxy*. This changes our notion of ‘innovation’ in comparative linguistics, as it re-defines how (inherited) innovations can arise. In turn, it repositions *Verschärfung* in Germanic subgrouping as *neither* a NGmc-Gothic shared *nor* parallel innovation, but an inheritance by proxy.

Table 1 illustrates the theoretical position of this analysis within cladistics. We structure the transmission of the same trait in two categories: (1) Does the trait originate in the same process as part of a change in a proto-language? (2) Is the change caused by the same trigger (e.g. same process in the same environments)? In this framework, homoplasies are chance-similarities while synapomorphies are shared traits that were generated in the same way (through the same change). Hence, innovations by proxy are independently generated changes that nevertheless are created by the same triggers.

	Not causal	Causal
Not same process	Homoplasy	Innovation by proxy
Same process	Unrelated change (autapomorphy)	Synapomorphy

**Table 1.** Innovation by proxy and other cladistic relationships

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### Speech Acts in *Ljóðaháttir*: The Case of *Lokasenna*

Among the Eddic meters in Old Norse poetry, *ljóðaháttir* provides poets with perhaps the widest range of poetic, syntactic, and rhetorical options. Like many Eddic meters, it uses a stanzaic form that can lead to some obscure, stylized narratives. At the same time, though, the full line at the end of each *helmingr* gives some flexibility to the meter. The syntax is also more adaptable than it is in some meters: while poets often avoid enjambment across the *helmingr* in other meters, poets composing in *ljóðaháttir* employ it regularly, along with any combination of syntactic breaks at different points in the stanza. It is no wonder, then, that poets employed this meter for a broad range of poems, such as the gnomic *Hávamál*, the narrative *Skírnismál*, and poems that are primarily dialogue, such as *Lokasenna*.

The structure of dialogue that *ljóðaháttir*, as well as its closely related variant *galdralag*, generates is particularly interesting when analyzed in conjunction with Speech Act Theory. Speech Act Theory provides a method to analyze how locutionary acts can mean different things depending on the context, and scholars such as Eric Shane Bryan have shown that Old Norse texts often have very complex speech acts that present obscure but cutting Face Threatening Acts.<sup>1</sup> Though the stanzaic structure in *ljóðaháttir* can breed repetition, the final verse of each *helmingr* permits a greater degree of creativity that allows the poet to compose some ingenious speech acts. The addition of an additional full line in *galdralag* can then provide space to expand upon or reinforce that initial act.

In this presentation, I will highlight these features by illustrating how they are used in the poem *Lokasenna*. The *Lokasenna* poet creates a strong contrast, for instance, between the characters Þórr, whose repetition in the full lines makes him appear brutish and slow, and Óðinn, whose manipulation of the meter reveals his intelligence. Even Óðinn, though, cannot match the verbal prowess of Loki, who switches strategically between *ljóðaháttir* and *galdralag* to maximize his insults and uses repetition only as a pointed tool to reverse the arguments of others. While I will not try to answer the question of whether Loki should be considered the victor of this verbal battle, I will argue that he proves his verbal superiority to the *Æsir*. Thus, the *Lokasenna* poet is able to use the features of *ljóðaháttir* to put speech acts into Loki's mouth that establish his reputation as a wordsmith who will long be remembered.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Bryan's *Discourse in Old Norse Literature*, D. S. Brewer, 2021.

## The role of orthography in high-variability phonetic training: a study of beginning L2 German learners

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Over the past several decades, research on second language (L2) phonology has provided evidence that high variability phonetic training (HVPT) can lead L2 learners to develop stronger perceptual skills and improve pronunciation (Thomson, 2018). While some studies on HVPT have taught learners to associate sounds with symbols (e.g., nautical flags), most studies have used orthographic representations during training. However, some recent evidence suggests that access to orthography during training can interfere with the acquisition of L2 phonemes (Barrios & Hayes-Harb, 2020). The present study therefore investigates how the use of orthographic representations affects the acquisition of two vocalic contrasts known to be difficult for beginning learners of L2 German. In this experiment, first-semester learners of German completed an HVPT training that focused on the /ə/-/ɐ/ contrast (e.g., *diese* vs. *dieser*), and the /ʊ/-/y/ contrast (e.g., *Mutter* vs. *Mütter*). For each vowel, participants completed three training sessions with recorded stimuli from five different L1 speakers of German. For one of the vowel contrasts, participants were trained to associate the vowels with the full orthographic representation of the training stimuli (e.g., *dieser*, *Mütter*). For the other, participants were trained to associate the vowels with a colored box (red or blue) that stood in for the target vowel (e.g., *dies* ■, *M* ■ *tter*). Learner development was tracked using (1) accuracy rates for each of the 15 training blocks and (2) an ABX task administered as a pretest, posttest, and delayed posttest. Data collection is currently ongoing. Preliminary results suggest that there is no difference between training type for the /ʊ/-/y/ contrast, but that training for the /ə/-/ɐ/ contrast favored orthographic representation. Results will be discussed with reference to theoretical, methodological, and practical implications of the study.

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“High-timbered Houses: Lexical Evidence of English Missionary Influence in Eddic Poetry”

Old Norse mythology is among the most well-known and beloved bodies of myth in the world today. These stories, which report the episodic wanderings and deeds of deities like Thor and Odin, are also products of notoriously thorny transmission history, since they were copied for centuries by Christian scribes. The most famous version, the Prose Edda, dates from almost three centuries after the conversion of Iceland. Some have argued that this complex foundation shows strains of syncretism, blending heathen and Christian elements as different eras of composers pieced together their shifting religious and cultural identities differently. A basic question remains: why did Old Norse heathen myth survive in such large amounts, when little other pre-Christian mythology survived the various conversions in Northern Europe? What role did syncretic thought play in preserving the myths even while transforming them? And can foreign missionary influence be discerned within eddic poetry? A possible answer may be glimpsed in *Völuspá*, a cosmological poem that can be dated to the century before Iceland’s conversion on linguistic grounds. In it, while describing how the Æsir shaped creation, the poet claims that among their first deeds, they “built high their temples and groves.” This paper demonstrates that the verb “hátimbruðu” bears clear linguistic evidence of direct borrowing from Old English Christian poetry, especially poems such as *Guthlac A*, *God’s Gifts to Humankind*, *Christ and Satan*, and *Christ III*. The paper then explores the implications of this Old English missionary influence. In the end, I argue that *Völuspá*’s unusual calque provides insight into the early stages of Norse syncretism, setting precedent for the later more robust syncretism witnessed in the famed Icelandic conversion provisions and later texts, like *Niðrstigningar saga* and Snorri’s *Prose Edda*.

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## **Old High German & Old Saxon: A Grammar and Reader**

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The authors of this proposal are writing a book, provisionally titled *The Oxford Guide to Old High German and Old Saxon*, under contract with Oxford University Press. The aim of the book is to fill a gap amongst available English-language resources on Old High German (OHG) and Old Saxon (OS) by providing:

1. A comprehensive OHG and OS grammar;
2. Introductory and advanced texts with explanatory notes;
3. A full glossary.

We would like to get feedback from the GLAC audience to ensure that our project will best fit the needs of our intended audience: students and researchers of OHG and OS.

### **Scope of the book**

The book will perform three distinct functions. First, it will serve as a linguistic introduction to OHG and OS. Secondly, it will offer a wide range of extracts in both language varieties with extensive explanatory notes. Thirdly, it will be the first English-language reference grammar for both OHG and OS in one volume.

The book presupposes a working knowledge of modern German, but does not assume a background in linguistics. It is aimed at ‘beginners’ and ‘advanced readers’. Beginners will gain a foundation for further linguistic or literary studies in OHG/OS; advanced readers will find a broad selection of textual material, including examples of all known text types and dialect areas, and an extensive reference grammar. The book will appeal to those who are interested OHG, OS, or both and is intended as a teaching aid, for self-study, or for reference.

### **Proposed outline of the book**

1. Introduction
2. Grammar
3. Versification
4. Sources for the study of Old High German and Old Saxon
5. Selection of annotated texts
6. Glossary of linguistic terms
7. Glossary of vocabulary
8. Bibliography
9. Index

### **Structure of presentation**

We will present a detailed table of contents and samples from the grammar and text chapters to explain the purpose and structure of each section. An electronic version of the table of contents as well as sample sections from the grammar and reader sections will be available via [this link \(https://tinyurl.com/3z6bzmkc\)](https://tinyurl.com/3z6bzmkc) a week before the conference, so that GLAC attendees will have the opportunity to read material and prepare comments/questions.

## Free relative clauses in North American Norwegian

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**Introduction:** In (homeland) Norwegian, relative clauses (RCs) can be *free* or *bound*. Free relatives (1) have no correlate in the matrix clause; the RC is an argument/adjunct on its own.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, bound RCs (2) have a correlate in the matrix clause which is co-indexed with the covert constituent (an operator) in the RC (Julien, 2005).

- |     |   |     |  |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| (1) | Gjør [hva du vil]<br>do what you want<br>'Do what you want'<br>(Norw., free RC) | (2) | Gjør det <sub>i</sub> [du vil Op <sub>i</sub> ]<br>do that you want<br>'Do what (lit. 'that which') you want'<br>(Norw., bound RC) |
|-----|---|-----|--|

This paper investigates free RCs in North American Norwegian (NAMNo), a heritage variety spoken in the US and Canada (Johannessen & Salmons, 2015). In spoken homeland Norw. dialects, the use of free RCs is restricted: They can be used to refer to an unspecified individual/entity (1), but they are normally not used with specific referents (Faarlund, Vannebo, and Lie 1997; Faarlund 2019). This sets Norw. apart from English, where free RCs are used much more widely (3):

- (3) [What she did] was right (English, free RC)

In context like (3), with specific referents, homeland Norw. speakers typically opt for bound RCs.

**Hypothesis:** *Free RCs are less restricted in NAMNo than in homeland Norw.* The motivation for this is twofold: First, the use of free RCs could be promoted by their ubiquity in English (dominant language of present NAMNo-speakers). Second, free RCs are arguably syntactically 'simpler': coindexing with a matrix correlate is not necessary, and free RCs thus rely less on silent elements, which are difficult for heritage speakers (Laleko & Polinsky, 2017).

**Data & Preliminary results:** NAMNo data is drawn from the *Corpus of American Nordic Speech* (CANS), v. 3.1, speakers recorded in 2010 or later (615,000 tokens). For comparison with homeland Norw., we use the *Nordic Dialect Corpus* (NDC), v. 3, speakers aged over 40 (1,460,000 tokens).<sup>2</sup>

Free RCs are infrequent in both corpora; however, despite CANS being smaller, we got more relevant hits in this corpus than in NDC (33 vs. 24). Still, we see no widespread, general relaxing of the conditions on free RCs in NAMNo. Some free RCs are homeland-like (2); some are more English-like (3), however, many involve a particular, recurring phrase ('what we call...'). In our presentation, we explore the variation in further detail. The relative stability of free RCs corroborates the notion of syntax being rather robust in heritage languages; it might also be relevant that the silent operators in bound RCs do not involve very long-distance dependencies (Montrul, 2016, 71ff).

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Faarlund, J. T. (2019). *The syntax of Mainland Scandinavian*. Oxford: OUP.

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Johannessen, J. B., & Salmons, J. C. (Eds.). (2015). *Germanic heritage languages in North America: Acquisition, attrition, and change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

<sup>1</sup>Free RCs are introduced by a *wh*-word, which makes them superficially similar to embedded interrogatives. The two should, however, not be conflated; cf. e.g. Bresnan and Grimshaw (1978).

<sup>2</sup>In both corpora, we searched for strings consisting of *hva* 'what' + a noun/pronoun + a verb.

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**Three-for-two is a good deal:  
how two layers of feet solve three puzzles of German phonology**  
*Björn Köhnlein (The Ohio State University)*

**The issue.** The prosodic hierarchy has been a key player in the phonological enterprise for more than four decades (Selkirk 1978), but these days few people seem to agree on what it looks like. We use data from (Standard) German to address one of the ongoing debates, viz. the question whether prosodic nodes, specifically foot structure, can be recursive (e.g., Kager & Martínez-Paricio 2015, 2021, Golston 2021 for discussion). As we show, assuming two foot layers allows us to provide a unified solution for three long-standing issues in German phonology. Our analysis thus supports a richer model of the prosodic hierarchy that includes (foot) recursion.

**Three puzzles.** The first issue we discuss is umlaut with the diminutive suffix /-çən/, where umlaut refers to the fronting of stressed back vowels; e.g., Iverson & Salmons (1992), Féry (1995), Fanselow and Féry (2002). As shown in (1), umlaut is triggered in stem-final stressed syllables (1a) and can skip over unstressed schwa syllables (1b). Umlaut is blocked, however, when an unstressed stem-final syllable contains a full vowel (1c).

(1)	Base form	Diminutive	Gloss	
	a. ['bo:t]	['bø:t-çən]	'boat'	
	b. ['mʊtək]	['mʏtək-çən]	'mother'	
	c. ['o:ma]	['o:ma-çən]	'grandma'	*['ø:ma-çən], *['o:mɛ-çən]

The second puzzle concerns the phonotactics of the velar nasal engma in coda position before an unstressed vowel. Engma will always be realized as ambisyllabic when the post-tonic syllable contains a schwa (2a). When the post-tonic syllable contains a full vowel, however, we find the sequence [ŋ.g] instead (2b), at least in underived words; e.g., Hall (1989):

(2)	a. [fɪŋ.ŋə]	*[fɪŋ.gə]	'finger'
	b. [taŋ.go]	*[taŋ.ŋo]	'tango'

Lastly, the sequence [hə] is disallowed in German unstressed syllables, barring extremely careful spelling pronunciations ((3a), Wiese 1996). Unstressed [h], however, is unproblematic when a comparable unstressed syllable contains a full vowel (3b):

(3)	a. ['ze:.ən], ['ze:n], *['ze:.hən]	'to see'; cf. orthographic <i>sehen</i>
	b. ['u:.hu]	'owl'

As far as we are aware, these puzzles have never been treated in tandem, despite notable similarities: specifically, in all three phenomena, post-tonic syllables with schwa have a different status from post-tonic syllables with full vowels, which would be a strange coincidence. While independent solutions to each of these issues are available, we explore a unified approach.

**Proposal.** Two layers of foot structure (e.g., Martínez-Paricio 2013), a minimal trochee that can be dominated by a maximal trochee, form the basis for modelling all three patterns. Our basic claim is that only (underspecified) schwa is allowed in the weak position of a disyllabic trochee, which also captures that schwa preferably occurs post-tonically (cf. WEAKSCHWA for Dutch, van Oostendorp 2000). A maximal trochee can incorporate one more syllable to the right – the foot

domain is thus maximally trisyllabic, represented as  $((\sigma_{\mu\mu}\cdot\epsilon)_{\min}\sigma)_{\max}$ . Unstressed full vowels, however, are disallowed in the dependent syllable of a minimal foot, a case of sonority-sensitive footing (de Lacy 2007). The minimal foot is instead bimoraic, containing only the two moras of the stressed syllable. A post-tonic syllable is footed as the dependent of a maximal foot – the foot domain is thus maximally disyllabic, represented as  $((\sigma_{\mu\mu})_{\min}\sigma)_{\max}$ . The three puzzles can then be solved as follows.

**1. Umlaut:** [ $'((m\gamma.t\epsilon\beta)_{\min}\text{-}\zeta\epsilon n)_{\max}$ ] vs. [ $((\text{'o:})_{\min}ma)_{\max}\text{-}\zeta\epsilon n$ ] – umlaut is blocked when [- $\zeta\epsilon n$ ] and the stressed vowel are not in the same foot.

**2. Engma:** [ $(f\eta.\eta\epsilon\beta)_{\min,\max}$ ] vs. [ $((ta\eta)_{\min}go)_{\max}$ ] – ambisyllabic engma is preferred within a minimal foot, but not across the boundary between a minimal and a maximal foot, leading to [ɨ.g].

**3. \*[hø]:** [ $(ze:\cdot h\epsilon n)_{\min,\max}$ ] vs. [ $'((u:\text{'})_{\min}hu)_{\max}$ ] – [h] is disallowed in the onset of a dependent syllable of a minimal foot.

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## A History of Rhotic Structure in Early Germanic Languages

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Discussions on the historical evolution of rhotics in Germanic languages have commonly centered on reconstructing specific phonetic values for these sounds. This has led to various proposals aiming to phonetically reconstruct the Proto-Germanic (PGmc) rhotic as well as the new rhotic phoneme that entered Northwest Germanic (NWGmc) from PGmc \*/z/. Additionally, researchers have posited a number of phonetic values for rhotic allophones preceding consonants to explain why rhotics in this context conditioned vocalic changes like Old English Breaking, or why they inhibited a development like Old High German Primary Umlaut. However, these proposals overlook a crucial observation noted in recent research: phonetically, rhotic sounds exhibit a high degree of variability, cf. Sebregts (2014), Natvig (2020). These findings suggest that older quests for the proto-phonetic rhotic grail have been based largely on a faulty premise.

Building on research by Kostakis (2015, 2019) and Natvig (2020) – which asserts that abstract representations of rhotics contribute more effectively to understanding sound systems than postulations of specific rhotic segments – this paper examines the history of Germanic rhotic sounds from a purely phonological perspective. It is my contention that rhotics can have specifications with typical vocalic features like [high] or [front] (or both) because rhotics frequently condition changes to vowels. For example, the rhotic sound derived from PGmc \*/z/ is argued to be [high] and [front]. Pre-Old Norse (ON) r-umlaut corroborates this representation. Due to Pre-ON r-umlaut, inherited back vowels shifted to corresponding front vowels before /‘r<sub>HF</sub>’/ from PGmc /z/, but not before /‘r’/ from PGmc \*/r’/. Here, <sub>H</sub> and <sub>F</sub> represent the features [high] and [front], respectively, and single quotes (‘’) designate uncertain phonetic quality. The change is observed in ON *b[æ]rr* ‘bare’ (< PGmc \*b[a]zaz), but not in ON *b[a]rr* ‘barley’ (< PGmc \*b[a]raz). Importantly, pre-ON /i<sub>HF</sub>/, due to pre-ON i-umlaut, triggered the same set of changes to back vowels that /‘r<sub>HF</sub>’/ did (e.g. ON *k[æ]till* < PGmc \*k[a]tilaz). Thus, /‘r<sub>HF</sub>’/ and /i<sub>HF</sub>/ can be understood as a natural class of [high], [front] segments that caused the fronting of back vowels.

As a methodology, I use analyses of one to two rhotically-conditioned vocalic changes (like Pre-ON r-umlaut) from each of the major branches of the Germanic family tree. Using the feature structures derived from these analyses, I puzzle together a phonological history of rhotic sounds in a way that aligns with the comparative method. The resulting phonological history traces rhotic structure from PGmc into the earliest East, North, and West Germanic languages.

This research has a number of significant implications. Beyond shedding light on the phonological structure of rhotics and how that structure changed over the course of Germanic language history, it addresses an assumption that is still common in phonological theory. Specifically, it challenges the idea that the set of distinctive features for vowels is inherently different from the set of features for consonants. As a result, vocalic changes that are conditioned by rhotics – which are common in and beyond Germanic languages – are more clearly motivated.

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## Palatal Diphthongization: Implications for Interpreting Old English Digraphs

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Palatal diphthongization (PD) in Old English (OE) accounts for instances of <ea> from earlier \*[æ] (and <ie> from earlier \*[e]) after the palatal consonants <sċ> (= [ʃ]), <ç> (= [tʃ]), and <ġ> (= [j]). For example, OE *sceaft* 'shaft' derives from pre-OE \*[ʃæft]. The motivations for PD are so poorly understood that some researchers doubt its validity as a sound change. Those who recognize PD as a true development have had difficulty grappling with [æa] as the assumed phonetic value for <ea>. Hogg (2011:105), for example, believes a post-palatal shift from [æ] to [æa] is "inconceivable" and proposes PD as a post-palatal shift from \*[æ] to \*[ea] (and \*[e] to \*[iə]), involving both assimilation (in height) and dissimilation (in advancement). However, this explanation (and others like it) raise at least two issues. First, since other instances of the digraph <ea> are thought to be reflexes of earlier \*[æu] (from breaking, back umlaut, and old diphthongs), the motivation behind the implied merger of \*[ea] and \*[æu] into OE [æa] is unclear. Second, the concomitant assimilation and dissimilation is not clearly motivated from a theoretical perspective.

I claim that PD of \*[æ] and \*[e] was a process of dissimilation motivated by the obligatory contour principle (OCP) against adjacent [front] segments. In this view, palatal consonants and front vowels pattern as [front] sounds; diphthongs like <ea> and <eo> pattern as [back] sounds. OE forms like <sċ><sub>F</sub><ea><sub>B</sub>ft 'shaft' and <ġ><sub>F</sub><eo><sub>B</sub>ld 'tax' (with phonetic details discussed below) resolve the OCP violation from the corresponding pre-OE forms \*[ʃ<sub>F</sub>æ<sub>F</sub>ft] and \*[j<sub>F</sub>e<sub>F</sub>ld-] (with <sub>F</sub> and <sub>B</sub> representing the features [front] and [back]). More frequent alternate forms with <ie> from \*[e], e.g. OE *ġield* 'tax', are taken to be the result of a later, independent sound change.

Most researchers assume that a digraph like <ea> represents a phonetic diphthong characterized by a first element that is [front] and a second element that is [back] ([æa] is a typical postulation). Changes like back umlaut and breaking, which apply to historical front vowels, are the main reason to suppose that these diphthongs retained a [front] first element. However, the OE developments that shed light on the structure of OE digraphs are conditioned by sounds that occur to and interact with the *right side* of these digraphs. As such, the changes have never been able to confirm that the frontness of a digraph's *left side* was actually retained. The dissimilatory analysis sketched above suggests that the first element of OE digraphs has been incorrectly reconstructed as a front sound: if OE *sceaft* 'shaft' derived from earlier \*[ʃ<sub>F</sub>e<sub>F</sub>a<sub>B</sub>ft] or \*[ʃ<sub>F</sub>æ<sub>F</sub>a<sub>B</sub>ft], as traditionally assumed, there would still be two continuous [front] segments, leaving PD without any motivation.

Cross-linguistically, when there are two series of back vowels, it is common for one series to be central and the other to be back. Since OE had another series of back vowels (as minimal pairs like *h[o]lc* 'hollow' ~ *h[u]lc* 'light ship', *h[a]ga* 'enclosure' ~ *h[o]ga* 'care', *w[a]ndian* 'turn aside' ~ *w[u]ndian* 'wound' exemplify), it follows that the [back] digraphs of OE represented central vowels (a claim also made by Hockett (1959) for independent reasons). Under this view, OE *sceaft* 'shaft' is phonetically [ʃ<sub>F</sub>v<sub>B</sub>ft], which repairs the OCP violation from pre-OE \*[ʃ<sub>F</sub>æ<sub>F</sub>ft].

Other OE sound changes involving the digraphs <ea>, <eo>, and <io> only make crucial reference to the backness of these sounds. If the digraphs represent phonetic central vowels ([v<sub>B</sub>], [ə<sub>B</sub>], and [i<sub>B</sub>], respectively), these changes retain a natural explanation. For example, back umlaut can still be understood as an assimilation: OE *ealu* 'ale' (now read as [vlu]) from pre-OE \*[ælu-] involves a shift from [æ<sub>F</sub>] to [v<sub>B</sub>] (<ea>) to assimilate to the backness of [u<sub>B</sub>]. While there are several advantages and drawbacks to the proposal, looking at palatal diphthongization as a natural phonological process can shed light on what Lass (1994:45) referred to as "one of the most complex and acrimonious debates in the history of OE scholarship," to wit, OE digraphs.

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## “... so wünsche ich dir a merry Christmas”: A sociohistorical exploration of immigrant family letters during the Civil War era

Julie Larson-Guenette (University of Wisconsin–Madison), Seth Maxfield (University of Wisconsin–Madison), Patricia Elisabeth Haberkorn (University of Wisconsin–Madison) and Alex Cook (University of Wisconsin–Madison)

Orthographic and grammatical evidence present in handwritten letters, especially those of working class immigrants, provide valuable insight into historical orality and literacy of a given time and place (Elspass, 2007). This talk presents the initial stages of a project involving a collection of letters written between 1859 and 1864 by an immigrant family in southeastern Minnesota. Part one of the talk begins with a descriptive overview of the letters, demographic information, and the area in which the family settled. Part two provides a summary of salient linguistic features present in the data, with particular attention given to orthographic patterns involving: (1) o- and u-umlauts, (2) the diphthong <eu>, and (3) <p, t, k> illustrated in the examples below:

- (1) “mecht” (*möchte*); “Sene” (*Söhne*); “würklich” (*wirklich*); “hiniber” (*hinüber*)
- (2) “Junge Leide” (*junge Leute*); “wider zu eich” (*wieder zu euch*); “Kreizer” (*Kreuzer*)
- (3) “bollitischer Grieg” (*politischer Krieg*); “Dagleener” (*Tagelöhner*); “dief” (*tief*)

Part three further explores linguistic variants that occur throughout the letters with regards to overall language use and contact with English. In addition to direct borrowing of loan words (e.g., “Postoffise”, “Farmer”, “bounty”), examples also include loanshift extensions (cf. Haugen, 1953) such as “Wachtstehen” (to stand watch) and “Eisernen Kanonnenschiffe” (ironclad gunboats, initially written as “Kanonnenbote”). The presentation will also consider gender, generational, and environmental variables that may have influenced language use within this family, such as the use of English by an individual who had married a non-German speaker. In tandem with the collection of letters and drawing on public records, genealogy, and local history, we aim to provide a sociohistorical account of (bilingual) language use within this particular community during the second half of the 19th century. The talk will conclude with theoretical considerations and methodological approaches that continue to inform this project.

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## Quantifying the Semantic Influence of English on Pennsylvania Dutch

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Since its genesis in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Pennsylvania Dutch (Pennsylvania German) has been influenced by English since effectively all of its speakers have, to varying degrees, been bilingual. Stereotypes depict Pennsylvania Dutch as a “mixed language” or worse, a “mongrel dialect,” however scholars have determined that the popular view of English influence on the language is overstated. The English-derived portion of the Pennsylvania Dutch lexicon, at under 20%, is modest (cf. Buffington 1941, Knodt 1986, Van Ness 1993); the phonological, morphological, and syntactic imprint of English on Pennsylvania Dutch is even more limited.

Earlier work quantifying lexical borrowing from English into Pennsylvania Dutch focused on simple loanwords (e.g., *Boi* ‘pie’). I will build on that work in this paper by investigating the semantic influence of English on the Pennsylvania Dutch lexicon. Following a descriptive typology of lexical borrowing proposed by Einar Haugen (1969) and modified by Donald Winford (2003), I will calculate percentages of loanblends, words that combine native and borrowed stems and affixes (e.g., *uffketsche* ‘catch up’; *Kascheboi* ‘cherry pie’), and loanshifts, words whose meanings have changed to match those of another language (e.g., *ringe* ‘to ring’, *eegne* ‘to own’, *gucke* ‘to look, appear’). The data will come from original texts by Amish and Old Order Mennonite writers, specifically Bible stories for children and stories of everyday Amish and Mennonite life. Percentages will be calculated based on types, not tokens.

I will compare the percentages of loanblends and loanshifts in the Amish and Mennonite texts with data from *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (Beam 2004–2011), focusing on verbs that contain the native prefix *uff* ‘on’, of which there are 299. I will calculate the percentages of *uff*-prefixed verbs that are derived from (Palatine) German and those that are either loanblends or loanshifts. Since a dictionary resembles, to some extent, a speaker’s mental lexicon, it will be interesting to see how the percentages of loanblends and loanshifts in the dictionary data compare with those from the texts. Preliminary analysis suggests that overall the percentage of loanblends and loanshifts in Pennsylvania Dutch is at least as high as that of simple loanwords, if not higher, which underscores the importance of semantics in contact-induced lexical change.

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Translation, Transmission and Theological Bias:  
A Text Critical Approach to the Gothic New Testament  
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There is consensus among scholars that the Gothic Bible is a near-literal translation from a Greek autograph. But the translation is not *always* literal. Quinlin (2007) exposed a deviation in word choice, Pakis (2008) examined a difference in case usage in Luke, and Falluomini (2015) touches on variations in the use of nomina sacra and the long ending of Mark. However, these explorations neither cover all deviations nor take other deviations into account. In this paper I analyze the literature—plus an additional deviation—in concert to attempt a valuation of the Gothic Bible’s potential impact on the fields of text criticism and Gothic philology.

The deviations I will examine are found in the translation of Mark 4:15 (harmonization and the addition of a word, *unkarjans* “uncaring”), Mark 16:9-20 (the inclusion of Mark’s “long ending”), Philippians 2:6 (the translation choice for “like”), Luke 3:23-38 (use of the genitive *sunaus* “son”), and the treatment of nomina sacra (specifically, its lack of use for “Holy Spirit”). I draw on scholarship from multiple fields of study to inform my analysis of each deviation, namely Germanic philology, New Testament text criticism, and church history. Using this multi-dimensional approach allows for an evaluation of the scholars’ arguments from a more holistic perspective. It also enables comment on the potential of further scholarship to impact our understanding of the text’s translation and transmission. Finally, I recommend undertaking a complete translation and analysis of deviations in the extant fragments of the Gothic Bible to open up and provide better support for future research in historical linguistics and text criticism.

While the chief interest of Gothic has been in historical Germanic linguistics, there is also potential for the study of Wulfila’s Bible to bear fruit in the fields of New Testament text criticism and church history. This text critical approach has garnered some interest in recent years, but it is likely that scholars have only scratched the surface. A thorough study of the whole corpus of Gothic Bible fragments is needed to unearth additional deviations, as well as to determine how impactful the text could be in these fields.

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## Determining basic forms for levelling in the paradigms of Faroese *vøllur* and *fjørður*

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This paper seeks to determine both the basic forms for levelling within the paradigms of Far. *vøllur* ‘field, grassy ledge on a rock face, (sports) pitch, airport’ and *fjørður* ‘fjord, inlet/bay, sound/strait’, as well as offering a chronology of change despite a pronounced lack of written sources for Faroese language history until c. 1800 (Gunnlaugsson 2000). Both nouns descend from Old West-Nordic *u*-stems, which exhibited intricate patterns of vowel alternation within the paradigm, cf. OWN nom.sg. *vøllr* ~ dat.sg. *velli* ~ gen.sg. *vallar*, *fjørðr* ~ *fjriði* ~ *fjarðar*. In Faroese, the relevant alternations have been levelled in almost all instances, as exemplified by the paradigm of *vøllur*, where the stem variant *vøll-* (OWN *ø* > Far. *ø* by regular sound change) now occurs in every cell of the paradigm. Conversely, Far. *fjørður* has not only retained its old stem alternants, but all of these have been extended within the paradigm, e.g. innovative dat.sg. *fjørði*, beside older *fjriði*, dat.pl. *fjriðum*, beside older *fjørðum*, nom./acc.pl. *fjarðir*, beside older *fjriðir* (Markússon 2022). Typically, basic forms for levelling are identified on either of two theoretical premises. One places prominence on the effects of so-called markedness, the determinants of which are viewed as mainly semantic (e.g. Greenberg 1966; Mańczak 1958). The other is characterised by the usage-based cognitive approach, which considers frequency of use and its impact on the strength of memory representations for linguistic structures to be the determining factor: The more frequently a given structure occurs, the stronger it is represented in memory and the more easily it can be accessed and subsequently retrieved for use (e.g. Bybee 2015; also Tiersma 1982). Crucially, both Far. *vøllur* and *fjørður* refer to topographical entities, as well as occurring in complex place names. Thus, according to the approach from markedness, we might expect both paradigms to exhibit similar paths of levelling, given the common sphere of usage. However, the vastly different developments discussed refute the theoretical viability of recourse to markedness. Rather, through analysis of Faroese corpus data in comparison with data for Old Icelandic, I demonstrate that the basic forms in both paradigms are established on the basis of frequency. Thus, a lack of any significant frequency disparity between distinct forms of *vøllur* facilitated levelling in favour of the stem variant *vøll-* to the whole paradigm, while the high token frequency of dat.sg. *fjriði* triggered spread of the stem alternant *fjrið-* to the dative plural through the context *í/á/úr* ‘in, from’ + dative. Subsequently, association of *fjrið-* with the plural, cf. nom./acc.pl. *fjriðir*, motivated an attempt to align the meaning *singular* with the form *fjørð-* (following Bybee 1985, 2015).

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### **L3 Structural Priming with Germanic Languages**

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Structural priming (SP) depends on a participant knowing two different ways to convey the same idea, such as active/passive voice or dative alternation. SP has been shown in many different contexts (Hartsuiker and Bernolet, 2015), with a stronger effect when words in the sentence are repeated, known as the *lexical boost effect*, even if words are the L2 equivalents (Pickering and Branigan, 1998). Despite its abundance, SP remains enigmatic (Hurtado and Montrul, 2020).

The literature on SP parallels the literature on models of third language acquisition (L3) somewhat, mainly because, with both structural priming and L3 studies, participants have two ways of saying essentially the same thing. However, with L3, those ways are different languages. One rather robust model in L3 literature, Rothman's Typological Primacy Model (2015), proposes a cue hierarchy that the parser uses to determine the typologically closer language, forming the basis for continued L3 acquisition. The highest cue is the lexicon, echoing the lexical boost effect.

This study uses priming via the lexical boost effect to push the boundaries: having shown that we can prime structures from one language to another, and that repeating words across languages increases priming, it might be possible to prime syntactic structures solely through L3 words, with input type as the independent variable. If given an *X*-like lexicon, will participants be primed to use *X*-like syntax? Closely related Germanic languages in an innovative paradigm are used to investigate SP in L3 by priming participants to prefer German or English syntax through the Swedish lexicon they learn.

German/English bilinguals were divided into two groups and learned either an English-like Swedish lexicon or a German-like Swedish lexicon, such as *kniv/knife* (German *Messer*) or *läsa/lesen* (English *to read*), taught via a silent slideshow of 154 slides consisting of pictures, words, and phrases. Crucially, the input's syntax was consistent with both English and German. Each group included at least 15 native speakers of both English and German for 60 total participants. For production data, they completed a sentence creation task consisting of 72 items testing 4 properties with word order differences between English and German: modal sentences, verb second, negation with definite objects, and verbs in subordinate clauses. Participants unscrambled 3 constituents to finish writing sentences started for them. For perception, they completed a grammaticality judgment task with 84 items testing the same four properties. Each property had 7 items with English-like word order, 7 with German-like, and 7 with a word order not possible in either. Responses were coded as accept or reject.

In a pilot study that tested verb second and modals with L1 English/L2 German participants, when given German-like input, L3 priming was significantly more likely (86% of target items) than when given English-like input (51.5% of target items). A two-tailed Fisher's exact test shows this difference is statistically significant ( $p = 0.0001$ ). The data collected so far in the

larger, more controlled study suggest a similar trend, showing evidence of SP in L3 acquisition through the lexical boost effect, expanding the domains in which SP appears.

### *Syntactic Properties and Resulting Word Order in All Three Languages*

Property	English	German	Swedish
Modal	modal + verb	verb at end	modal + verb
Verb second	not V2	V2	V2
Neg. w/def art	before main verb	at end	after verb
Subordinate clause	SVO	SOV	SVO (unless V2)

### *Lexicons*

English-like all en words	German-like both en and ett words	Additional Words Learned in both input types/all en words
present/present (Geschenk)	en blomma/Blume (flower)	säng/bed/Bett
lunch/lunch (Mittagessen)	en fågel/Vogel (bird)	pojke/boy/Junge
ambulans/ambulance (Krankenwagen)	ett fönster/Fenster (window)	kvinnna/woman/Frau
get/goat (Ziege)	ett brev/Brief (letter)	bil/car/Auto
kniv/knife (Messer)	ett berg/Berg (mountain)	sova/to sleep/schlafen
potatis/potato (Kartoffel)	en spegel/Spiegel (mirror)	tvätta/to wash/waschen
penna/pen (Kuli)	en karta/Karte (map)	på kvällen/in the evening/am Abend
kopp/cup (Tasse)	en stad/Stadt (city)	har/has/hat
cykla/to cycle (Fahrrad fahren)	läsa/lesen (to read)	ser/sees/sieht
tala/to talk (sprechen)	spela/spielen (to play)	säger/says/sagt
lyssna/to listen (hören)	skriva/schreiben (to write)	kan/can/kann
driva*/to drive (Auto fahren)	arbeta/arbeiten (to work)	ofta/often/oft
klockan X/X o'clock (um X Uhr)	i morgon/morgen (tomorrow)	i/in/in
		måndag/Montag/Monday
		fredag/Freitag/Friday
		söndag/Sonntag/Sunday

\*driva in Swedish is not *drive a car* but it has been used like this due to lack of appropriate verbs

### *Example from Sentence Creation Task*

#### **Property: Verb second**

Unscramble: driver/en ambulans/Lisa      English-like word order: Klockan 3 Lisa driver en ambulans.  
Sentence begins: Klockan 3...      German-like word order: Klockan 3 driver Lisa en ambulans.

### *Examples from Grammaticality Judgment Task/Rating choices: Bad/possibly bad/possibly good/good*

#### **Property: Modal verbs**

Bad order: Klockan 3 cykla Lisa kan.  
English-like: Lisa kan cykla klockan 3.  
German-like: Lisa kan klockan 3 cykla.

#### **Property: Subordinate clauses**

Bad order: Kevin ser att klockan 3 har en lunch Lisa.  
English-like: Kevin ser att Lisa har en lunch klockan 3.  
German-like: Kevin ser att Lisa en lunch klockan 3 har.

# Grammaticalization of the Old High German Perfect through Adjective Endings

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The perfect in Old High German (750 CE to 1050 CE) is a periphrastic, or combined, form, which has been studied quite thoroughly with regards to its construction and constituent parts (Ebert 1978). It is composed of two distinct words, an auxiliary (AUX in glosses) and a past participle (PPRT in glosses). This paper contributes to this body of research by investigating the development of the Old High German *haben* perfect, from its roots as an adjectival form in Proto-Indo-European up until its inclusion into the verb phrase in the writings of Notker at the end of the Old High German period. This culminates in a hypothesis similar to that posited by Bridget Drinka (2019) that the *haben* perfect originated out of contact with and translation of Latin texts, analogized to preexisting adjectival constructions using other auxiliary verbs, and then fully grammaticalized as a separate, semantically distinct verbal construct by the end of the Old High German period. Crucially, this paper proposes that this grammaticalization can be traced through the loss of adjective endings on participles through the Old High German period.

The *haben* perfect is a subtype of perfect construction which uses a specific verb, *haben*, as its auxiliary. It coexisted with another subtype, the *eigun* perfect, which largely had similar semantics and usages, including inflection (Keller 1978). The past participle itself is formed using a prefix, *gi-*, and a suffix, *-an/-en* for strong verbs and *-t* for weak verbs (Wright 1888). At first, this construction was adjectival and eventually became verbal, as it remains in Modern German, but this evolution is largely glossed over in traditional grammars (Pribsch 1996).

As such, this paper traces this evolution in greater detail throughout the Old High German period, paying special attention to the grammaticalization process as evidenced by adjectival endings on past participles. This is accomplished by using online databases, such as TITUS, for easy access to digitized versions of historical documents. These adjectival endings are best shown in the following example (Figure 1) from Tatian, where the past participle, *giflanzōtan*, is inflected for the accusative case where it would not be inflected for case in Modern German, or even in later Old High German texts:

*Figure 1*

<i>phīgboum</i>	<i>habēta</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>giflanzōtan</i>	
Fig.tree-ACC	had-AUX	some	planted-PPRT.ACC	
Someone had planted a fig tree				(Tatian 102,2)

The *-an* ending on the participle marks it for the accusative case, as it is in the source material in Latin. These such adjective endings are most common in the early part of the Old High German period and taper off in frequency towards the transition to Middle High German.

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Klaus Johan Myrvoll, University of Stavanger:

## The metrics and syntax of the Rök stanza

In 2007, Bo Ralph presented a new interpretation of the *fornyrðislag* stanza in the Rök stone inscription in which the Germanic hero king Theodoric (454–526) had disappeared and an unidentifiable **rikr in þurmuþi** ‘the bold warrior’ had taken his place. More recently, a team of four Swedish scholars (Holmberg *et al.*, 2018–19) have taken Ralph’s interpretation to a new level, suggesting that the Rök inscription expresses a kind of ninth-century “climate anxiety”. A precondition of this radical re-interpretation is Ralph’s initial detachment of the inscription from the heroic context so important to the traditional interpretations, from Bugge (1878), via Wessén (1958) to Grønvik (2003).

Ralph’s interpretation of the Rök stanza does, however, encounter serious problems, both linguistic and metrical. First, it implies an unnatural syntax, unparalleled in Old Norse poetry: In the opening sentence, **raip iau rikr in þurmuþi** ‘the bold warrior rode the horse’, the object comes before the subject (in a VOS-structure). In independent sentences like this, the normal syntax would be VSO, cf. opening verses from *Ynglingatal* such as *Fell Alrekr* (st. 11, cf. st. 19), *Varð Jorundr* (st. 14, cf. sts 26 and 33) and *Réð Óleifr* (st. 35). Secondly, the verse division implied by Ralph’s interpretation produces a very short first verse and an uneven verse length within the first couplet, the first being made up of only two syllables (**raip iau**) but the second of as many as five (**rikr in þurmuþi**). It is very doubtful that such short verses ever existed in Old Norse poetry outside very marked contexts; one persuasive example is *Hávamól*’s *Deyr fé*, | *deyja friendr*-verses (sts 76–77), but this is *ljóðaháttur* rather than *fornyrðislag*.

In this paper, the traditional interpretation of the Rök stanza, assuming a reference to Theodoric, will be re-assessed and further substantiated. Leaning on evidence from other runic inscriptions, Old Norse poetry and the linguistic form of rune-names in early continental sources, the understanding of the stanza’s syntactical structure and metrical form will be refined and improved. Most important, the relationship between the verb **raip**, which has been interpreted as both ‘rode’ and ‘ruled’, and its object **strantu hraiþmarar** ‘the shore of the *Hræið*-sea’ will be explored, and a new interpretation will be presented.

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**GOTHIC DERIVATIONS: PREDICTABILITY AND PRODUCTIVITY**  
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Gothic scholars typically categorize weak verbs into four classes based on the realization of their infinitive suffixes. For example, for Class I weak verbs, this would be ‘-jan’ (cf. Wright 1958: 149–161). Each Gothic weak verb (as well as each strong verb) ends in ‘-an’ in the infinitive form; and for each class of weak verb, there is a thematic sound (for Class I, this is ‘-j-’ or ‘ei’ [i:], depending on application of Sievers’ Law). The current analysis argues that these may actually be two separate morphemes (not one): I consider the ‘-j-’ to be the derivational morpheme denoting Verb, Class I weak, and ‘-an’ the morpheme denoting infinitive (as with other Gothic verbs). See, for example, the data in (1), where the derivational morpheme for Class I is -j-, Class II is -ō-, Class III is -a-, and Class IV is -n-. This analysis also reflects reconstructions of PGmc weak verbs in Ringe (2006).

- (1) a. Class I: nas-j-an (INF.) nas-j-a (1.SG.PRES.) cf. nas-jan (INF.) ‘to save’  
 b. Class II: kar-ō-n<sup>1</sup> (INF.) kar-ō (1.SG.PRES.) kar-ōn (INF.) ‘to care’  
 c. Class III: hab-a-an<sup>2</sup> (INF.) hab-a-a (1.SG.PRES.) hab-an (INF.) ‘to have’  
 d. Class IV: full-n-an (INF.) full-n-a (1.SG.PRES.) full-nan (INF.) ‘to become full’

Deverbal nouns from weak verbs were predictable: each of these was a feminine noun with a similar form (see 2a), where ‘n’ is a nominalizing feminine suffix, and ‘s’ is the nominative singular morpheme. In contrast, deverbal nouns from strong verbs were unpredictable: the gender was either masculine or feminine, and application of ablaut was also unpredictable (see 2b).

- (2) a. Class I: lais-j-an ‘to teach’ (INF.) → lais-ei-n-s ‘teaching’ (F.NOM.SG)<sup>3</sup>  
 Class II: laþ-ō-n ‘to invite’ (INF.) → laþ-ō-n-s ‘invitation’ (F.NOM.SG)  
 Class III: þul-a-an ‘to endure’ (INF.) → þul-ai-n-s ‘patience’ (F.NOM.SG)  
 b. Class II: liud-an ‘to grow’ (INF.) → laud-i ‘stature’ (F.NOM.SG.)  
 Class III: rinn-an ‘to run’ (INF.) → run-s ‘condition’ (M.NOM.SG.)  
 Class V: bidj-an ‘to ask/pray’ (INF.) → bid-a ‘request’ (F.NOM.SG.)  
 Class VI: slah-an ‘to hit’ (INF.) → slah-s ‘plague’ (M.NOM.SG.)

The discussion of the derivations above leads to several contributions of the present paper. First, analyzing a separate derivational morpheme as denoting the class of weak verb, separate from the infinitive morpheme ‘-an’, adds nuance to previous presentations of Gothic weak verbs; thus, this paper provides a different understanding of the Gothic weak verbal paradigm. Second, the (un)predictability of grammatical information for deverbal nouns gives insight into the productivity of this derivational process at the time Gothic was recorded. Specifically, I argue that the deriving of nouns from weak verbs created a predictable output and was thus productive at the time Gothic was written down. This is contrasted with deriving nouns from strong verbs (which

<sup>1</sup> The short [a] in the infinitive and 1.SG.PRES. morphemes are analyzed as a coalescence with the [ō] for Class II.

<sup>2</sup> As with the Class II weak verbs, the short [a] in the infinitive and 1.SG.PRES. morphemes are analyzed as a coalescence with the [a] denoting the Class III Verb morpheme.

<sup>3</sup> The examples in (2a) are not considered representative of Sievers’ Law, but perhaps rather examples of paradigm leveling (see Kim 2001: 105).

was unpredictable), as these nouns had been lexicalized at the time Gothic was recorded and were thus unproductive. While many of the data investigated in this study exemplify Sievers' Law (see Ringe 2006, among many others), the present analysis neither bolsters nor contradicts previous analyses of this well-known Germanic [j]/[i:] alternation.

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## **Language Contact and Maintenance Among Old Colony Mennonites in Latin America**

Plautdietsch (Mennonite Low German) and Huagdietsch (Mennonite “High German”) are Germanic languages spoken by Mennonites in North and South America. Old Colony Mennonites in particular have maintained Plautdietsch (PD) as their daily spoken language despite a long history of migration after their formation in Northern Europe the late 1500s, first to Eastern Europe in 1789, then to Canada and the United States in the late 1800s, finally making their way to Latin America via Mexico in the 1920s (Burns 2016: 233). Between 1922 and 1927, approximately 30,000 Mennonites migrated to colonies near Cuauhtémoc, a city in the northern territory of Chihuahua, Mexico (Hedges 1996).

Since their arrival in Russia in the late 1800s, Old Colony Mennonites have maintained what some have called a “diglossic” situation. These Mennonites “have spoken Low German at home, considered High German the only appropriate language for use in reading and writing and in the church, and have denigrated, disallowed, or discouraged the learning of other languages” (Hedges 1996: 176). The language ideology required for the maintenance of this linguistic arrangement throughout their history has played a decisive role in the extent to which Plautdietsch and Huagdietsch have changed phonologically, morphologically, and lexically due to prolonged contact with community external languages—English and Spanish in this case.

The Old Colony Mennonite *oole Ordnunk* (“old order”) has played a decisive role in the formation and persistence of this language ideology. Hedges defines the *oole Ordnunk*, as:

the ‘tradition’ which, among other things, specifies the inter-Mennonite and Mennonite-outsider economic and social relations; structures a colony political system divided into what the Mennonites consider secular and religious branches; provides rules regulating the adoption of technology; dictates dress and occupation norms; categorizes ethnic and other systems of identification; constructs and maintains certain institutions such as the church, school, marriage patterns... and structures an ideology of language and literacy. (Hedges 1996: 7)

The linguistic attitudes embedded in Mennonite society as a result of the *oole Ordnunk* have not only impacted the extent to which Plautdietsch and Huagdietsch been influenced by community external languages, but also how they have influenced each other. It will be argued that, despite a predominant Old Colony language ideology rooted in tradition and aversion to change, which “most can point to...as one of the primary reasons the Mennonites left Russia for Canada in the nineteenth century and Canada for Mexico in the twentieth century” (Hedges 1996:176), Plautdietsch and Huagdietsch have changed.

Phonological, morphological, and lexical changes have occurred to varying degrees in the daily spoken language of Plautdietsch, and to a lesser extent in the “sacred” Huagdietsch of Old Colony settlements in Latin America. However, I argue that the degree of such changes has been largely impacted by the attitudes toward both community-internal languages of the Mennonite settlements in question.

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## Foreigner Talk: Cognitive Benefits or Social Costs? Nick Ott (University of Wisconsin–Madison)

Research has shown that L2 learners may have different perceptions of speech accommodation techniques employed in naturalistic and/or classroom settings. Drawing on the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)<sup>1</sup>, this study aims to, at two different time points, (a) understand how sojourning college-level L2 German students describe how students who are native speakers (NSs) of German talk to them in German, i.e., to what degree and in what regards learners believe these others to engage in so-called *foreigner talk* (a complex term further discussed in the presentation); and (b) examine what social, pedagogical, and linguistic interpretations L2 learners attach to their perceptions of *foreigner talk*. Ultimately, this study provides insights into learners' hoped-for and perceived inclusion into German-speaking communities and whether/how their perceptions develop as they transition from the classroom into natural environments.

Eleven L2 German sojourners rated the extent to which each of 29 characteristics of spoken German was present in the speech directed at them by native-speaker students. Ratings were given at two time points (i.e., soon after their arrival at a German university and at the end of their first semester). Language-use behaviors were phrased in terms of oppositional pairs (e.g., speaks extremely softly/loudly) with one descriptor in each pair hypothesized to represent an extreme form of so-called *foreigner talk* (e.g., speaks extremely loudly). The rated features encompassed linguistic (e.g., phonetic realizations, vocabulary, and grammar) as well socio-cultural aspects (use or avoidance of word play, humor, cultural references, etc.) and speech acts (e.g., use or avoidance of indirect questions). In a subsequent step, respondents were asked to rate descriptors that represented *foreigner talk*, alongside each of five negative/positive dimensions: distraction/helpfulness, dis/encouragement, ex/inclusion, condescension/accommodation, and indicating a low/high opinion of L2 learners' German abilities.

Part of a larger study, this presentation reveals how socio-psychological dimensions can frame differences in interactional experiences in the classroom as opposed to other immersion contexts. Specifically, this study compares the impressions that learners get in a sheltered environment, not realizing they are being accommodated, to the experiences in a non- or semi-sheltered environment where intentions (NSs) and perceptions (NNSs) regarding accommodation may diverge. That is, results showed diverging perceptions when rating LUBs along cognitive dimensions versus social dimensions. That is, although students may have reported that certain FT-like behaviors are helpful, they also reported that they send a poor social message. Specific results will be shared in the presentation.

Foremost, questions arise as to the accuracy of respondents' perceptions, specifically whether learners' observations are influenced by biases (e.g., perceptions of *teacher talk* carrying over into perceptions of *foreigner talk*) or limited perceptual abilities. In addition, the intentions of German native speakers and their perceptions of the talk that they produce when speaking to sojourners, require elucidation.

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<sup>1</sup> Giles, H., & Ogay, T. (2007). Communication accommodation theory.

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### A three-way consonantal length contrast in Notker's Old High German dialect

Three-way length contrasts are typologically rare for vowels and even rarer for consonants, though they are attested for consonants intervocalically in Estonian (Lippus et al. 2013). The phonetic literature on Alemannic dialects identifies three types of plosives —lenis, fortis, extrafortis—which are distinguished phonetically by closure duration. Extrafortis plosives have significantly longer closure duration than fortis plosives, which in turn have significantly longer duration than lenis plosives. In those dialects, such as Zürich German, where all three are found, fortis and extrafortis plosives are in complementary distribution with extrafortis found in sequences of VC: and fortis realizations in sequences of V:C: (Zihlmann 2020).

This paper examines orthographic representations of plosives in the work of Notker Labeo, a monk in St. Gallen who lived from 950 to 1022, to determine the system of plosives in Notker's High Alemannic dialect of Old High German. The alveolar series shows a three-way opposition between <d>, <t> and <tt> after short vowels, which this paper interprets as a three-way opposition between lenis (short closure duration), fortis (long closure duration), and extrafortis (overlong closure duration). The three-way opposition between lenis, fortis and extrafortis alveolar plosives is also found after long vowels though there is variation in the use of <tt> after long vowels. Notker's orthography supports the distribution of plosives for Notker's High Alemannic dialect of OHG shown below (see also Penzl 1971; Page 2013: 527):

Position	Labial		Alveolar			Velar	
Initial	b		d		t	g	
Medial after short vowels	b	pp	d	t	tt	g	kk
Medial after long vowels	b	p	d	t	tt	g	k
Final	b		d		t	g	

In contrast to the alveolar series, extrafortis labial and velar plosives indicated by double graphs only exist medially after short vowels and fortis realizations represented by <p> and <k> only occur medially after long vowels, which mirrors the distribution of intervocalic fortis and extrafortis plosives in Zürich German. This paper argues that the three-way length contrast for alveolar plosives in Notker's dialect is robust intervocalically after short vowels, but incipient loss of the phonological contrast between fortis and extrafortis alveolar plosives can be seen in Notker's frequent use of <t> instead of expected <tt> after long vowels.

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### **The History of Dorsal Fricatives in Texas German**

The distribution of the dorsal fricatives, specifically the voiceless velar fricative [x] and the voiceless palatal fricative [ç], remains one of the classic problems of German phonology. Some of the questions involved include: (1) are these two fricatives separate phonemes or allophones of the same phoneme; (2) how are loan words like *Kolchose* ‘collective farm’ and *Junta* ‘junta’ to be accounted for; and (3) what role does dialect variation play (e.g., what about dialects in which [ʃ] is used in place of standard German [ç])?

In discussions of the dorsal fricatives, however, data from German diaspora dialects is generally not considered. (Hall 2022 represents an exception to this generalization, although his discussion of such data is somewhat limited.) This presentation takes a first step in that direction, as it examines the history of these sounds in Texas German, focusing on New Braunfels German, the best studied variety of Texas German. It begins with a discussion of the status of the dorsal fricatives in the 1950s, drawing on Eikel (1954) and Clardy (1954) to do so. It then moves to the status of these sounds in the 1960s, based on data from Gilbert (1972), and concludes with an examination of the status of the sounds today, based on data collected by the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP; [www.tgdp.org](http://www.tgdp.org)) since 2001. Issues addressed include conflicts between the available sources of data (specifically between Eikel 1954 and Clardy 1954, which present somewhat different views on the distribution of the dorsal fricatives), changes in their status in the phoneme system of Texas German, and the impact of new dialect formation (Trudgill 2004) on the distribution of these sounds.

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## **Caste nomenclature in the Cape Dutch Vernacular: Imposition, appropriation, reclamation**

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The Dutch East India Company era at the Cape of Good Hope (1652–1795) saw an unusual kind of language mixing that arose at the interface between an extended Cape Dutch Pidgin and an extraterritorial (settler) variety that was Cape Dutch. Bakker (2017:244) mentions a scenario in which one of the input languages to a mixed language might be a lingua franca or pidgin. This scenario appears to be what happened in the Cape Colony. The resulting Cape Dutch Vernacular was the deliberate creation of populations who were sufficiently proficient in both varieties. Lexical reorientation and categorial fusion (in the sense of Matras 2000) on the part of both the patron caste and the labor force varied in degree and quality, depending on local social conditions. Nonetheless, these mixed varieties, which collectively are constitutive of the Cape Dutch Vernacular, eventually came to serve as expressions of altered identities within several groups, viz. Europeans, indigenous Khoekhoe, enslaved Asians and Africans, and their descendants of mixed ancestry (Roberge 2024).

The present inquiry proceeds from the premise that there can be a close relationship between language and identity, a relationship that is socially and historically situated and valued by the communities in which they develop (Knörr 2018). With growing awareness for the linguistic and group particularities in colonial southern Africa, speakers adopted new terminology for the caste entities that they conceptualized as specific to that society. Linguistic encoding, and thereby defining, group entities was a powerful act of colonial practice. At the same time, it could also be an empowering strategy to counteract the imposed structures of ownership caste domination and to symbolize disentanglement from indigenous structures, or dissociation from enslavement within the labor force. Three strategies of linguistic encoding can be observed: imposition (the ownership caste labels a dominated group), appropriation (the ownership caste reserves a cross-group label for itself), and reclamation (a dominated group takes possession of and ameliorates a label that has been deployed as a term of disparagement).

In the diary of Jan van Riebeeck, the first commander of the Dutch outpost at the Cape of Good Hope (1652–1662), we encounter the term *Oranghlammen*, which is from Malay *orang lama datang* ‘a person who arrived a long time ago’ (*WNT*, 11.119), i.e., ‘a person who has long and wide experience’. The term originally applied to Dutch East India Company (VOC) personnel returning from Asia to the Netherlands. In context the term is rather negative, referring to sailors “who are lawless fellows—without prejudice to the good ones and care neither for the devil nor his mother” (Van Riebeeck, *Daghregister*, 30 March 1654, 1.210). We also find in Van Riebeeck’s diary an opposing lexical item in the form of *Orenbare* < Malay *orang beharoe datang* ‘a person who has just arrived’ (*WNT*, 2.817), i.e., ‘an inexperienced person’. The term originally applied to VOC personnel traveling to Asia for the first time. In Van Riebeeck’s diary, it occurs as an alias that the Dutch gave to one Beijmakoukoa-Danhou, one of a group of indigenous Khoekhoen who had caused trouble for the Dutch.

The haplogitized forms *baar* (plural *baren*, adjective *baars*) and *oorlam* (plural *oorlammen*, *oorlams*, adjective *oorlams*) were current in seventeenth century colonial Dutch and were carried over into Euro-Cape Dutch. In the latter variety *baar* meant ‘unskilled, novice’

(humans) and ‘untrained, unbroken’ (animals). *Oorlam* took on the meaning of ‘shrewd, clever, cunning’. It was also used as a disparaging term for a “coloured servant whose laziness prompts him to a variety of scheming either to dodge or to scamp on his work” (Pettman 1913:349).

Both *baar* and *oorlam* were taken into the Cape Dutch Pidgin and continued in the Cape Dutch Vernacular, where they exhibited noun-adjective multifunctionality. In the eighteenth century and probably earlier, *baar* designated a slave who was new to the Cape colony. *Oorlam* designated Khoekhoen who, as a result of long contact, were familiar with the customs of the Dutch colonists and could speak a recognizable form of their language, which is demonstrably the Cape Dutch Vernacular. By the end of the eighteenth century, extraterritorial Khoekhoen who had been in the service of Europeans appropriated the term *oorlam* for themselves and led a roving life of raiding and resistance along the colonial frontier.

*Baastard* designated offspring of mixed parentage, particularly European and Khoekhoe, but also slave and Khoekhoe. Baastards, who held a somewhat higher status within the labor caste, reclaimed the term and constructed for themselves a more acrolectal form of the Cape Dutch Vernacular.

The Dutch term *Afrikander* came into use in the early eighteenth century to express a distinction between settled colonists and transient, European-born VOC officials. It broadly designated somebody who was an ‘African’ and included indigenes as well as locally-born Europeans. It was up for grabs as ethnonym until white, Cape Dutch Vernacular-speaking colonists appropriated it for themselves, along with *Afrikaans* as autoglossonym.

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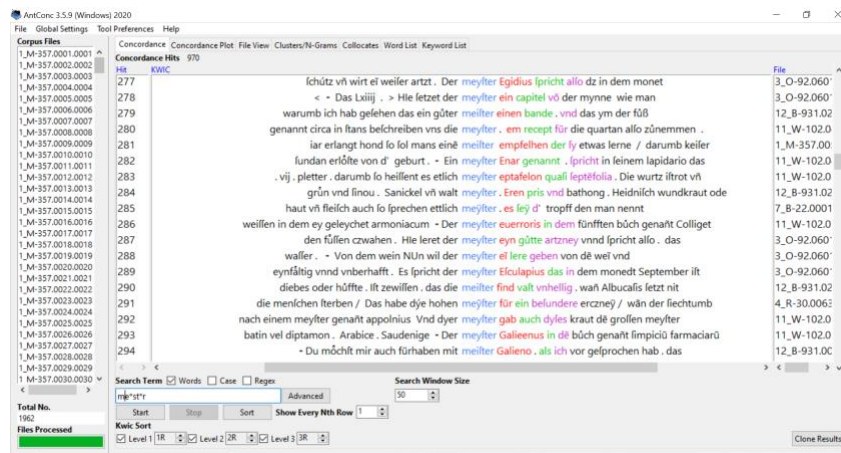
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## Medical Meister

### Citation and Intertextuality in the German Medical Incunabula Corpus (*GeMedIC*)

Medical discourse in 15<sup>th</sup>-century German texts builds on a rich history tracing back to antiquity. This abundance of scholarship makes intertextuality commonplace—albeit both with and without direct citation. This paper measures the explicit referencing of centuries of specifically cited Ger. *Meister* ‘masters’ in the *German Medical Incunabula Corpus (GeMedIC)* by querying the search term *m\*st\*r*:



(Anthony 2018 displaying results for the query *me\*st\*r* in *GeMedIC*)

It then categorizes these references according to various sociolinguistic factors, text type, and original language of composition. The final product is an intertextual network showing medical influence in these 15<sup>th</sup>-century German incunabula—a quantitative approach supplementing qualitative scholarship.

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The Role of Proficiency in the L2 Acquisition of German Plural Formation:  
How Prosody, Noun Classes, and Suffix Choices Interact

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Theoretical (e.g., Wiese 1996, 2009; Smith, 2020) and psycholinguistic studies (e.g., Kauschke et al. 2012; Köpcke 1988, 1993; Köpcke et al. 2021) examining German plural formation have demonstrated a strong preference for plurals ending in a bisyllabic trochee, i.e., a stressed-unstressed syllable sequence, e.g., *Schwéster* ‘sisters (acute mark denotes stress). Consequently, trochaic singular nouns, e.g., *Flásche* ‘bottle’ or *Léhrer* ‘teacher’, typically take non-syllabic endings, e.g., *-n* or no ending, in the plural, i.e., *Fláschen* and *Léhrer* respectively, while singular nouns not already ending in a trochee, e.g., *Kind* ‘child’ or *Tisch* ‘table’, tend to form the plural by adding a syllabic plural ending thereby creating the trochaic plural, i.e., *Kind+er* ‘children’ and *Tisch+e*. The actual final choice of plural suffix in existing German words then reflects a complex interplay of prosody with other features including noun gender and derivational suffixes.

This paper presents data from a larger study examining the sensitivity that L2 learners of German have to the prosodic pattern of German plural formation. Previous results have shown that as L2 learners’ German proficiency increases, so does the number (and proportion) of plurals they produce which conform to the bisyllabic trochee (Authors). In this paper, we examine the interaction of noun class (e.g., nouns ending in *-e*, *-el*, *-en*, *-er*, final stress, and monosyllables) and the choice of specific plural suffix (e.g., *-e*, *-en*, *-er*, *-n*, *-s*, no ending, or some other ending) with the degree to which L2 learners of German from four different proficiency/experience levels (first year German, second year German, third year German without extended immersion, and third year German with extended immersion) produce trochaic plurals of German real and nonce words.

Preliminary results reveal that L2 learners in the third year with more in-country experienced drew on a larger variety of suffixes while forming trochaic plurals for the nonce-words slightly more than 90% of the time. But, when this group used no plural ending, their proportion of trochaic plurals fell slightly (just below 90%). Conversely, L2 learners from the first and second year groups produced trochaic plurals more frequently when they added an explicit plural suffix rather than when they opted for “no ending”. Since “no ending” is the frequent ending for many nouns ending in *-en*, *-el*, and *-er*, the overuse of explicit plural markers resulted in a lower level of trochaic plurals for nonce words from these noun classes.

The results of this study suggest that L2 learners with less proficiency may start by employing a smaller set of suffixes they use very frequently before learning to diversify their suffix choices with increased proficiency. This diversification may result in an increase in trochaic plurals. To this end, the presentation will also highlight individual differences in plural formation, including the role of umlaut and the *-s* plural ending.

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## **Resolution and anacrusis in Ancient Nordic metrics**

In a recent study, Schulte arrived at the conclusion that very few inscriptions in the older fuþark are metrical (Schulte 2023). Among these are the Gallehus goldhorn B, the Thorsberg chape, the Rosseland and Noleby stone, the Tjurkö bracteate and not least the belt buckle from Pforzen. Not unexpectedly, the Germanic long line emerges as the basic unit of this metrical group, since it can be relatively reliably verified. In his historical approach, Schulte identified this unit as the *proto-long line* of Northwest Germanic metrics, viz. the forerunner of Old Norse verse in the *fornyrðislag* on the one hand and West Germanic poetry such as Heliand and Beowulf on the other.

It is conspicuous that resolution frequently occurs in the metrical runic inscriptions to fulfill the bimoraic condition of stress (LIGHT LIGHT = HEAVY). A case in point is *ragina-* (in the compound *ragina-kundō*) on the Noleby-stone: *rūnō fāhi / raginakundō* (“I paint a rune, one stemming from the gods”). This yields a perfect minimal long line which obviously involves resolution. Even the dithematic name *Hlewa-gastir* on the Gallehus horn requires resolution to receive full stress: *ek-Hlewagastir Holtijar / horna tawidō* (“I Hlewagastir Holtijar made the horn”).

The present paper re-evaluates the possible instances of resolution in the early runic corpus, where the argumentation is based on two major points:

1. Resolution in early Germanic is not a ‘poetic device’, but an integral part of the phonological system of the Northwest Germanic proto-language;
2. Resolution was modified in the Old Germanic languages probably due to the direct influence of Latin in the scriptoria and a systemic analogy with it (cf. Kleiner 2017).

My claim is that resolution in the older runic inscriptions needs to be re-assessed in connection with anacrusis (cf. Goering 2023: 48 on the “principle of cohesion”). This is so because sentence-initial *ek-* on the Gallehus horn and the particle *ni-* on the Thorsberg chape (*ni-wajemārir* “the one who is not ill-famed”) are part of the metrical scheme, hence no ‘loose’ *Auftakt* in Andreas Heusler’s sense. The widespread application of anacrusis in Old Germanic verse suggests that such initial dips are probably a phonologically grounded metrical feature, and not extrametrical. On these grounds the paper evaluates resolution in conjunction with the available evidence of anacrusis.

One reasonable assumption is that resolution in early Germanic metrics was an automatic process after pretonic material and hence a direct consequence of the phonological structure (see above argumentation strategy 1). The paper also includes possible cases of

suspended resolution. This is probably the case in the final element of dithematic names which receives secondary stress only, e.g. *W(u)lpu-þewar* on the Thorsberg chape (cf. Minkova & Zhou 2023 on Old English).

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*Egosurfen*, *fidgetspinner*, and *dab*: English Influence in Youth Word of the Year Lists in Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands

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English influence can increasingly be seen in Dutch and German, much to the chagrin of many language purists, who view English as a corrupting influence on Dutch and German and the use of Anglicisms as a sign of failing of the school system. For many German and Dutch youth, English is the first foreign language that they learn, starting around the age of 8 in Germany, 9 in the Netherlands, and potentially as early as three years old in Belgium (Grau 2009; Edwards 2016; Grover 2019). As they get older, these youth also see English outside of school, including in the many films and television shows imported to Western Europe, advertising, and content spread through the Internet. There is generally a positive view amongst youth in Europe towards English (Busse 2017), and youth borrow and adapt English terms in a variety of ways, localizing English for their own purposes. Trends in youth language show that English is increasingly viewed as part of a “multilingual repertoire” as described by Androutsopoulos (2012, 212), a repertoire that users can draw from and modify for their own needs, leading to, for example, such pseudo-Anglicisms as *Handy* and *Dressman*, commonly used as examples of the danger of ‘bad borrowing,’ however both these examples demonstrate the usefulness of English as this multilingual repertoire. Additionally, the use of English can grant the user a cosmopolitan and elite status, lending an international ‘flavoring’ to their speech. In the twenty-first century, nearly every teenager (and even younger) has access to the Internet, and it is almost inevitable that they will come across English slang, through viral challenges, influencers, message boards and more. In the case of viral language, English terms can then quickly slip into youth language.

A useful method to measure the borrowing of these viral English words into youth speech is the analysis of lists curated by users of youth speech. So are the yearly ‘Youth Word of the Year’ (YWY) competitions in German, Belgium, and the Netherlands, hosted by Langenscheidt (Germany) and Van Dale (Belgium and the Netherlands) excellent sources for current language trends amongst youth and the prevalence of English terms in the current ‘youth consciousness.’ Youth submit their selected word and the meaning, and submissions are narrowed down to a short list that is then voted on by youth. These lists can also show how any English terms might be adapted or played with to suit the needs of the youth. Are English terms represented on such lists? How do these English terms appear, that is, how are they borrowed? Are there apparent differences between the three countries and, if so, what might explain such differences?

In an analysis of the YWY lists for Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands for the years 2010-2017, results showed high influence from English in the Netherlands, with 17 out of 24 terms or 70.8% showing some level of English influence, moderately high influence in Belgium, with 15 out of 24 or 62.5%, and medium influence for Germany, with 12 out of 24 or 50%. Not surprisingly, these results show English does have an influence on youth speech, however youth do not merely borrow English terms directly, but instead might modify or nativize terms, including through the addition of verbal suffixes and the creation of hybrid blends. Many of the English or hybrid terms are related to the Internet, including social media and viral trends (*Egosurfen*, *tinderellasynroom*, *trollen*, *Facebookvoyeur*, *planking*, for example), signaling that language related to the Internet is a large source for English borrowings in youth speech; however words such as *smexy* and *framilie*, though perhaps originally disseminated via the Internet, indicate that words not solely related to the Internet have also received attention in youth speech.

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## Neural Part-of-Speech Analysis of Historical Germanic Languages

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The purpose of this study is to apply neural network Part-of-speech (POS) tagging to Old Saxon and Old English to improve these tools to facilitate further research into Germanic. These tools can investigate the predictability of lexical categories based on contextual information within these languages. Automatic POS tagging is an important building block in syntactic research and corpus linguistics and can be a step towards more in-depth analysis of syntactic structures with state-of-the-art computational tools (Chiche, 2022). It can also be a useful tool for Germanicists, as it facilitates and automates the annotation of untagged datasets for use in syntactic analysis. Further, these methods can retrieve intricate relationships between syntactic categories in under-researched languages.

Many computational techniques have shown a high level of accuracy for POS tagging. Still, most are dependent on the use of large pre-tagged datasets, often not available for most of the world's languages, particularly small or historical languages. This study leverages artificial neural networks to retrieve contextual information of syntactic structures to predict the most likely POS for individual words in the corpus. Deep neural network models have shown high accuracy in previous studies on POS tagging and computational syntactic analysis (Chiche, 2022). The study at hand uses data from Old Saxon (Walkden, 2016) and Old English (Taylor, 2007), two Germanic languages for which computational analyses have been scarce.

Our goal with this study is to test how well the computational methods perform on early Germanic languages and if they can be a potential asset for corpus linguistics in tagging previously untagged datasets. Further, we want to gauge if they can yield new insights concerning the syntactic properties of these languages, particularly with Old Saxon despite its limited corpus size. Concretely, the neural network we propose can return the contextual predictability of words and POS types and similarities between POS types in general. Through the relationship between predictability and frequency, these measures can be used to deepen understanding in cases where the frequency is shown to affect the development of linguistic structure (Diessel, 2015). Viebahn et al (2015) for example, demonstrate that syntactic predictability has ramifications for word recognition. Since Old English, and even more so, Old Saxon has limited historical corpora, this model explores the syntactic structures and helps discover and assess syntactic hypotheses about those languages.

Preliminary findings show that predictive accuracy is high (Old English POS: 92.6%, Old Saxon POS: 90.5) which suggests that in most cases this model architecture is successful in processing and labeling the data. It was further discovered that class weights did not show marked performance improvements. Under the unweighted model, Old Saxon adjectives were less predictable than Old Saxon nouns and adverbs by approx. 24%, Old Saxon verbs by approx. 14%, and Old English adjectives by approx. 17%. This may be caused by a syntactic pattern that is less learnable for an AI language model (a potential explanation for this could be higher

syntactic variability in Old Saxon adjectives (see Bech et al, 2024)) which warrants further linguistic inquiry.

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## The literization approach to early German syntax

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In this talk I present a new approach to the study of early German syntax that focuses on each historical attestation as an ad hoc, individual literization—or *scriptus* (plural *scripti*)—of a speaker's exclusively oral vernacular. I define literization as both a synchronic and diachronic process. As a synchronic process, it refers to a speaker transforming their multilectal spoken vernacular into a *scriptus* in the context of a specific writing project. In the diachronic sense, it refers to a community of speakers developing a written vernacular and writing culture: improving the functionality of their *scripti*, in turn, reveals new domains in which the written word can be of use. In both the synchronic and diachronic sense, literization demands linguistic innovation from the literizer. That is, none of the varieties of an exclusively oral German, whose processing theretofore had been facilitated by interlocutors being in the same place at the same time, were equipped with the linguistic means of establishing the unprecedented degree of grammatical and lexical coherence required in the dislocated context that writing alone effects. In the case of German-speaking Carolingian Europe, where aspiring writers did not yet have any vernacular writing culture to support their endeavors, I argue that each literization, or text, constitutes an individual and idiosyncratic vernacular *scriptus*. In order to understand how a literizer decided to meet the new demands of disembodied language in order to create their *scriptus*, one must consider the whole sociocultural context in which these choices were made.

This talk, then, elaborates the argument that exclusively oral multilectal vernaculars lack the lexical and grammatical coherence required to function well in the domain of writing (Koch and Oesterreicher 1994; 2007). That is, creating a *scriptus* for unliterized languages requires that literizers engage not just with the mechanics of writing itself, e.g., wrestling sound into graphemes, but with literacy as a conceptual category. Even if a literizer could simply transcribe some variety of their phonic vernacular into a graphic form, i.e., match the written to the spoken, structure by structure, the resultant *scriptus* would lack functionality for the project at hand. This is especially the case for the Carolingians, who, when they wrote in the vernacular at all, preferred to write about Christianity. Indeed, the most significant early German texts are gospel harmonies, which relate the story of Jesus in a unified narrative. No variety of their spoken vernacular had the linguistic tools needed to write a story that the literizers themselves only ever encountered in Latin, a language that had already undergone multiple centuries of literization. Though linguistic tools existed to cultivate greater coherence in oral vernaculars, especially their planned, public varieties, these were shaped by the processing constraints of an always oral production. The vernacular had never before contended with the possibility of complete disconnection between speaker, receiver, and the linguistic production itself. Thus, literizers must augment the vernacular's grammatical and lexical coherence. Drawing on Kloss (1978), I argue that they do this through creative processes of syntactic and semantic *ausbau*: the development of new stylistic devices (“*Stilmittel*”) and domains for the use of written varieties (“*Anwendungsbereiche*”).

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## Intensifiers in Swabian German: changes in social meaning

James Stratton (University of British Columbia) & Karen Beaman (University of Tübingen)

Intensifiers (e.g., *very*, *really*, *so*) provide speakers with the opportunity to impress, persuade, praise, and generally influence the interlocutor's reception of a message. It therefore comes as no surprise that intensifiers index social meaning, with factors such as gender and age influencing their use (e.g., Fuchs, 2017; Stratton, 2020; Stratton & Sundquist, 2022). While intensifier variation has been explored widely in English (e.g., Tagliamonte, 2008; Fuchs, 2017), research on intensifiers in German is impoverished (cf. Stratton, 2020), with little attention paid to their use in regional varieties of German.

The present study uses variationist sociolinguistic methods to examine the use of intensifiers in Swabian German, a variety spoken by approximately 800,000 speakers in southwestern Germany. To examine language use across the lifespan, 20 speakers of Swabian German carried out sociolinguistic interviews in 1982 and were then re-interviewed in 2017. Speakers originated from two speech communities: Stuttgart, an urban center with approximately one million inhabitants, and Schwäbisch Gmünd, a semi-rural town with a population of about 60,000. Each intensifiable adjective that speakers produced was coded binomially for intensification, as well as linguistic (e.g., syntactic position, semantic classification), social (e.g., gender, age, geographic mobility, local orientation, education, community origin), and demographic factors (e.g., place of birth, residences lived, years in each location).

Results indicate that Swabian women use amplifiers (e.g., *so* 'so', *echt* 'really') more frequently than men, while Swabian men use downtoners (e.g., *e bissle* 'a bit') more frequently than women. However, this trend changes across the lifespan. As men age, they decrease their frequency of downtoners whereas women's strategies remain stable. We argue that changes in intensification reflect possible changes in societal pressures, along with the effect of power differentials between cisgender men and women. Women may use amplifiers to project positivity, enthusiasm, and cooperation, traits that Western societies seemingly reinforce in women. In contrast, younger men may use downtoners to project masculinity, nonchalance, toughness, and indifference, characteristics that are reinforced in Western societies in young males. However, as men age, the need to project stances of nonchalance changes and their intensification strategies begin to converge with the strategies employed by women.

Identity and mobility are also found to influence intensification in Swabian German. Speakers from Stuttgart exhibit the highest rate of amplification, suggesting that individuals in urban environments may feel the pressure to use linguistic devices that scale up qualities to impress and persuade more frequently than speakers in semi-rural locations. Based on a Swabian Orientation Index (Beaman, 2024), speakers who identified as "more Swabian" used more dialectal intensifiers (e.g., *fei* 'very', as in *fei schee* 'very nice'), showing that intensifier choices correlate with speaker identity.

All in all, this study shows how speakers use intensifiers to index different types of social meaning as they construct and develop their personae across their lifespans.

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## **Exploring Genre Convention Transfer in L2 Writing: A Case Study in the Intermediate German Classroom**

**Sophia Strietholt, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
Julie Larson-Guenette, University of Wisconsin–Madison**

Genre-based approaches have been recognized as pivotal in the development of second language (L2) writing skills (Allen & Goodspeed, 2018; Byrnes et al., 2010). The transfer of genre conventions remains a challenging aspect of language pedagogy (Liu, 2018), and a further exploration of transfer strategies and methods for the language classroom is needed (Cui, 2019). Recognizing that there are multiple aspects in a given text type involving linguistic, textual, and rhetorical features, the guiding research question of the present study is: *To what extent did learners incorporate elements of model texts in their own writing?*

This study investigates genre convention transfer in the intermediate German classroom through an exploratory lesson centered on music reviews (Strietholt et al., 2024). Upon completion of a 75-minute pedagogical intervention in tandem with accompanying outside of class activities, the participants ( $n=16$ ) produced their own music reviews (handwritten on site). The texts written by participants were analyzed for three main categories of transfer: 1) organizational structure of the genre, 2) use of lexicon and morphosyntax, and 3) overall discourse level transfer. Preliminary analyses suggest that transfer successfully occurred at the discourse level with regards to overall structure of the text in accordance with the genre conventions. 90% of the students incorporated at least one or more lexical item beyond the expected vocabulary (e.g., ‘album’ or ‘song’). Instances of potential morphosyntactic chunks, including genitive noun phrases, suggest further transfer from the model texts (e.g., ‘auf dem neuen Album’; ‘am Anfang des Albums’; ‘des Liedes/Lieds’).

The presentation will outline the methodology, including the selection and design of the model texts, the implementation of the pedagogical lesson, and the assessment criteria for potential transfer. Initial findings and insights into participants’ implementation of genre conventions will be discussed. However, as the study is ongoing, the presentation will conclude with a section reserved for results that are not yet available, allowing for more comprehensive data analyses to be included in the final presentation.

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## Clause Arrangement in the Poetry of Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld Óttarsson

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This study examines aspects of clause arrangement in 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>-century skaldic verse with a particular focus on the *dróttkvætt* poetry of Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld Óttarsson. Despite the usefulness of Reichardt's (1928) system for classifying patterns in the arrangement of clauses within a helming, there have been relatively few studies of clause arrangement that compare individual skalds or consider changes in general stylistic tendencies over time. Following the empirical approach outlined in Edwards (1983, 1984) and revisited in Sundquist (1998), I argue that clause arrangement data from 144 half-stanzas attributed to Hallfreðr offer useful insight into issues of authenticity, dating, stylistic preferences of individual skalds, and the differences between individual *lausavísur* and stanzas in longer poems, or *drápur*, that have been attributed to the same skald.

In the first part of the paper, I provide an overview of the methodology and the poetic corpus used in this study. In particular, I chose to analyze Hallfreðr's stanzas because of the relatively large set of stanzas attributed to him and the high number of both *lausavísur* (N=28) and stanzas in *drápur* (N=44) that allow for a comparison across these two verse types. Moreover, Hallfreðr is considered to be a late 10<sup>th</sup> century skald, which allows for interesting comparison with another skald from the same century from whom we have similar data on clause arrangement, namely, Kormákr Ögmundarson, as presented in Sundquist's (1998). In addition to analyzing each half-stanza according to the five main types of clause arrangement patterns and the various mixed patterns outlined in Edwards (1983), I also examined several features that have been discussed in previous literature on the stylistic preferences of individual skalds with respect to clause arrangement (cf., Gade 1985:16-17). These include instances of what Reichardt deems *Tiefstellung* (1928:131), or the vertical placement of elements from the same clause in the same positions along each metrical line of a half-stanza, as well as the complexity of kennings and word order in single-clause half-stanzas (Type A) in Hallfreðr's poetry.

The results of the data collection are reported in the second part of the paper. First, in terms of the general distribution of clause arrangement patterns in *lausavísur*, Hallfreðr uses very little of the simple Type A pattern, especially compared to the tendencies of Kórmákr (Sundquist 1998) and other 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup>-century skalds (Reichardt 1928; Edwards. 1983); moreover, Hallfreðr's poetry exhibits a remarkably high use of the sequential pattern (Type B, e.g., ab, abc, or abcd) in *lausavísur*. Secondly, the clause arrangement patterns in Hallfreðr's *drápur* differ from his contemporaries in several ways: Type C is more frequent while Type D is used at a rate almost half that of other 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup>-century skalds. Thirdly, the distribution of clause arrangement patterns is different in Hallfreðr's *lausavísur* vs. those in his *drápur*, particularly the lower use of Type A and higher use of Type B in *lausavísur*. Lastly, data on *Tiefstellung* and the relative complexity of Type A stanzas indicate that Hallfreðr uses much less vertical placement of elements than what Reichardt (1928) initially suggested for 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century skalds in general. Moreover, Hallfreðr's single-clause helmings fail to exhibit the increased complexity and longer kennings that Reichardt (1928) claims are a hallmark of Type A patterns in the poetry of skalds from this period.

Implications are discussed in the final portion of the paper. Results indicate that clause arrangement data is a useful tool to highlight stylistic characteristics of individual skalds compared to their contemporaries and to shed light on differences between *lausavísur* and longer poems that contain multiple stanzas by the same poet. Moreover, data here demonstrate the usefulness of revisiting analyses of clause arrangement for comparison across centuries (Edwards 1983) in studies

on the relative dating of individual skalds' poetry as well as in studies on authenticity (Sundquist 1998, Sapp 2023) of disputed attributions. Lastly, the study demonstrates the usefulness of the multi-volume *Skaldic Project* and its associated online materials (ed. Margaret Clunies Ross et al., 2012) and the role that different editions of skaldic poetry play in the analysis of clause arrangement in *dróttkvætt* poetry.

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*Exploring the Post-Apartheid Relevance of German in Southern Africa*

This year marks three decades since the establishment of the first democratically elected government in South Africa. A fundamental tenet of the South African constitution underscores the need to ‘heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights’. This paper focuses on one of the Constitution’s founding provisions which aims to promote the use of twelve official languages and historically marginalised indigenous languages while also ensuring ‘respect for all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German’. This paper explores whether promoting a minority heritage language like German still has relevance in a country where the majority of speakers in South Africa face challenges of inequity which can be traced back to the country’s colonial past (Mufwene, 2020; Warnke, 2020). The history of settler colonialism in South Africa and its impact on the indigenous people and their languages has been well documented. For German settlers in southern Africa, the immediate priority of creating a manual labour force for the nascent settler economy necessitated language contact which produced several enduring extraterritorial varieties of German (de Kadt, 1996; 1998; 2000; 2002; Deumert, 2009). Despite its troubled past, this paper makes an argument for the ongoing relevance of German in southern Africa by exploring the current vitality of these language varieties through data collected in the form of sociolinguistic interviews. The limited data pool produced a key finding pointing to the migration of both heritage and second-language German speakers across historically racialized spaces as they navigate an increasingly globalised and centralised socio-economic landscape. This finding has implications for the future of German in the domains of education and business in southern Africa.

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## Remnant Case Forms and Patterns of Syncretism in Early West Germanic

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In the *a/ō*-stem nouns of certain old WGmc languages, minor morphological forms are found (*-i* and *-u* suffixes) in early texts which have remnant INS(TRUMENTAL) and LOC(ATIVE) functions.

The minor forms with *-i* are common to the major WGmc languages. In Old English (OE), this *-i* has INS and LOC functions: e.g. OE *facn-i* ‘with cunning’, OE *on berg-i* ‘on the hill’. In Old High German (OHG), Old Saxon (OS), and Runic/Old Frisian (RF/OF), *-i* has a LOC function only: e.g. OHG *Wittreshūs-i* ‘in Wittersheim’, OHG *pi dorf-i* ‘in the village’; OS *Thribirg-i* ‘in Driever’. Endless forms also evidence the suffix, e.g. OHG, OS *hūs* ‘at home’ (< \**hūs-i*, cf. DAT SG *hūs-e*); OF *Wetsing-e* ‘in Wetsinge’ (< \**Wetsing-i*, cf. NOM SG *Wetsens*). Forms with *-u* are found in OHG, OS, and RF to denote INS and LOC, but *-u* is not found in OE with these functions. For example: OHG *suert-u hauwan* ‘to strike with a sword’, OHG *in stedí-u* ‘on the shore’; OS *suerd-u gimâlod* ‘slashed with a sword’, OS *ôðr-u sîð-u* ‘in another instance’; RF *me(p) jisuh[i]ld-u* ‘with Gisahild’ and RF *op ham-u* ‘at the homestead’.

The evidence shows that there was confusion between the morphological form for INSTRUMENTAL and LOCATIVE in the early WGmc languages, first suggested in Versloot (2016b). I build on Versloot’s observations in two ways. Firstly, the WGmc languages can be neatly divided according to which semantic functions are found with each morphological form. In one group sits OE, in which *-i* has INS and LOC functions. This *-i* weakens to *-e* very early in OE. In the other group sit OHG, OS, and OF, where some LOC functions are found in *-i*, but INS and LOC functions are primarily found with *-u*. This *-u* survives as the OHG/OS INSTRUMENTAL and merges with the DATIVE in each of OF, OHG, and OS. The *-u* does not appear to have been generalised in OE.

Secondly, I propose that the divergent functional generalisations of *-i* and *-u* in the WGmc languages had an impact on the syncretism patterns of the feminine *ō*-stems. The evidence for this is that OE, which generalises INS under *-i*, has the pattern NOM≠ACC=GEN=DAT=INS, whereas the other languages (Frisian, OS, OHG), which generalise INS under *-u*, have the syncretism pattern NOM=ACC=GEN≠DAT=INS. The following table shows primary forms of the feminine *ō*-stems in each language:<sup>1</sup>

	PWGmc	Early OE	OE	Early Frisian	OS	OHG
NOM	*geb- <b>u</b>	ġief- <b>u</b>	ġief- <b>u</b>	*jev-æ	geb-a	geb-a
ACC	*geb-ā	ġief-e	ġief-e	*jev-æ	geb-a	geb-a
GEN	*geb-ā	ġief-e	ġief-e	*jev-æ	geb-a	geb-a
DAT	*geb-ē	ġief-e	ġief-e	*jev- <b>u</b>	geb- <b>u</b>	geb- <b>u</b>
INS	*geb- <b>u</b>	(e.g. cæstr-i)	ġief-e	*jev- <b>u</b>	geb- <b>u</b>	geb- <b>u</b>

In PWGmc, the suffix *-u* had been a marker of both NOM and INS. The difference between the syncretism patterns in the daughter languages is the salience of *-u*. In OE, *-u* only marks NOMINATIVE (in light-stemmed nouns where apocope does not apply); in the other languages,

<sup>1</sup> Paradigms adapted from Ringe and Taylor (2014: 114), Gallée et al. (1993: 203-4), Braune and Heidermanns (2023) and Versloot (2016a), (2016b).

*-u* marked INSTRUMENTAL, which then merged with the DATIVE. The paradigmatic restructuring cannot be explained by phonological processes alone, otherwise *-u* would have survived in both the NOMINATIVE and INSTRUMENTAL.

I propose that the motivation for the syncretism pattern in OE is because it generalised the *-i* suffix for INS at the expense of *-u* at a very early stage. In the OE  $\bar{o}$ -stems, this led to *-u* being analysed as a salient marker of NOMINATIVE. By contrast, the other WGmc languages did the opposite: the *-u* was analysed as the salient marker of INSTRUMENTAL (which later generalised to the DATIVE form) at the expense of the NOMINATIVE. This was a motivation for the ACCUSATIVE to merge with the NOMINATIVE. On this basis, the divergent syncretism patterns found across the WGmc  $\bar{o}$ -stems can be explained.

## Appendix 1

Summary of form of feminine  $\bar{o}$ -stems and distribution of the minor functions in *-i* and *-u*:

	$\bar{o}$ -STEM FORM		SEMANTIC FUNCTION	
	NOM	<i>-u</i> DAT	<i>-u</i> form	<i>-i</i> form
	$\bar{o}$ -stem	$\bar{o}$ -stem	<i>a</i> / $\bar{o}$ -stems	<i>a</i> / $\bar{o}$ -stems
OE	<i>-u</i>	No	—	INS, LOC
RF/OF	= ACC	Yes	INS, LOC	LOC
OS	= ACC	Yes	INS, LOC	LOC
OHG	= ACC	Yes	INS, LOC	LOC

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## Found in Translation: A Sociolinguistic Comparison of Old English Biblical Translations

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Translations can reveal more information than the simple meaning of underlying texts in another language. A translator must navigate not only the lexical, syntactic, and semantic intricacies of two languages, but also keep in mind the audience who will read or hear the translation. The resulting translation becomes an altogether new text with its own purpose, audience, and implications. In this paper, I compare different translations of biblical passages from Latin into Old English and use sociolinguistic methods to account for variations in those translations. When we compare biblical quotes embedded in the Old English translations of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Gregory's *Pastoral Care* both to each other and to the same passages as they appear in the larger context of Old English Bible translations, we see that the renderings from Latin into Old English differ in ways that are not explainable on the basis of variation in the underlying Latin. We must instead examine the genre of the text, the social location of the translators, and their expectations about their respective audiences. For instance, the Old English translator of Bede's *History* often takes a word-for-word approach to the underlying Latin biblical quotations with few deviations. In contrast, the translator of the *Pastoral Care* uses a more idiomatic approach to biblical quotations which results in more recognizable Old English prose structure. An additional layer of linguistic context appears when we compare these quoted passages to the corresponding verses in larger Old English Bible translation projects. One such Bible text, the Anglo-Saxon Gospel translations, strike a balance between representing the Latin phrasing and using a more idiomatic Old English structure. An example of these different approaches can be seen in Matthew 15:11, which appears in all three texts with varying translation outcomes.

From Bede's *History*

- *Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quae exeunt de ore, illa sunt quae coinquant hominem.*
- Nales þætte ingongeð in muð monnan besmited, ac þa ðe utgongað of muðe, þa seondon þe þone monnan besmited.  
“It is not what goes into the mouth that defiles man, but that which goes out from the mouth, that is what defiles the man.”

From Gregory's *Pastoral Care*

- *Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem; sed quod procedit ex ore, coinquinat hominem.*
- Ne geunclænsað ðæt no ðone mon ðæt on his muð gæð; ac ðæt ðæt of his muð gæð, ðæt hine geunclænsað.  
“Not makes unclean the man that which into his mouth goes, but that which from his mouth goes, that makes him unclean.”

Here, the translator of the *History* has moved finite verbs to the ends of the clauses, a normal feature of Germanic languages, but otherwise the Old English version is a faithful rendering of the Latin text. The translator of the *Pastoral Care*, on the other hand, adds articles and genitive pronouns, moves whole phrases, and substitutes a pronoun for a common noun to avoid unnecessary repetition. Both renderings have the same essential meaning, but the choices made by the translators indicate that the audience and the communicative goal for each text were different.

In comparison, we see yet another set of translational strategies with their own textual and sociological implications in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels:

- *Non quod intrat in os, inquinate hominem, sed quod procedit de ore, hoc inquinate hominem.*
- Ne besmit þone mann þ on hys muþ gæð. Ac hyne besmit þ of hys muþe gæþ.  
“Not defiles the man that which into his mouth goes. But him defiles that which from his mouth goes.”

In this version, the translator has adopted a very idiomatic Old English structure to convey the meaning of the Latin words without much resemblance to the Latin structure.

The example from Matthew is one of many that I examine in this paper. Using the kind of analysis I have demonstrated above and alongside contemporary reports about the purpose of these translations and modern reconstructions of Old English scribal culture, I will argue that the Old English version of the *History* text presents Bible passages with careful adherence to the Latin structure because the audience for the whole of the *History* was meant to observe the authority of the Latin language in the biblical context. I will also argue that the audience for the Bible translations was mostly clergy, who are already familiar with the text of the Latin, and therefore the meaning of the text supersedes the importance of the structure. The *Pastoral Care* is a didactic text, whose main purpose was to help spread English reading to the English people, so the translation of the text, including the Bible passages, is done in an idiomatic English structure to elevate the status of English as a literary language. These sociological contexts provide important background for understanding the linguistic profile of each translation.

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# Scandinavian lexis in the place-names of northernmost England

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A number of writers, going back at least to John Gregory in 1882 and including masters of toponymic research such as Harald Lindkvist (1912), Allen Mawer (1920) and Victor Watts (1995), have tackled the question, how much Scandinavian influence there is on the medieval place-names of North-East England. While differing in coverage and emphasis, they have generally agreed that there is very little, and hence little reason to posit more than a sprinkling of Scandinavian settlement in the region. So perhaps there is no more to be said.

I believe, however, that there is room, even a need, for revisiting and expanding the evidence and reconsidering its implications. To address questions about Scandinavian influence on place-names contributes to wider linguistic and historical debates, for instance about the linguistic character of the far north of England, or about the extent of Viking authority, since the northern limit of the Danelaw is as uncertain as the southern one is certain. Recent archaeology in the lower Coquet valley has unearthed a putative Viking camp on a pre-existing site, rekindling interest in Scandinavian activity in north-east England (Kershaw *et al.* 2023). Meanwhile, many people in the region like to think that their dialect, their heritage and their genes are strongly Viking, and it is important to get the facts right, as far as possible.

On a more personal note: cherishing memories of visits to key Viking sites in northern England in the company of Kari Ellen Gade, I hope that this paper will be a fitting, albeit inadequate, tribute to the memory of this outstanding scholar and wonderful, unique person.

The primary focus of this paper is on the medieval evidence. Based on a thorough review of the etymologies of ‘candidate’ place-names – those showing signs of possible Scandinavian origins or influence – I will sort the names into typological categories, assign degrees of probability to the Scandinavian solutions, and assess the overall number and distribution of possibly Scandinavian or Scandinavian-influenced names. In addition to investigating the major place-names, I will selectively examine the minor place-names and terminology occurring in selected charters. Using all the medieval evidence available, I will attempt to estimate the amount of originally Scandinavian lexis current in the area and consider what it might mean in terms of possible settlement and/or cultural and linguistic diffusion — in short, how did the lexical items concerned get there? The focus will be mainly on Northumberland, the northernmost and fifth largest of England’s historic counties, but my thinking will be informed by studies such as Townend (2002) and Dance (2003).

Among important caveats to be borne in mind is the fact that the dating of many place-names is extremely difficult, not least since relevant documents from before c. 1200 are sparse in northern England. To a still greater extent than in better-documented areas, this means that a Scandinavian etymology does not necessarily mean a Scandinavian settler or even a Scandinavian speaker, and innovations in language and naming, like fashions in brooch or ship design, can travel through trade and cultural exchange as well as through settlement.

The earlier studies by Mawer and Watts were based almost exclusively on the medieval material and on major place-names, but the lexis of Scandinavian origin that appears in minor place-names on modern maps of Northumberland also deserves investigation, and this is the second major focus of the paper. Examples include *fell* ‘an upland pasture, hill’, *garth* ‘an enclosure’, *gill* ‘a ravine’ and *slack* ‘a hollow’, and many such words, though not all, can

already be observed in the recorded medieval name-stock. Over 15,000 place-names appearing in the Ordnance Survey Name Books for Northumberland (c. 1858–1864) provide a useful dataset which yields a few hundred names containing originally Scandinavian lexis, and this corpus will be analysed. More informally and selectively, I will attempt to gain a sense of the regional distribution of this lexis and hence possible routes of diffusion by making comparisons with the whole of England and Scotland via a digital gazetteer of some two million names collected by the recent GB1900 project from the Second Edition Ordnance Survey maps.

The question of Scandinavian influence is, of course, best addressed on a multi-disciplinary basis. Although time and space do not permit more than a cursory scrutiny of other types of evidence, the paper will also refer briefly to the evidence of personal names; early texts; modern dialect; historiography; archaeology (especially stone sculpture); and genetics.

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Abstract for *Historical Germanic Linguistics and Philology* in honor of Kari Ellen Gade

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### **Non-formal phonic repetition in the poetry of *Bergbúa þáttr***

The short Icelandic narrative work *Bergbúa þáttr* contains a 12-stanza poem often given the modern title *Hallmundarkviða*. This poem appears to describe volcanic phenomena from the point of view of a supernatural being that inhabits a cave in the mountains. It is composed in the *dróttkvætt* metre, which features formalised internal rhyme and alliteration, and which no other scholar of our generation has been better able to describe and analyse than the late Kari Ellen Gade. The poem also features *galdragal* ‘incantations’ metre’, where the last line of each stanza is repeated. In addition to these formal features, the poem contains a large amount of repetitions of phonemes and phoneme groups such as nasal consonants. Many of these features do not fall under the extensive native poetic terminology of Old Norse, but can be demonstrated to have been composed for deliberate poetic effect in this poem.

This paper takes as a starting point the approach of Heslop’s study of *Glymdrápa* in *Viking Mediologies* (pp. 143–9), where it is demonstrated that both the diction and phonic system of that poem are directed towards representing the noise of battle. In *Bergbúa þáttr* the impetus is the apparent evocation of volcanic and/or subterranean phenomena — phenomena probably experienced primarily by medieval Icelanders in the form of the sounds and movement of earthquakes and related activity. This paper will survey the techniques used in the poem to build a sonic environment evocative of its subject-matter, as well as other sensory reference points related to the poem’s subject matter and context.



## (Span) Size Matters: Pennsylvania Dutch Participles at the Syntax-Morphology Interface

Emmeline Wilson & Deborah Adeyeye

**Introduction:** The notion of “borrowing” in contact language literatures has been described as the transfer or incorporation of lexical items from one language into another (Haugen, 1950; Gardani, 2018; Poplack, 2018). At the same time, psycholinguistic research has provided much evidence for a combined and integrated bilingual mental lexicon (Van Heuven et al. 1998; Dijkstra & Van Heuven, 2002). Thus, we question borrowing as a transfer, especially in the case of proficient bilingual speakers, favoring instead a perspective of a shared bilingual mental lexicon with shared lexical items. In this talk we focus on the sharing of verb classes (such as weak/strong and regular/irregular; Wiese, 1996) and inflectional strategies between American English and Pennsylvania Dutch that occurs for proficient bilingual speakers of the two languages.

**Data:** Pennsylvania Dutch (PD), a dialect with roots in Palatinate German and a long history of close contact with American English (AE), exhibits a plethora of lexical borrowings from English in the verbal domain. At a first glance, it appears that AE stems borrowed into PD and categorized as a verb are exponed in their participle forms like other PD weak participles – with a *g(e)/-t* circumfix (e.g., *schiwwere/geschiwwert* ‘to shiver,’ *peende/gepeendt* ‘to paint’). However, a handful of strong verbs in their participle forms exhibit the exponency attributed to their English forms (e.g., *weare/gwore* ‘to wear,’ *dreiwwe/gedriwwe* ‘to drive’). Louden (2019) claims that English stems always receive the weak inflectional exponency with the singular exception of *weare/gwore*, which, according to Louden, is exponed strongly due to its phonological similarity to another verb. However, in Beam’s extensive documentation of non-sectarian PD (Beam, 2004-2011), there exist additional English verb stems that receive strong PD exponency, prompting a reanalysis of analogy as the driver behind strong exponency of borrowed stems. This talk is guided by the question, which structural factors determine when the English stem is receives strong exponency in PD participles? We predict that 1) borrowed AE stems that have regular AE participles (-*ed* ending) receive weak PD participle exponency, and 2) the AE stems borrowed into PD exhibiting irregular participle forms in AE receive strong PD exponency.

**Analysis:** We examine AE integration into PD utilizing an exoskeletal, span-based approach (Svenonius, 2016) in which a span can be defined as a contiguous sequence of heads within a syntactic structure. In our approach, we use bipartite morphemes that spell out a circumfix on a single syntactic node (Rolle, 2022). We show that when AE spans are inserted intact into PD syntax, the size of the span determines the exponency of the participle circumfix. If an AE verb has a regular participle, the borrowed span consists of just two nodes – the root and the syntactic categorizer (in this case, *v*). These small spans then require a [PTCP<sub>1</sub>] node in the participial structure that is spelled out as the ‘weak’ *g(e)/-t* circumfix. If an AE verb has an irregular participle

form, the borrowed span includes the [PTCP<sub>1</sub>] node, in addition to the root and syntactic categorizing nodes, which is utilized in the spell out of the verb stem in PD, by virtue of being included in the larger borrowed span. Inflection of the verb as a PD participle requires a [PTCP<sub>2</sub>] node to be added in the PD structure, which is then spelled out as the 'strong' *g(e)/-e* circumfix. In this way, the regularity of the AE verb influences the verb class when borrowed into PD. We conclude that the spanning approach offers the least added complexity while supporting a view of the shared bilingual mental lexicon in which components of both languages are not only active but are shared (instead of transferred) and overlap as much as possible (Tat, 2022).

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## **Lexical Differences between East and West Germany Result in Communication Difficulties**

It is without doubt that major differences existed between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. However, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the ensuing reunification of Germany in 1990 did not lead to the disappearance of such differences. In contrast, specifically regarding language, lexical differences became more apparent due to difficulties regarding integration and understanding. Manfred Hellmann, Heinz Kreutz, and Hort Stenger are three linguists who study the lexical differences between the FRG and the GDR that led to difficulties for the citizens of the former GDR and those of the FRG. My presentation will synthesize the research of these three linguistics, including an in-depth presentation of lexical differences in various parts of life - including everyday life, bureaucracy, work, school. I will argue that these linguistic differences that stem from the divide of Germany became more apparent after the reunification due to clear communication difficulties and difficulties in the integration of the citizens of the former GDR, as they were expected to adapt the FRG vocabulary, system, and way of life.

Differences in political ideologies and societal structures lead to lexical differences between the GDR and the BRD. For example, the GDR had the word “Regierungskrankenhaus” (Kreutz, 92), but this word is not found in the FRG, as this was not part of their societal structure. Political and ideological differences also lead to different connotations of the same word. For example, “opponieren” has a significantly more negative connotation in the GDR due to strong government control, differing strongly from the less negative connotation in the FRG due to structural and political differences that established significantly less control and surveillance. Lexical differences stem from different forms of economy (“Gastarbeiter” in the BRD and “Volkswirtschaft” in der GDR, (Hellmann 2008, 249-250)), different structures for raising children, different job markets, different school systems, political structures etc. The reunification caused the dismantling of such systems and markets in the GDR, meaning that they not only had to adapt a new way of life, but they also had to adapt the new vocabulary words in order to understand their changing environment. This results in not only difficulty regarding understanding the new systems, but also significant difficulty in communication, as the once fitting language and vocabulary no longer fit the sudden and forced new way of life.

I will use the following list of sources for my presentation.

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## Ship of Nails, Ship of Death: Naglfar as Unified Signifier of Feud, Cosmogony, and Eschatology.

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At Ragnarøkkr, Naglfar comes loose:

*Pá verðr ok þat, at Naglfar losnar, skip þat er svá heitir...*

Then it will happen that the ship called Naglfar shall also become loose...<sup>1</sup>

This ship is constructed from the unclipped nails of the dead, and sailed by the giants to kill the gods. While Naglfar is mechanically central to the occurrence of Ragnarøkkr, it appears only on the periphery in scholarship. In this essay I ask and answer the question of Naglfar's symbolism and significance. I examine the role of Naglfar as a mode of chronotopal transportation—moving and moved by bodies—towards Ragnarøkkr. In doing so, I argue that Naglfar is an inversion of the power of the gods through its representation of the improper disposal of body parts in feud-time.

In order to understand Naglfar's place in the Old Norse linguistic corpus, I begin with Snorri Sturluson's etymology in his *Prose Edda*. Moving outward from Snorri, I consider insular and broader cultural associations of this construct, through cultural comparative analysis. I do so by looking at the comparative work of Bruce Lincoln,<sup>2,3</sup> J.G. Frazer,<sup>5</sup> and Mircea Eliade,<sup>6</sup> finding there are analogous features in other cultures, both Indo-European and otherwise. Finally, I consider the cosmological and philosophical symbolism of Naglfar as an alloform, representing cultural anxieties surrounding violence, feud, and the fragmentation and disposal of bodies.

Through this analysis, I argue that Naglfar serves to invert both the Norse myth of creation and the power of the Æsir. Naglfar is both the vehicle and unit of measurement by which the age of the world can be reckoned: it allows temporal and spatial travel from creation to apocalypse. Yet I also find Naglfar to be a phenomenon entirely unique to Medieval Norse literature. I contend that this cosmological fear is a medieval embodiment of Rob Nixon's Slow Violence,<sup>7</sup> the growth and dynamic of non-combat violence over long periods of time.

I conclude that Naglfar is a looming threat, reminding humankind of the forces which threaten our world. Yet it also reminds us that we play a part in this larger cosmogonic drama of violence. Naglfar is the measure of time between the violent creation of the world, and the apocalyptic

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<sup>1</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda*, trans. Jesse Byock (Penguin, 2005), 422.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce Lincoln, "Treatment of Hair and Fingernails among the Indo-Europeans," *History of Religions* 16, no. 4 (1977): 351–62.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Lincoln, *Myth, Cosmos, and Society: Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Bruce Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

<sup>5</sup> James George Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (Macmillan, 1935).

<sup>6</sup> Mircea Eliade, "Sacred Time and Myths," in *The Sacred and Profane*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957), 68–115.

<sup>7</sup> Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011).

end. It represents the swinging of the pendulum of power, when the might of the giants is finally equal to that of the gods, and the giants can achieve vengeance.