Small languages, big ideas:
the smaller Germanic languages from a theoretical, general and comparative perspective

Department of Scandinavian Languages

Uppsala University

June 13–14, 2024

Conference Program and Abstracts

Conference program

DAY 1, JUNE 13		
08:30–10:30	Registration (Engelska Parken, Building 16, Foyer)	
10:30–11:00	Welcome addresses ROOM 16-0043 Marco Bianchi, head of the Department of Scandinavian Languages Bryndís Kjartansdóttir, Icelandic ambassador to Sweden Johan Eriksson, JSPS Alumni Club in Sweden	
11:00–12:00	Keynote 1 ROOM 16–0043 **Veturliði G. Óskarsson (Uppsala)** The tale of a language on life support — from purism to language technology	
12:00–13:00	Lunch	
13:00–15:00	**Session 1**	
	ROOM 16–0043 *Grammar I* Chair: **Fisher**	ROOM 16–0042 *Language documentation and preservation I* Chair: **Wierenga**
13:00–13:30	**M. Tsiouris (Uppsala)** Possibility meanings in Elfdalian: the semantics of the verbs *bella*, *dugå* and *kunna*	**R. Wierenga, & P. Dirix (VIvA, Ghent, North-West University, KU Leuven)** Developing an ecosystem for the restandardisation of Afrikaans: Lectal inclusivity and the road to sustainability
13:30–14:00	**T. Landh (Uppsala)** Development of productive preterit rules in the grammar of Swedish-speaking children	**R. Esposito (Napoli Orientale)** A rejected mother and her lingering ghost. The role of Yiddish during the formative years of Israeli Hebrew
14:00–14:30	**R. Fisher (Penn State)** Form and Meaning in Pennsylvania Dutch Nominal Diminutives	**L. Riccardelli (Roma Sapienza)** Övdalian in a Central Scandinavian perspective
14:30–15:00		**Y. Sapir (Kristianstad)** A New Elfdalian Grammar
15:00–15:30	Coffee break	

15:30–16:30	**Poster session (Engelska Parken, Building 16, Foyer)** **G. Fabbris (Venezia)** Germanic minorities in Italy: a survey of what is available **M. Foltýn (Budapest)** Foreign influence on modern Yiddish phytonyms **J. Siewert (Helsinki)** A Dialectometric Study of Low Saxon Syntactic Variation over Time Special guest **Björn Rehnström (Älvdalen)** 40 years of *Ulum Dalska*
17:00–18:00	Guided visit to Carolina manuscript exhibit (2 groups: 17:00–17:45, 18:00–18:45)
19:30–	Conference dinner

DAY 2, JUNE 14	
9:30–10:30	Keynote 2 ROOM 16–0043 **E. Bidese (Trento)** Syntactic variation in the German(ic) language islands in Northern Italy. What Cimbrian and other microvarieties tell us about the structure of Germanic languages

10:30–12:00	**Session 2**	
	ROOM 16–0043 *Grammar II* Chair: **Madaro**	ROOM 16–0042 *Language documentation and preservation II* Chair: **Schram**
10:30–11:00	**É. Márkus & G. Baloghné Nagy (Budapest)** Passivkonstruktionen im deutschen Sprachinseldialekt von Deutschpilsen/ Nagybörzsöny in Ungarn	**L. Giacoma (Aosta)** Titsch and töitschu im Aosta Valley: good neighbours or distant relations?
11:00–11:30	**F. Costantini & D. Sidraschi (Udine)** The *tuen*-periphrasis in Sauris German	**S. Verdiani (Torino)** Historical roots of German-based non standard varieties in Namibia
11:30–12:00	**R. Madaro (Verona)** Auxiliary Raising in the German minority varieties across NE-Italy	**F. Schram (Turku)** Virtual Linguistic Landscapes: Exploring the Use of Low German on Instagram
12:00–13:00	Lunch	

13:00–15:00	Session 3	
	ROOM 16–0043 *Grammar III* Chair: **Farasyn**	ROOM 16–0042 *Historical and comparative linguistics* Chair: **Prado-Wohlwend**
13:00–13:30	**A. Tomaselli, R. Madaro & E. Bidese (Verona, Trento)** On the correlation between Germanic V2 and the low realization of the infinitival marker. Evidence from Germanic varieties spoken in NE-Italy	**A. Maini (Agder)** Navis a ventis pulsa: Wie die nordfriesischen Kognate *buat*, *booat*, *buæt* und *büüt* 'Boot' das urgermanische Konkretum **bauta-* ('welches sich stoßen/treiben läßt') belegen können.
13:30–14:00	**F. Zuin (Udine)** Aspectual periphrasis in Timavese	**R. Boldt (Agder/Erlangen-Nürnberg)** Small class, big uncertainties. The semantics of the *ōn*-verbs in Proto-Norse
14:00–14:30	**M. Farasyn (Ghent)** Non-resumptive left dislocation: A display of the special status of the syntax of the French Flemish dialects	**L. Thöny (Bern)** The Inflection of Predicative Adjectives — A Feature of the Periphery?
14:30–15:00		**M. Tarsi (Kyushu/Uppsala)** Verbs of intellectual activity in Germanic and their Indo-European semantic context: towards a lexical-typological characterization
15:00–15:30		**Chr. Prado-Wohlwend (Valencia)** Some Gothic female names in the Iberian Peninsula between the 6th and 8th centuries
15:30–16:30	Coffee break	
17:30–18:30	Guided tour: Runestones in Uppsala	

Keynote Abstracts

Veturliði G. Óskarsson (Uppsala)

The tale of a language on life support — from purism to language technology

In this talk, we will take a look at Icelandic, a language that has changed unusually little over its 1100–year lifespan compared to other languages in its geographical vicinity. Possible and probable reasons will be discussed. In particular, we will dwell on the language purism of the 19th and 20th centuries and how it has functioned almost as "life support" for a language that otherwise would probably have undergone greater changes than it has. The people who speak the language are no longer a relatively isolated island nation 1000 km from other inhabited countries, but are in the middle of the cycle of international relations and even in the last 20 years have acquired a kind of "neighboring language", English via the Internet. It will be pointed out how language purism on the one hand delayed what could be called a normal development of a language. On the other hand, how it promoted and supported strong and dynamic innovation in the language and for its use in all areas of society, as well as the interest and willingness to study it and, in recent decades, to take advantage of language technology to strengthen its position. This will be put in relation to the situation today, when Iceland has suddenly become a desirable place for immigrants while at the same time becoming a popular tourist country, both of which make the language of the natives less useful in some parts of society than before.

Ermenegildo Bidese (Trento)

Syntactic variation in the German(ic) language islands in Northern Italy. What Cimbrian and other microvarieties tell us about the structure of Germanic languages

About two hundred years ago, Johann Andreas Schmeller (1785–1852), one of the fathers of German dialectology, set out for Italy to collect linguistic data in order to determine the origin and structure of the so-called Cimbrian varieties. The questions that moved him were the following:

(i) How have the Cimbrian dialects developed as German varieties under language contact?
(ii) Do they show conservative or peculiarly innovative features?
(iii) (What (linguistic) insights can be gained from them about the structure of German and its development?

Regarding the origin of Cimbrian, he came to the conclusion that it was an Upper Bavarian dialect dating back to the Middle Ages. Regarding the structure of Cimbrian, he started to answer questions (i)-(iii), but both the analytical tools and the comparison of linguistic data were not yet developed enough at his time to answer them with due accuracy and comprehensiveness. After him, research on Cimbrian focused mainly on the conservative character of this isolated dialect, but since the end of the 1990s, Schmeller's questions on Cimbrian have again come to the fore in the framework of generative syntax and, in particular, within the stream of studies concentrating on (micro-)variation (cf. Bayer 1984 on Bavarian, Haegeman 1992 on West Flamish and the contribution in Abraham & Bayer 1993 on dialect and generative syntax).

In my paper, I will address Schmeller's question (iii) by looking at what Cimbrian and the other Germanic microvarieties spoken in Italy can tell us about the main features of Germanic syntax (verb-second, nominative assignment, main-embedded asymmetry). In particular, I will summarize more than twenty years of research on these varieties and show how their original Germanic syntax has been altered to the limits of its genetic structure. Yet, it is precisely this modification that can shed more light on the structure of Germanic and its development than the standard Germanic languages and their dialects themselves.

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General Sessions

Day 1

Session 1

Grammar I, session chair: Rose Fisher
ROOM 16–0043, 13:00–14:30

Mikael Tsiouris (Uppsala)

Possibility meanings in Elfdalian: the semantics of the verbs bella*,* dugå *and* kunna

In modern Germanic languages possibility meanings, pertaining to the semantic domain of what is commonly referred to as *root modality* (cf. Coates 1983, Depraetere & Reed 2011), are often expressed by one single modal verb, etymologically equivalent to English *can*. Exceptions to the polysemousness of *can* (with cognates), can however be found in non-standard varieties. In Elfdalian, spoken in what traditionally comprises the parish of Älvdalen in West Middle Sweden, no less than three verbs are typically employed to express possibility meanings. These are *bella*, which denotes that the subject is enabled to perform the action due to external factors, *dugå*, which denotes that the subject is physically able to perform the action, and *kunna*, which denotes that the subject is mentally able to perform the action. The following examples are from Åkerberg (2012:286):

(1) Ig *beller* it kumå, fer ig ir it liðun.
    I can not come because I am not available
    'I cannot come, because I don't have time.'

(2) Ig *dug* it lęs att dörum.
    I can not lock again the door
    'I am not able to lock the door.'

(3) *Kann* du rekken?
    can you count
    'Do you know how to count?'

The research on these verbs is scarce. Virtually, the only written information available are short entries in grammar books and dictionaries (cf. Åkerberg 2012, Levander 1909, Steensland 2006). As a part of my ongoing PhD research project on Elfdalian modal verbs, I aim to contribute to our understanding of these verbs by

studying their semantical behaviour in detail. The material consists of written texts such as fiction, transcribed dialect recordings and magazine articles, which I have compiled to a corpus that contains approximately 395,500 tokens.

I my talk, I will present the results of an analysis made of 1,260 examples of the verbs (406 instances for *bella*, 687 instances for *dugå* and 167 instances for *kunna*) from fiction texts. Drawing upon the terminology proposed in Depraetere & Reed 2011, I suggest that the verbs (prototypically) express the following possibility meanings in the domain of root modality:

bella	*dugå*	*kunna*
opportunity[1] permission	physical ability	mental ability general situation possibility[2]

Table 1. Bella*, dugå and* kunna *and their possibility meanings.*

Even though a majority of the examples seem to fit into the meaning categories in table 1, some overlap cases can be observed, plausibly due to the impact of Swedish. This issue will be further commented upon in the talk.

   The analysis also shows that whereas *bella* only expresses possibility meanings, *dugå* and *kunna* express other, modal as well as non-modal, meanings. *Dugå* is often used to express a meaning equivalent to English *manage*. When used as a main verb, it has a meaning expressing sufficiency (cf. Swe. *duga*, Ger. *taugen*). *Kunna* can appear with an iterative meaning. There are also some cases, which are likely to be interpreted as epistemic (i.e. speaker's judgment of the likelihood of a proposition). Finally, as a main verb, *kunna* has a meaning paraphrasable with 'to have knowledge of'.

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Depraetere, Ilse & Reed, Susan, 2011: Towards a More Explicit Taxonomy of Root Possibility. *English Language and Linguistics* 15.1, 1–29.

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[1] The term *opportunity* denotes a possibility that is dependent on some enabling circumstances (Depraetere & Reed 2011:11); cf. the negated example in (1), in which the lack of time is the circumstance that prevents the subject to carry out the action.

[2] This term covers meanings that are found in clauses where the possibility does not refer to a particular entity but rather to a general situation as in the following example: *It can rain in September.*

Levander, Lars, 1909: *Älvdalsmålet i Dalarna: ordböjning ock syntax* [The Älvdalsmål in Dalarna: Morphology and Syntax].

Steensland, Lars, 2006: *Liten älvdalsk-svensk och svensk-äldvalsk ordbok* [Short Elfdalian-Swedish and Swedish-Elfdalian Dictionary]. Älvdalen: Ulum Dalska.

Therese Landh (Uppsala)

Development of productive preterit rules in the grammar of Swedish-speaking children

Swedish is commonly described as having four verbal conjugations. The preterit forms of the first, second and third conjugations all take a dental suffix realized as *-de, -dde* or *-te.* The distribution is predictable on a phonological basis. The fourth conjugation consists of the Swedish strong verbs, which typically have vowel shift and no preterit suffix (see table 1).

The first conjugation, comprising verbs with stem final *a,* is often the only class ascribed productive status. Novel verbs adhere to the first conjugation pattern (because novel verbs are formed by suffixing *-a*): *Google* becomes *googla* 'google', preterit *googlade.* However, the other conjugations, including the fourth, have been productive historically when non-novel verbs have changed class (Lundberg, 1921; Strik, 2015; Wessén, 1965).

Research on verb inflection in child language (see Veres, 2004 for Swedish; Bleses et al. 2011 for a comparison to other Scandinavian languages) suggests that while Swedish-speaking children master the first conjugation first, overgeneralization errors almost exclusively result in second or third conjugation forms. Additionally, while overgeneralizations of vowel shift forms are rare, an increase is observed from age four to eight (Veres, 2004). No comprehensive explanation has been proposed for the Swedish data, but it is possible that they may be elucidated in light of the *Tolerance Principle* (Yang, 2016, figure 1), a mathematic formula describing when it is more economic for children to form productive rules rather than list lexical forms individually.

The primary aim of the current study is to determine how verb inflection patterns are affected by age: what differences can be observed in experimental data from four, six, eight and ten-year-old Swedish-speaking children? I extend on previous research through an elicitation experiment where 128 children inflect verbs and nonsense verbs for past tense. I present preliminary data, including a statistical analysis of error types, and discuss what these errors tell us about the development of productive rules for verb inflection in Swedish. The results are evaluated against the Tolerance Principle (Yang, 2016).

The test items were selected to better understand productivity from a synchronic as well as diachronic perspective: many of the verbs included belong to ablaut classes that have proven sensitive to change historically. For example, it is common for present day *ä*-stems to have lost a previous vowel shift form, so that the preterit of *gräva* ('to dig') is now *grävde* instead of *grov*. Conversely, previously weak preterit *knytte* ('tied') has become *knöt,* as have several other verbs with present tense *i*- or *y*-stems. The nonsense verbs were also formed with diachronic patterns in mind. In addition, the inclusion of nonsense verbs enables assessment of how children handle novel verbs that do not end with *a*, and thus do not adhere to the productive first conjugation pattern.

Preliminary data indicates that the dental suffix is the main source for overgeneralization errors and for production of nonsense forms for all age groups. However, children also produce strong ablaut forms for weak verbs and nonsense verbs, increasing with age. The strong overgeneralizations and nonsense forms produced seem to align with patters of high type frequency as well as patterns that have been sensitive to change historically.

TABLES AND FIGURES

Conjugation	Stem	Preterit
1st	*hoppa* 'jump'	*hoppade*
2nd	*hyr* 'rent' *lås* 'lock'	*hyrde* *låste*
3rd	*tro* 'believe'	*trodde*
4th (examples of some strong patterns)	*gråt* 'cry' *rid* 'ride' *skär* 'cut'	*grät* *red* *skar*

Table 1. Swedish stems and preterit forms by conjugation.

Let a rule R be defined over a set of N items. R is productive if and only if e, the number of items not supporting R, does not exceed θN:
$$e \leq \theta_N = N/\ln N$$

Figure 1. The Tolerance Principle (Yang, 2016).

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Rose Fisher (Penn State)

Form and Meaning in Pennsylvania Dutch Nominal Diminutives

INTRODUCTION Pennsylvania Dutch (PD) is a West Germanic koine that developed in Pennsylvania throughout the eighteenth century due to heavy immigration from southwestern Germany and Switzerland. PD's origins are primarily Palatine German. Nominal diminutives are both highly productive in German varieties and notorious for the many realizations they take throughout the German-speaking world. This was also the case in earlier varieties of PD whose diminutive forms had not coalesced into one common form by the time of Reed and Seifert's fieldwork in Pennsylvania in the mid-twentieth century 200 hundred years after the initial wave of immigration: for example, Seifert (1947) listed eight singular diminutive suffixes and ten plural ones.

   The primary realization of the diminutive form found in Lancaster, Pennsylvania where PD is still widely spoken by Amish and Mennonite groups is singular {-li} and plural {-lin} (e.g., *Kobbli*sg 'small cup', *Kobblin*pl 'small cups'; Buffington & Barba 1954). However, the extent to which traces of other diminutive forms can be found in modern PD has not been thoroughly investigated to date. Furthermore, some Germanic languages like Dutch and German have highly productive diminutive morphology while others (i.e., the Scandinavian languages) do not (Alexiadou & Lohndal 2023). On the basis of Reed and Seifert's fieldwork, diminutives were quite productive in earlier PD varieties, and it would be useful to know to what extent this is still the case for modern PD. Thus, the questions of interest are the following:

(1) Are diminutives in Lancaster PD still primarily realized using {-li(n)}?
(2) Are there any remnants of the multiplicity of forms found by Seifert (1947) in this dialect?
(3) Are diminutives productive in modern Lancaster PD?

METHODS To address these questions, I examine data from an acceptability judgment task and wug test (Gleason 1958) designed to investigate nominal plurals and completed by 10 speakers of Amish Pennsylvania Dutch from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. For the acceptability judgment task, participants rated three existing PD diminutives with different plural allomorphs (including {-n} and {-s}) on a Likert scale of 1 (completely unacceptable) to 7 (completely acceptable). For the wug test, participants were given 87 nonce words and asked to pluralize them. Ten of these nonce nouns had the diminutive singular {-li} form that was meant to trigger the plural suffix {-n}.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS For the acceptability judgment task, {-n} was the most highly rated allomorph (Mean: 6.5) over {-s} (Mean: 5.2). In the wug test, the pattern was flipped with {-n} as the second most frequent plural suffix (e.g., *Hupplin*; n=36) and {-s} as the most frequent (e.g., *Hupplis*; n=38). Interestingly, diminutives were also used as a pluralization strategy for non-diminutive nonce nouns by some participants. This produced a total of 84 unexpected diminutives and included some of the suffixes found by Seifert (1947; e.g., {-le} and {-i}). These findings suggest that diminutive suffixes like {-lin}, though productive, are interpreted primarily as plural. Frozen diminutives like *Meisli* 'mouse' and *Weggli* 'wagon', which have no non-diminutive form, show that the suffix may be only weakly tied to the original semantics of smallness, if at all. Like its German relatives, PD's diminutives have a rich history of variation. However, what sets PD apart is that, as it has been steadily losing its morphological richness in the noun phrase, it has also been losing the productivity of {-lin} for expressing "smallness." These developments align with the oft-cited claim that morphology is one of the most vulnerable domains in minority languages in contact (Polinsky 2018). As Khan (2023) argued for English, I suggest that the decreasing productivity of diminutives is tied to the loss of inflectional complexity.

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Language documentation and preservation I, session chair: Yair Sapir
ROOM 16–0042, 13:00–15:00

Roné Wierenga, & Peter Dirix (VIvA, Ghent, North-West University, KU Leuven)

Developing an ecosystem for the restandardisation of Afrikaans: Lectal inclusivity and the road to sustainability

Lectal variation in Afrikaans has garnered attention in linguistic research since the 1960s, with numerous studies seeking to define specific varieties of the language (Du Plessis, Fourie, Nieuwoudt, Van Rensburg, Maritz, Van Heerden et al.). Despite these efforts, our understanding of these varieties remains limited. A 2022 report by the Afrikaans Language Council revealed a concerning decline in Afrikaans speakers, raising questions about the language's future. Afrikaans, rooted in 17th-century Dutch, emerged from the interactions of European settlers, indigenous tribes, and enslaved peoples. However, during the standardization process in the 20th century, many lectal varieties were overlooked, leading to the dominance of a single standard form. The demographic report highlighted that this standardized variety represents only a fraction of Afrikaans speakers, emphasizing the need for restandardization to democratize the language.

Initiatives such as ProVARIA have emerged to codify lectal varieties and integrate them into education and literature. However, these efforts face challenges, including the development of inclusive corpora and the adaptation of language technologies. For example, Cape Afrikaans (Kaaps) remains uncodified, presenting difficulties for language technologies. Similarly, transcribing spoken Afrikaans requires decisions on representation. The presentation aims to accelerate the restandardization process and revitalize Afrikaans by addressing these challenges.

The paper outlines the challenges and solutions encountered in codifying lectal varieties of Afrikaans within the living online General Afrikaans Grammar. Drawing from international contrastive Afrikaans-Dutch-Frisian grammars like Taalportaal and the Afrikaans School Grammar, an ecosystem is created where speech atlases,

corpora, and other language resources are developed simultaneously to expedite the restandardization process.

One significant challenge lies in developing language resources like lemmatizers, where the phonetic spelling of lectal varieties complicates the lemmatization process. For instance, deciding whether 'hys' should be lemmatized as 'huis' (house) or 'hys' (to raise) presents a dilemma due to the ambiguity of the spelling. Additionally, transcribing spoken Afrikaans for language models introduces further complexity. Should transcriptions adhere to (pseudo-)standardized Afrikaans or adopt phonetic spelling systems like those used in Cape Afrikaans? Moreover, the development of language resources such as grammars necessitates accounting for lectal varieties. Including vocabulary lists, grammatical descriptions, and phonetic representations of lectal varieties becomes imperative to assist educators in teaching these variations effectively.

By addressing these challenges and employing innovative approaches, the paper seeks to contribute to the restandardization and revitalization of Afrikaans. It underscores the importance of inclusive language policies and resources to safeguard linguistic diversity and ensure the continued relevance of Afrikaans in contemporary society.For example, Cape Afrikaans (*Kaaps)* is a lectal variety which has not yet been codified and is often spelled phonetically and represents sound shifts, like 'djy' for 'jy' but one might also encounter 'hys' for 'huis' (house), introducing an ambiguity with the existing word 'hys' (to raise). When developing language resources like lemmatizers, it becomes difficult to lemmatize this form ('hys' or 'huis'), and it is difficult to ensure that statistically trained parsers can disambiguate between both forms, because very little data is available for the lectal variety. A second example is spoken Afrikaans, for which audio transcriptions are required in order to train language models. Again, there is the question of how to represent this phonetically. One could still give a transcription in (pseudo-)standardized Afrikaans, with associated IPA values, or simply use more phonetic spelling systems like those used to write in Cape Afrikaans. Similarly, when developing language resources like grammars there is a need to account for lectal varieties for this reason it is necessary to include resources like vocabulary lists, grammatical descriptions and phonetic representations of lectal varieties as a means of aiding the teacher.

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Raffaele Esposito (Napoli Orientale)

A rejected mother and her lingering ghost. The role of Yiddish during the formative years of Israeli Hebrew

At the turn of the twentieth century, Yiddish was by far the most widely-spoken Jewish language. Also, it was the third Germanic language in the world by number of speakers, behind only English and German (Jacobs 2005, 3).

In the same period, a heated debate was raging between supporters of Yiddish and revivalists of Hebrew. During the formative years of Israel's modern nation, Yiddish was perceived by the Zionist establishment as a relic of the rejected diasporic past and as an obstacle to the building of a new Hebrew identity (Almog 2000).

Even after 1948, when the State of Israel was an accomplished fact, the enforcement of a ban on Yiddish theatre, restrictions on Yiddish publishing, and some public claims made by prime minister David Ben-Gurion (ironically, a native Yiddish speaker himself) showed a clear political and cultural stance against the *mame-loshn* ("mother tongue") of the Ashkenazi establishment and the State's founders (Rojanski 2020).

The revival of Hebrew was thus made at the expense of Yiddish, which happened to be the mother tongue of most Hebrew revivalists, hence their often harsh or at least ambivalent attitude. Later, when Hebrew had become a well-established reality whereas Yiddish suffered a dramatic decline worldwide, there was a gradual reversal

of their traditional roles, with the former affirmed as a vernacular and the latter taking on an aura of sacred language.

Yet, the rejected language had unexpectedly sneaked in where it was least welcome. As early as in the 1920s, it was observed that modern Hebrew "in reality is a European language in transparent Hebrew disguise" (Bergsträsser 1928, 47). As an Israeli journalist put it a few decades later, Israelis "speak Yiddish, Russian, Arabic and English—in Hebrew words" (Katzenelson 1960, 65).

According to Ghil'ad Zuckermann (2020, XXII), a "successful language reclamation can only result in a cross-fertilized hybrid rather than in the original tongue that the revivalists wish to reclaim". It is worthy of note that the phonological inventory of Israeli Hebrew corresponds to that of Yiddish and not to that of biblical Hebrew or of other Semitic languages. Even without going so far as to affirm, with Paul Wexler (1990), that modern Hebrew is a Slavic language derived from Yiddish, it is undeniable that the impact of Yiddish left a mark on Hebrew that is far from being superficial. It can be observed not only in lexicon and idioms, but in all the layers of the language, from phonology to syntax. Many examples can illustrate this fact.

On the one hand, the revival of Hebrew was made at the expense of Yiddish. On the other hand, Israeli Hebrew should be seen as a product of contact with Yiddish and other European languages, rather than a direct derivation from pre-modern Hebrew.

EXAMPLES

HEB.: classical Hebrew; ISR.: Israeli Hebrew; YID.: Yiddish

Calques of expressions

(1) ISR. *Lo holekh ba-regel* < YID. *S'geyt nisht tsu fus*: "not an insignificant matter" (literally "it does not go on foot").
(2) ISR. *Litpos et elohim ba-beytsim* < YID. *Khapn got bay di eyer*: "to be very successful" (lit. "to catch God by the eggs", i.e. "testicles").
(3) ISR. *Meshuga al kol ha-rosh* < YID. *Meshuge afn gantsn kop*: "completely crazy" (lit. "crazy on all the head").
(4) ISR. *Le-kol klal yesh yotse min ha-klal* < YID. *In yeder klal iz do a yoytse min haklal*: "for every rule there is an exception" (note that the Yiddish expression integrates Hebrew words in the Ashkenazi pronunciation).

Israeli slang expressions from Hebrew via Yiddish

Several Hebrew words entered Israeli Hebrew both directly, in the original meaning and Israeli pronunciation, and via Yiddish, with a different meaning and Ashkenazi pronunciation.

(5) ISR. *dosi* ("ultra-Orthodox Jew") < YID. *dosi* ("religious") < HEB. *dati* ("religious").

(6) ISR. *takhles* ("in practical terms") < YID. *takhles* (id.) < HEB. *takhlit* ("object; purpose").

(7) ISR. *tukhes* ("bottom") < YID. *tukhes* (id.) < HEB. *takhat* ("under").

Possession

(8) ISR. *Yesh li*: "I have" (lit. "there is to me").
Cf. Russian *U menja est* (id.).
Cf. YID. *Bay mir iz* (less common alternative to *Ikh hob*).

Phonemic neutralizations

(9) ISR. and YID. כ ח /χ/ < HEB. כ /χ/, ח /ħ/.

(10) ISR. and YID. כּ ק /k/ < HEB. כּ /k/, ק /q/.

(11) ISR. silent א and ע <YID. silent א and ע used to write vowels < HEB. consonants א /ʔ/, ע /ʕ/.

(12) ISR. and YID. phonemes /b/ /v/, /k/ /χ/, /p/ /f/ < HEB. allophones [b] [v], [k] [χ], [p] [f].

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Luca Riccardelli (Roma Sapienza)

Övdalian in a Central Scandinavian perspective

In the last couple decades, Övdalian (öv. *övdalsk*, sw. *älvdalska*. The glottonym "Övdalian" is here preferred to the alternative "Elfdalian", see the discussion included in Bentzen et al (2015).), a North Germanic variety spoken by approximately 2.500 people in the Swedish province of Dalarna, has received considerable attention from scholars both for its peculiar (sometimes almost unique) structural features and for its survival despite the unfavourable position in the Swedish linguistic landscape. Indeed, many linguists (such as Sapir, Garbacz, Rosenkvist, Nyström ecc.), along with the speaking community (represented by the association *Ulum Dalska*) have argued and acted for the recognition of Övdalian as a minority language.

The aim of the present contribution is to contextualise Övdalian within a larger group of diatopic varieties spoken both in Sweden (in the provinces of Dalarna, Härjedalen and Jämtland) and in Norway (in the provinces of Innlandet and Trøndelag). Indeed, in the history of Scandinavian dialectology, many of the varieties spoken on the Swedish territory have been considered to be Norwegian dialects, mainly because of historical and political factors rather than strictly linguistic observations. By providing a description of the features shared by these varieties (both on a phonological and morphosyntactic level), I will argue for the identification of a Central Scandinavian language group, transcending the traditional dichotomy between East Scandinavian and West Scandinavian. Such basic distinction is undoubtedly valuable in the context of the early and high medieval stages of the Scandinavian languages but appears to be unfitting for the contemporary state of affairs, which is the result a the complex interplay between several language-internal and sociolinguistic factors. Consequently, the areal distribution of the dialects does not necessarily match the geopolitical borders of the countries, nor can it be automatically described via the strict imposition of binary categories. The unfortunate tendency to disregard this aspect is aptly summarised by Ringgaard (2008, 279): "[…] the Scandinavian dialectologists stay within national borders. Non-Scandinavian-born Scandinavists […] insist on regarding Scandinavia as a linguistic entity; not so the Scandinavians themselves."

This is the case of the Central Scandinavian area initially described by Sandøy (2010, p. 155–166), which constitutes an important centre from which several — mostly phonological — innovations spread. However, the core of the Central Scandinavian area appears to have retained certain conservative morphological

features, such as person-verb agreement (Horn af Åminne, 2022, p. 117–118) and morphological case marking (Reinhammar, 1973; Ringmar & Olander 2020). Other traits that are typically Central Scandinavian (or that are more widespread but cover the whole Central area) are vowel balance (*vokalbalans*), vowel harmony (*tilljämning*), apocope, residual synthetic subjunctive forms as well as the use of the *varda*-auxiliary for the construction of passive forms. Besides these peculiar features, the Central Scandinavian varieties are also characterised by the only partial participation to developments that are typical of either Eastern or Western Scandinavian, such as monophthongisation and nasal+plosive assimilation respectively (see Kroonen 2015 for Övdalian).

Through the analysis and contextualisation of such features, enriched by new data collected during a recent period of fieldwork, the contribution ultimately aims to bring forward a novel diachronic and sociolinguistic approach to the study of Övdalian and its neighbouring varieties, essentially arguing that the transnational nature of the Central Scandinavian dialect group might favour its (or their) recognition as a minority language.

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Yair Sapir (Kristiansand)

A New Elfdalian Grammar

In my paper, I will account for Sapir & Lundgren's (2024) *An Elfdalian Grammar*, which is due to be published in April. The purpose of the book is to depict 'Late Classical or 'Preserved' Elfdalian', its target groups being those who would like to revitalise or reclaim Elfdalian, linguists and others interested in North Germanic languages (UCL Press, 2024).

Elfdalian is a contested North Germanic language spoken in Älvdalen, Northern Dalarna, Sweden, by approximately 2500 people. In the past two decades, it has attained much attention due to its distinctive status from both a linguistic and a sociolinguistic angle. From a linguistic angle, Elfdalian has been highlighted as being equally remote from Swedish as is Icelandic from Swedish, when it comes to its traditional lexicon. From a sociolinguistic angle, an Elfdalian revitalisation process is currently taking place in Älvdalen, comprising among other things language tuition in school, publication of study books, grammars, dictionaries, as well as children's books. Moreover, a motion for the recognition of Elfdalian as an official language in Sweden according to the European Charter for regional or minority languages has been put forward to the Swedish Parliament (Sapir 2017).

Sapir and Lundgren's Elfdalian grammar will be the third grammar with Classical Elfdalian as its study object, after Levander (1909) and Åkerberg & Nyström (2010). 'Classical Elfdalian' denotes the predominant language used in Älvdalen until c. 1900, when Swedish slowly began to replace Elfdalian as the everyday language in the area, and when Elfdalian gradually became structurally simplified and subject to growing Swedish influence.

In my paper, I will compare the upcoming Elfdalian grammar with its two precursors regarding descriptivism and prescriptivism, orthography, available corpora, as well as the intended target groups. Moreover, I will put the new grammar in the context of the on-going process of Elfdalian language revitalisation.

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Poster session

Building 16, Foyer, 15:30–16:30

Giulia Fabbris (Venezia)

Germanic minorities in Italy: a survey of what is available

Italy, renowned since ancient times as a crossroads of cultures, has been a melting pot where different ethnic communities have left an indelible mark on the nation's identity. The aim of this contribution is to present a study that focuses specifically on the Germanic minorities that have shaped Italy's cultural landscape over the centuries.

This work presents a survey that gathers and analyzes available digital and/or digitized material related to Germanic minorities in Italy in order to offer scholars an overview of what is available. This research is complementary to a PhD project that is in progress at Ca' Foscari University of Venice (see below) whose broader view is the valorization of the Italian cultural heritage in the digital paradigm through the development of a web application (Fabbris 2023).

In late medieval times, some groups of Germanic people mainly of Alemannic and Bavarian origin moved to the northern regions of Italy, and established their settlements among and along the Alps. In some places, minor Germanic languages are still used to different degrees (Caria 2019), as shown in Figures 1 and 2. For example, in Piedmont and Aosta Valley (north-west) the Walser language is still present in school programs (Angster and Gaeta 2021). On the other hand, the Cimbrian variety of the Asiago plateau (Altopiano d'Asiago, north-east) is not spoken any longer, but local administrations engage actively to enhance its cultural importance and, among the other things, organize language courses and publish yearly a volume named Quaderni cimbri (Cimbrian books), cf. furthermore https://www.cimbri7comuni.it/notizie. Again, the University of Trento even organized a university course on Cimbrian and Mòcheno linguistic (Bidese 2011).

Italian scholars researching on Italian linguistic minorities dedicate great efforts to the conservation of these Germanic varieties through the publication of academic papers and the implementation of digital tools that preserve linguistic material. In fact, if properly used, technology is suitable for the long-lasting storage of research data and for its quick and worldwide dissemination (Oza 2023).

Conscious of the challenges associated with researching Germanic minorities in Italy but aware of the opportunities that it could bring forth, this presentation aims at providing a survey as comprehensive as possible of the Germanic cultural heritage in its digital shape, drawing on different types of sources: local records, online collections, heterogeneous aggregators and an ontology, OntoVE (De Bastiani 2023).

By synthesizing available material, I hope to contribute to help scholars in their researches for a more comprehensive understanding of the complex interplay between Germanic minorities and the broader historical and cultural narrative of Italy. The survey of available material serves as a foundation for future research and facilitates a more nuanced comprehension of the multifaceted tapestry that is Germanic influence in Italy.

Last but not least, open-access resources will be possibly integrated in the online platform CHIt (Cultural Heritage of Italy – PhD project in progress), an aggregator of digital cultural objects that gathers already existing online data and, through formatting and standardization, makes them interoperable, offering a new context for the creation of innovative meanings among resources that were formerly not in communication and dislocated in different areas of the web, without any possibility of interplay.

Figure 1. North-western Germanic minorities in Italy: Walser varieties.
Source: https://www.isolelinguistiche.it/it/isole-linguistiche.html.

Figure 2. North-eastern Germanic minorities in Italy: Mòcheno, Cimbrian, Sauris, Sappada, and Timau.
Source: https://www.isolelinguistiche.it/it/isole-linguistiche.html

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WEBSITES

Cimbri dei Sette Comuni – Official website of the Cimbrian language of the Asiago plateau. https://cimbri7comuni.it/

Comitato unitario delle isole linguistiche storiche germaniche in Italia – Official website of the Unitary Committee of the Germanic historical linguistic islands in Italy. https://www.isolelinguistiche.it/it/

Istituto cimbro – Official website of the Cimbiran institute of Lucerna. https://www.istitutocimbro.it/

Walser in Valle d'Aosta – Official website of the Walser variety in Valle d'Aosta. https://www.walservda.org/

Matyáš Foltýn (Brno)

Foreign influence on modern Yiddish phytonyms

Yiddish, the traditional language of *Ashkenazim*, a Jewish diasporic population formed in Central Europe that was later owing to persecutions forced to migrate to Eastern Europe but can nowadays be found throughout most of the West, belongs to the West Germanic branch. While it is a descendant of Old High German, the cultural and historical circumstances of its formation and development have led to the fact that its lexicon is an interesting mixture. Whereas its lexical base corresponds to its Germanic roots, various semantic areas have been considerably influenced by the languages of the majority – the East Slavic languages and Polish – and the languages of the culture and religion – Hebrew and Aramaic.

  Although Yiddish has become rather popular in the last several decades, the number of published comprehensive lexical analyses remains minimal. As far as the author is aware, the only broad lexical overview in literature is provided in Jacobs (1994) that states the educated estimates of 70–20–10 to 85–12–3 for the Germanic, Semitic, and Slavic component respectively. These figures seem to be quite accurate when compared to the preliminary results of an analysis presented in Foltýn (2022). The

subject, however, still requires additional research. Various publications focus on a specific component or on specific loanwords, mostly from the diachronic perspective, e.g. Swoboda (1980), Wexler (1980) or Sadan (2013). The author is not aware of any study focused on specific semantic areas of the lexicon of Yiddish or any other Jewish diaspora language for that matter.

The proposed poster presentation aims to provide a descriptive synchronic overview of the gathered lexical data from the semantic area of plant names and the results of conducted analysis. The data of which the main source is Weinreich's *Modern English-Yiddish Yiddish-English Dictionary*, consulted also with Finkel's online *Yiddish dictionary* and Schaechter-Viswanath & Glasser's *Comprehensive English-Yiddish Dictionary*, are analyzed in terms of their affiliation to either of the three main lexical components, the absence or presence of synonyms, usage preference, etc. The analysis is managed through systematic consultation of the above-mentioned Yiddish dictionaries and etymologizing each lexeme by the means of author's knowledge of Slavic languages, intra-language cues, and methodical consultation with Old High German, Standard High German, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Russian dictionaries. The data are further subdivided into a handful of categories, e.g. non-tree plants bearing edible fruit, exotic plants and dendronyms which are also further divided in terms of fruit bearing, conifers and broadleaved trees.

What can be observed from the data is that the semantic area of plants has been significantly influenced by the Slavic languages, e.g. *maline* "raspberry (bush)" (cf. Ru. *malína*), *margaritke* "daisy" (cf. Ru. *margarítke*), *topol'* "poplar" (cf. Ru. *topol'*), *bereze* "birch" (cf. Uk. *beréza*), *bambuk* "bamboo" (cf. Ru. *bambúk*), so much so that the Slavic component sometimes outnumbers the Germanic base. Conversely, there is very little to no influence from either Hebrew or Aramaic. While the examples provided above are only brief and illustratory and cannot paint a complete picture, the results do show certain contextual links and regularities in the process of borrowing and further development of the loanwords, e.g. that when it comes to dendronyms that have a Slavic and a Germanic synonym, the Slavic is usually the preferred one.

The results to be presented in the proposed paper are part of the author's work-in-progress Ph.D. research focused on comprehensive lexical analysis of several Jewish diaspora languages with the idea that there would be a noticeable regularity in borrowing in certain semantic fields that could be later utilized in filling the gaps in mapping lexica of other Jewish diaspora languages or even in revival efforts, should there be any, of the dying ones.

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Janine Siewert (Helsinki)

A Dialectometric Study of Low Saxon Syntactic Variation over Time

We present a corpus-based dialectometric study of synchronic and diachronic syntactic variation in literary Low Saxon, where we focus on aggregate similarity on the one hand and the occurrence of particular structures on the other. These results are then compared to our previous studies targeting other levels of representation as well as to findings from traditional dialectology. Our two major research questions for this study are: 1) Does the overall similarity of the dialect groups change over time and, if yes, how? 2) Do certain structures considered characteristic for Low Saxon decrease in frequency in the written language, as found in studies on spoken language?

  The major part of our Modern Low Saxon data comes from the LSDC dataset (Siewert et al., 2020) and is divided into two time periods (1800–1939 and 1980–2022) and six major dialect groups. Our findings will be compared to the Reference Corpus Middle Low German / Low Rhenish ReN-Team (2019).

  In addition to our own research, recent dialectometric studies of Low Saxon have appeared by, for instance, Buurke et al. (2022) and Bartelds and Wieling (2022). A slightly older study is by Lameli (2016) who re-analysed the Wenker atlas data and found a north-south split in German Low Saxon.

  In previous experiments, we have compared aggregate distances in Modern Low Saxon, Standard Dutch and Standard German at the levels of characters, PoS (Part-of-Speech) tags and morphological features from whole corpora. Here, we have found different trends at the different levels of representation. Whereas Dutch Low

Saxon seems to approach Standard Dutch at all levels, the picture for German Low Saxon is more diverse: While we find a comparable trend of German Low Saxon approaching Standard German at the PoS level, when adding morphological information, the northern dialects appear to approach Standard Dutch. Furthermore, similar to Lameli, we find a north-south division in German Low Saxon to be more prominent than the traditionally assumed east-west division (compare, e.g., Schröder, 2004).

To complement our previous studies, we make use of Universal Dependencies' syntactic relations (see https://universaldependencies.org/u/dep/index.html) and lemmata to look at structures that PoS tags do not sufficiently differentiate. In addition to the aggregate similarity, we particularly want to investigate the occurrence of structures that according to Elmentaler and Borchert (2012) are often presented as characteristic for Low Saxon in textbooks and grammar books but which they have not found to be particularly frequent in the spoken language. This concerns structures such as auxiliary *doon* 'to do', double negation, and the use of *un* 'and' + infinitive instead of *üm to* 'in order to' as in German or Dutch.

In their article, Elmentaler and Borchert mention assertions that 19th century authors of German Low Saxon used more German-like constructions in writing than they would use in speech, whereas modern authors overuse typical Low Saxon structures in writing despite their gradual disappearance from the spoken language. If these hold true, we may see stability or even an increase in usage when comparing the 19th and early 20th century data to the modern data.
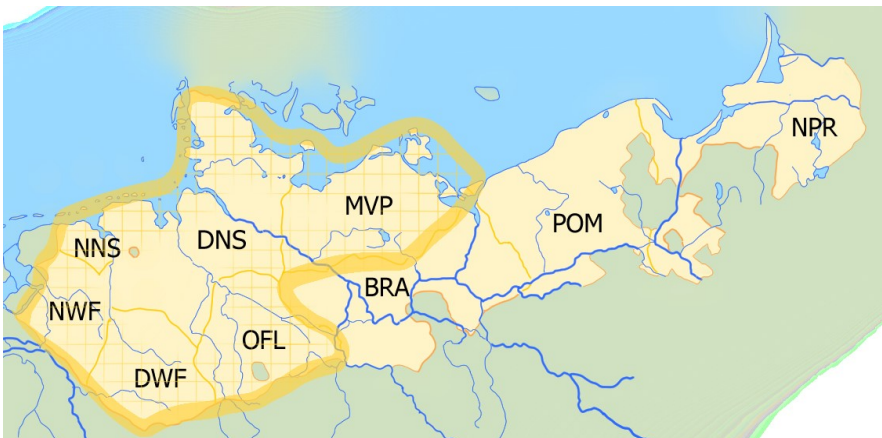

Figure 1. Low Saxon dialects included in our study: NNS: Dutch North Saxon, NWF: Dutch Westphalian, DNS: German North Saxon, DWF: German Westphalian, MVP: Mecklenburgish – West Pomeranian, OFL: Eastphalian. Other dialects: BRA: Brandenburgish, POM: East Pomeranian, NPR: Low Prussian.
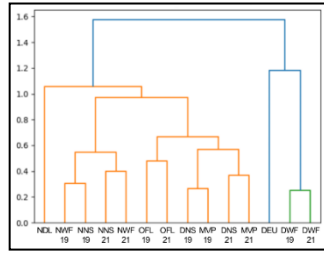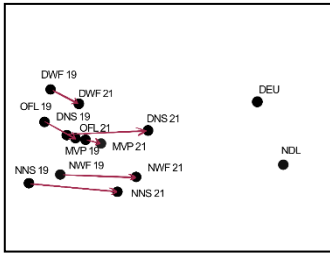
Figure 2. PoS level PCA and hierarchical clustering. NNS: Dutch North Saxon, NWF: Dutch Westphalian, DNS: German North Saxon, DWF: German Westphalian, MVP: Mecklenburgish – West Pomeranian, OFL: Eastphalian. 19: 1800–1939, 21: 1980–2022.
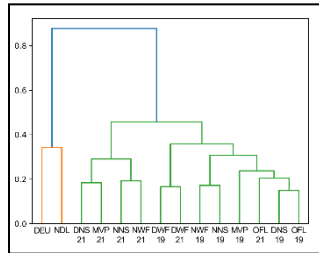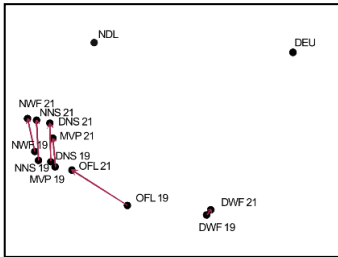
Figure 3. PoS and morphological features, PCA and hierarchical clustering. NNS: Dutch North Saxon, NWF: Dutch Westphalian, DNS: German North Saxon, DWF: German Westphalian, MVP: Mecklenburgish – West Pomeranian, OFL: Eastphalian. 19: 1800–1939, 21: 1980–2022.

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Day 2

Session 2

Grammar II, session chair: Romano Madaro
ROOM 16–0043, 10:30–12:00

Éva Márkus & Gizella Baloghné Nagy (Budapest Eötvös Loránd)

Passivkonstruktionen im deutschen Sprachinseldialekt von Deutschpilsen/ Nagybörzsöny in Ungarn

Der Vortrag beschäftigt sich mit den Passivkonstruktionen im deutschen Basisdialekt von Deutschpilsen. Die kleine Ortschaft liegt relativ isoliert im Börzsöny-Gebirge im Norden Ungarns. Es handelt sich um eine mittelalterliche deutsche Außensiedlung. Die Kolonisten waren Bergleute, die die ungarischen Könige aufgrund ihres Fachwissens in die ungarischen Bergbaugebiete einluden. Sie kamen ab dem 12. Jh. aus südbairischen und ostmitteldeutschen Gebieten ins Dorf, wo aus den verschiedenen Dialekten ein unikaler und eigenartiger Mischdialekt entstand (Márkus 2014). Der Dialekt wird heute in der jüngeren und jüngsten Generation leider nicht mehr gebraucht – das hat historische Gründe –, er ist nur noch eine Reliktvarietät (vgl. Riehl 2019: 280). Er ist lediglich Sprache der Familie und Freunde und in der Nachbarschaft im Kreise der ältesten DorfbewohnerInnen. Der Dialekt fungiert in gewisser Hinsicht als ‚Sprachmuseum', denn er entwickelte sich seit dem Mittelalter von seinen ursprünglichen Herkunftsarealen und vom gesamten deutschen Sprachgebiet abgeschnitten.

  2009 wurden empirische Untersuchungen im Rahmen einer Feldforschung in Deutschpilsen durchgeführt (Márkus 2014). Es wurden mittels eines Fragekatalogs sprachliche Daten – vor allem die Morphologie und Syntax betreffend – gesammelt und auf Tonträger aufgezeichnet. Es wurden die ältesten AnwohnerInnen interviewt, die die deutsche Mundart noch als Muttersprache sprechen. Diese Daten bilden das Korpus der vorliegenden Untersuchung.

  Die aus dem Mhd. bekannten zwei Passivkonstruktionen, das *werden-* und das *sein-* Passiv, können beide in der untersuchten Mundart belegt werden, mit der Beschränkung, dass das *werden*-Passiv lediglich im Perfekt benutzt wird, die Präsensformen des *beǝdn* (werden)-Passivs sind ungebräuchlich bzw. verschwunden. Formen wie **ǝ štōdn bit ksaitst* (eine Staude wird gesetzt) wurden von der Gewährsperson vor Ort als inkorrekt gewertet. Die Form des Hilfsverbs aber, die oft als *kboedn* (geworden) realisiert wird, deutet eher auf eine nicht vollständige Grammatikalisierung. Der Gebrauch der Passivkonstruktionen im untersuchten Dialekt lässt sich tabellarisch, wie in Tabelle 1, zusammenfassen.

Im Englischen ist das *werden*-Passiv (Altenglisch: *weorðan*) im Laufe der Sprachgeschichte ausgestorben, es gibt nur noch das *be*-Passiv (Eroms 1992: 229–230, Petré 2010). Diese Tatsache legt die Vermutung nahe, dass womöglich im untersuchten Dialekt ein ähnlicher Prozess durchlaufen wird. Parallel mit der Vermeidung des Auxiliars *werden* im Passiv Präsens kann die generelle Verwendung des Hilfsverbs *wollen* – anstatt von *werden* – für die Bildung der Futur- und Konjunktiv II-Formen im untersuchten Dialekt beobachtet werden. Interessant ist jedoch, dass die Passiv Perfekt-Formen noch zu erheben sind – siehe den Beispielsatz (2).

Eine weitere Möglichkeit für die systematische Einordnung der Passivkonstruktionen wäre, das Paradigma mit Doppelperfektformen (3) zusammen zu betrachten. Dementsprechend kann das Pilsnerische in der Vergangenheit auch Aspekt im Passiv ausdrücken im Gegensatz zu Präsens, d.h. ingressiv/dynamisch: Perfekt mit *kboedn*; statisch: Perfekt des Zustandspassivs (formal wie Doppelperfekt mit *sein*) und Doppelperfekt mit *haben*.

Über die deutschen Dialekte wird nicht selten berichtet, dass sie das Passiv vermeiden. Wiesinger schreibt beispielsweise über das Bairische, dass anstelle des Vorgangspassivs vielfach die aktivische Ausdrucksweise entschieden vorgezogen wird (Wiesinger 1989: 9). Bucheli Berger belegt dasselbe über manche schweizerdeutschen Mundarten: „Auch in den Mundartgrammatiken des Schweizerdeutschen wird immer wieder darauf hingewiesen, dass die aktive Form vorgezogen werde" (Bucheli Berger 2005: 51). Auch die bairisch-österreichische Mundart der Landler von Großpold in Siebenbürgen (Rumänien) vermeidet laut Bottesch allgemein den Gebrauch des Passivs (Bottesch 1992: 331).

Der Vortrag behandelt neben der Darstellung der existierenden Passivformen auch die Ausweichstrategie des untersuchten Dialekts für die Bildung des Passiv Präsens', nämlich die verwendeten Aktivkonstruktionen. Auch die Struktur der Verbcluster, die Anordnung der Elemente im Verbalkomplex werden unter die Lupe genommen. Es wird schließlich auch auf die mögliche Einwirkung der Kontaktsprache Ungarisch eingegangen. Im Ungarischen werden nämlich keine Passivformen gebraucht. Das Passiv wird im Deutschpilsener Dialekt oft durch das Aktiv ersetzt, mit Vorliebe mit der Konstruktion 'haben sie (*hamz*) + Part. II/ tun sie (*tons*) (3. Person Plural) + Infinitiv'. Das Ungarische benutzt ebenfalls die 3. Person Plural, während das (Standard)deutsche das Pronomen *man* für den Passiversatz, bzw. für das ‚unpersönliche Aktiv' benutzt. Belege mit der 3. Person Plural finden sich auch in den schweizerdeutschen Dialekten.

Die Beispielsätze (1–2) verdeutlichen den Unterschied zwischen Aktiv und Passiv im untersuchten Dialekt. Im Aktiv ist die handelnde Person wichtig, sie wird als Subjekt in Position I genannt, während im Passiv das Geschehen wichtig ist, das Agens wird als unwichtig angesehen und weggelassen.

(1) Aktiv Perfekt: *di doktorai hot di kᶜindǝ ȩ̃gǝpę̃ltst*
die Doktorin hat die Kinder eingepelzt
‚Die Ärztin hat die Kinder geimpft.'

(2) Passiv Perfekt: *di kᶜindǝ sain ȩ̃gǝpę̃ltst kboǝdn*
die Kinder sind eingepelzt geworden
‚Die Kinder sind geimpft worden.'

	Präsens	Perfekt
werden-Passiv	✗	✓
sein-Passiv	✓	✓

Tabelle 1. Passivkonstruktionen und Tempusformen im Dialekt von Deutschpilsen.

(3) *ti bę̧ǝbǝ homs tsafgǝbunǝ khat die hoǝr*
die Weiber haben's zusammengebunden gehabt die Haare
‚Die Frauen trugen die Haare zusammengebunden.'

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Francesco Costantini & Diego Sidraschi (Udine)

The tuen-*periphrasis in Sauris German*

The *tun*-periphrasis (TP) has been widely investigated w.r.t. the inner German area, both in a synchronic and diachronic perspective (see a.m.o. Eroms 1984, 1998, Abraham/Fischer 1998, Schwarz 2004, Casalicchio/Perna 2014 for Upper German, Kölligan 2004 for West Middle German, Weber 2017 for Low German; see also Cornips 1998 for Dutch and Stein 1990, Klemola 1998, Garrett 1998 for English). The TP has also been described wrt extraterritorial German varieties – see Costello (1992), Postma (2014), Kaufmann (2011); Dal Negro (2004) offers a detailed analysis of TP in Walser dialects spoken in Northern Italy, Saller (2023a, b) delves into the TP in German varieties in several migrant communities. Several studies on the TP in extraterritorial varieties have underlined that contact with other languages and (possibly) language attrition may play a role in supporting or further developing the TP, as a strategy of either morphological simplification (with particular reference to morphologically complex verbs) and/or syntactic simplification (as a way to avoid V2 and keep the lexical verb in a rhematic position; cfr. Abraham/Fischer 1998).

In view of this discussion, we will deal with the TP in another extraterritorial Upper German variety, namely the Southern-Bavarian dialect spoken in Sauris/Zahre, a 400–inhabitant German speaking village set in a remote valley in Carnic Alps. In recent decades changed economic activities and social habits have prompted here a pervasive bilingualism and a progressive shift toward Italian in younger generations (see Denison 1968); less than 200 people can nowadays be considered as Sauris German (henceforth, SG) speakers (Costantini 2022). Given these circumstances, SG can be taken as a favorable environment to investigate TP and address the contact hypothesis of its emergence and use in language enclaves.

Data on TP in SG have been collected through corpus analysis and through interviews with informants. A dataset of 192 sentences was built collecting examples included in lexical entries in Denison-Grassegger (2007) to define general tendencies of use. These were then compared with data collected through interviews with informants, who were asked to provide acceptability judgments on a set of items varying w.r.t. grammatical features that according to the literature might affect the occurrence of the TP, such as clause type (assertive, interrogative, imperative), verb

type (stative, non-stative, etc.), frequency of verbs and morphological complexity of verbs.

The corpus analysis and the fieldwork allowed us to define some tentative generalizations about ruled out (a), optional (b), and obligatory (c) uses of the the TP in SG.

a) Inflected auxiliary *tuen* cannot take *sain* 'be', *hobn* 'have', *bearn* 'become' and modal verbs, which have their own conditional form (see (1)-(4) with *sain* 'be'); nor cannot it be taken by these verbs when it is used as a functional verb (see (5), (6) with auxiliary *hobn* 'have').

b) TP is optionally used with lexical verbs in assertive sentences, in questions and in imperative sentences. As for assertive sentences, given a couple of sentences – both deemed as acceptable – minimally differing in that one has the inflected verb and the other the TP, the sentence with the inflected verb is preferred or felt more natural by speakers if the predicate occurs frequently; sentence (7), for instance, is preferred to sentence (8). On the other hand the TP appears to be preferred when the lexical verb is less frequently used (see (9), (10), where (10) is preferred), if it is morphological complex (see (11), (12), where (12) is preferred). In questions, sentences having the TP (e.g. (14)) tend to be preferred to (still acceptable) sentences with inflected lexical verb (e.g (13)). Finally, in imperative sentences, the TP is preferred to the inflected verb and imperative sentences having the TP are judged as much more polite (see (15), (16)).

c) Finally, the TP is mandatory – that is, no alternatives with the inflected verb are allowed – if subject-verb inversion occurs (see (17) and (18)) and to express the conditional mood (see (19)).

The investigation into the TP in SG allowed us to analyze a multifaceted and rather complex phenomenon, identifying some restrictions and some defined and regular uses. Although structural simplification seems to play a role in general terms, further considerations seem to be necessary to clarify all the aspects at stake.

EXAMPLES

(1) *I tue sain   khronkh.*
     I DO be-INF ill
(2) *I pin   khronkh.*
     I am   ill
(3) *I tanat   sain   nerrisch.*
     I DO-COND be-INF   fool

34

(4) *I barat nerrisch*.
I BE-COND fool
'I'd be a fool.'

(5) **I on geton orbatn abesn johr za Baidn*.
 I have DO-PP work-INF many years in Udine

(6) *I on gorbatet abesn johr za Baidn*.
I have worked many years in Udine
'I've worked many years in Udine.'

(7) *Ar sot olban de glaichn sochn*.
He tells always the same things
'He always tells the same things.'

(8) *Ar tuet olban sogn de glaichn sochn*.
He DO always tell the same things
'He tells always the same things.'

(9) *Ar disturbert-mi*.
He disturbs-me.
'He disturbs me.'

(10) *Ar tuet-mi disturbern*.
He DO-me disturb-INF
'He disturbs me.'

(11) *De vierst-mi olban umenonder*.
You drive-me always around
'You make always fun of me.'

(12) *De tuest-per olban gebn an guetn rot*.
You DO-me always give a good advice
'You always give me a good advice.'

(13) *Kheinest-e-se?*
Know-you-her
'Do you know her?'

(14) *Tuest-e-se kheinen?*
DO-you-her know-INF
'Do you know her?'

(15) *Orbate!*
Work-IMP
'Work!' (rude)

(16) *Tue orbatn!*
DO-IMP work-INF
'Work (please)!'

(17) **In binter orbate-i za Baidn*.

In winter work-I in Udine
        'In winter I work in Udine.'
(18) *In binter tu-i orbatn za Baidn.*
        In winter DO-I work   in Udine
        'In winter I work in Udine.'
(19) *I tanat   ausgean.*
        I DO-COND   out-go-INF
        'I'd go out'.

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Romano Madaro (Verona)

The tuen-*periphrasis in Sauris German*

This paper focuses on the phenomenon of auxiliary movement (Aux-Raising) in subordinate sentences in the South-Bavarian varieties spread across northeastern Italy as a key to detecting a possible activation of a clause-medial position (Infl/T°) capable of attracting the finite verb (henceforth: Vfin), in a similar way as C° in main sentences. I speculate that this aspect represents a crucial factor in developing a full VO structure for these varieties and that a variational continuum (i.e. different stages in this process) may be traced.

  Several studies (see Bidese 2023, Tomaselli 2023 and Madaro et al. submitted for a general overview) have shown how: (a) all these varieties still display a solid V-to-C movement in the main sentences (with the only exception of Giazzan Cimbrian), despite the possibility of violating the linear restriction (no linear-V2); (b) although

there is heterogeneity regarding word order (see Tab1 in OV vs. VO base orders), these varieties maintain the root-embedded asymmetry typical of Germanic V2–languages (e.g. Std. German/Dutch, see den Besten and Edmondson 1983, Tomaselli 1990, Holmberg 2015); in embedded, the lexical verb remains within the verbal phrase (v-Domain/VP) and always follows the negation (see 1(a-b)). This implies that as far as the lexical verb is concerned, it can be found in two specific positions: in C° (as a result of the V-to-C movement) or within the lower verbal layer in subordinates, whereas no medial/internal position appears to be available.

The situation becomes more nuanced when auxiliary verbs are considered, which seem to move more "freely" within the structure and may precede non-verbal material. Despite the heterogeneity of OV/VO orders and variation phenomena (given by Verb (Projection) Raising effects or stranding phenomena), some 'light' elements within a typical Germanic structure are preverbal, such as negation or object clitics: this is because these elements are in higher projections within the structure than VP where the effects of V(P)R/Obj-stranding apply (Haegeman & Van Riemsdijk 1986, Fuß 2018). Therefore, to track the exact movement of the auxiliary, the position of these elements may be considered a successful diagnostic to identify the activation of an intermediate (medial-Infl/T°) position as a landing site for Aux-Raising (see Madaro & Bidese 2022).

I apply this diagnostic to the Giazzan and Lusern Cimbrian and Timavese: following the intuition of two development directions proposed in Madaro et al. (submitted), that is a more conservative West-to-East line and a more innovative North-to-South line, the data show the role of geographical position as a possible trigger of variation phenomena. The greater distance from the Germanic pole (and consequent contact with Italo-Romance varieties) for Cimbrian shows the emergence of innovative traits, compared to Timavese, which is geographically closer to the German-speaking area.

Interestingly, variation should be seen as a multifaceted spectrum: 'innovative' elements are also present in more conservative varieties (see example in 2). In Timavese, [Aux Vlex] order in subordinates is the only grammatical order (see 3). This contrasts with the nature of Verb Raising itself, for which Aux V is a derivation of V Aux, and both orders are considered acceptable by speakers. This is not the case in Timavese, even if OV is still the base order (see Table 2 for a comparison): this suggests an activation of an intermediate position for AUX within the verbal domain, which may be considered as a first step for a switch towards a base-VO and, possibly, the activation of an Infl-medial position for V-movement.

T<small>ABLES AND EXAMPLES</small>

	Linear V2	Structural-V2	OV/VO	asymmetry
German	+	+	OV	+
Plodarisch	-	+	OV (+VPR)	+
Timavese	-	+	OV (+VO)	+
Mòcheno	-	+	OV/VO	+
Saurian	-	+	VO	+
Cimbrian (Lusern)	-	+	VO	(az-Compl only)
Cimbrian (Giazza)	-	-	VO	-

Table 1. Distribution of V2–pattern and word-order.

	O V Aux (OV)	O Aux V (VR/head-initial AuxP)	Aux O V (VPR)	Aux V O (VO)
German (std.)	+	-	-	-
Plodarisch	+	+	+	-
Mòcheno	+	+	+	+
Timavese	-	+	+	+
Saurian	-	-	-	+
Cimbrian	-	-	-	

Table 2. Distribution of embedded linear orders in German NE-varieties.

(1)

a. i sperar [az=to <u>nèt</u> **geast** ka Tria haüt] ➔ **Cimbrian (Lusern)**
    I hope [that=you.encl not go.2ps to Trento today]

b. ii houff [as=da *nitt* (in Tulmiec) **giast** in Tulmiec haintn] ➔ **(Timavese)**
    I hope [that=you.encl not go to Tolmezzo today]

(2)

a.   … [as=ar=ar$_j$=in$_i$ nitt **hott tschenkt** (aa ringl$_i$ sai baib$_j$)] (➔ Timavese)

        [that=he.CL=to her.CL=IT.CL   not has   given   (a ring   his wife)]

b.   … [as=in   dar Mario nitt **hott**=*{in} gagriasst] (➔ Timavese)

        [that=him.cl the mario not has   greeted]

c.   [azz=t(a)=*{en} dar Mario **habe**={n}   nèt gegrüazt ➔(Cimbrian)

     that=da=him.CL the Mario has=him.CL not greeted

(3) **(Timavese)**

*Dar Jani hot=mar   tsok [as=ar=ar=in   nitt **tschenkt hott**]

 the John has=me.CL.DAT said [that=he.CL=to her.CL=it.CL not given has]

 'John told me that he didn't give it to her'

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Language documentation and preservation II, session chair: Frederike Schram
ROOM 16–0042, 10:30–12:00

Luisa Giacoma (Aosta)

Titsch and töitschu im Aosta Valley: good neighbours or distant relations?

Italian national and regional laws protect and promote minority languages. The Aosta Valley region has earmarked EU funding for research projects that pursue this purpose. The present paper describes a project on phraseology in the Titsch and Töitschu languages aimed at safeguarding and disseminating the Walser linguistic heritage of the Upper Lys Valley.

  The Walser communities of the Upper Lys Valley speak two variants of German, Titsch and Töitschu, which both date back to the 13th century. When the rediscovery of the Alps began, Schott (1842) researched the „Germans of Monte Rosa" and their languages. Since then, the linguistic and cultural characteristics of this German-speaking area in the Aosta Valley, which has strong Romance roots, have been the subject of numerous studies (Dal Negro 2004, Gaeta / Bellante /Cioffi /Angster 2019, Zinsli 1968, Zürrer 2009). However, these studies have dealt little with Walser idioms (Giacoma / Sessarego 2021, Bürger / Zürrer 2023).

  This article starts by shedding light on the features of the Aosta Valley area responsible for the incredible number of linguistic variants it hosts. It examines the convergences and divergences, and the degrees of equivalence, from full to zero, between Titsch and Töitschu. Despite the proximity of Gressoney-Saint-Jean and Gressoney-La-Trinité, where Titsch is spoken, to Issime, where Töitschu is spoken, the two languages overlap only partially. It can be seen that while the two communities have developed linguistic and cultural autonomy, they have also retained certain archaic characters due to isolation. Both Titsch and Töitschu have acquired borrowings through contact with neighbouring languages, and they have both undergone developments that have no equivalent in either German or the neighbouring languages as a result of innovations to suit new requirements.

  The article goes on to describe the project D'Òberteilera chéemen énger o arrivurun d'greschuneiara? Last call per il patrimonio idiomatico titsch e töitschu on Walser phraseology in the Upper Lys Valley, whose aim was to collect, record and disseminate Titsch and Töitschu idioms. The project, financed by the University of the Valle d'Aosta, together with the FAR3 Youth Plan, was carried out in 2021–2023. One of its purposes was to make Titsch and Töitschu idioms available to teachers and learners. The project was divided into three steps. The first one involved searching for and transcribing Walser idioms found in various texts. This collection was the basis of a corpus that now contains 1,087 Walser idioms. Subsequently, a hundred of these were selected and submitted to the primary schools in Issime,

Gressoney-Saint-Jean and Gressoney-La-Trinité so that pupils, helped by their teachers, could choose an idiom to draw a represention of. Since these idioms always have a double meaning, each child had to prepare two drawings, one for the proper and one for the figurative meaning. This second step led to 124 graphic representations of 62 idioms. These were enriched by the researcher with the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic aspects of the idioms, and comments were added to facilitate understanding of their double meanings. The third step in the project involved putting up an exhibition of the illustrated idioms in the Aosta Valley, and publishing a book containing the materials produced.

The overarching aims of the project—to involve new generations in the learning and dissemination of the local linguistic and cultural heritage, and to keep knowledge of the linguistic minority of the Upper Lys Valley alive, including by means of tourism—seem to have been achieved. Replications of the exhibition in Issime and Aosta following the Gressoney-Saint-Jean edition contributed to the circulation of its contents. The development of a corpus of idioms and the publication of a volume with the exhibition materials also guarantee the future duration of the outcomes of the project.

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Silvia Verdiani (Torino)

Historical roots of German-based non-standard varieties in Namibia

Namdeutsch and NAM-Släng are German-based non-standard varieties currently widely spoken by Namibian German-speaking (youth) communities and include loanwords from Afrikaans, English and indigenous languages (Ammon 1991; Putz 1991; Deumert 2009; Radke 2020). The roots of these varieties can be found in the South West African German colony that settled in Namibia between 1883 and 1915. German-speaking Namibians are in fact descendants of these settlers and have kept the German language alive to this day. With a total population of about 2 million, the German-speaking minority is relatively small but culturally and linguistically strong and influential. Despite their minority status - about 20,000 units - German speakers have always been visible and influential in Namibia, especially in the urban environment. As they have lived in Namibia for several generations, the German language they speak has changed over time, developing a number of peculiarities that distinguish it from the varieties of German spoken in Europe, and has taken on

a homogeneous linguistic form. As a result of close linguistic contact in Namibia, three other varieties have developed alongside Standard German:

➢ The contact variety Küchendeutsch or Kiche Duits with highly simplified and highly variable linguistic structures. According to Deumert (2009), this variety emerged during the colonial period and, as its name suggests, was used for inter-ethnic communication in the workplace. It was generally used by speakers with asymmetrical social status: master and slave, coloniser and colonised, or employer and employee. As the youngest speakers of Küchendeutsch were born in the 1950s, Deumert believes that this mixed variety is dying out;

➢ Namdeutsch, also called Südwesterdeutsch, Deutsch in Namibia or Wellblechdeutsch, depending on the source;

➢ The more recent youth variant Namslang or Namsläng, which expresses its vitality as a stylistic feature, especially in combination with the iconographic multimedia repertoires typical of digital communication.

Although these variants are mainly realised orally (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016), their written sources are now increasing thanks to computer-mediated communication. Namdeutsch is based on a linguistic community with German ancestry that still lives in Namibia today, is linguistically vital and is spoken in a multilingual linguistic community by speakers who actively use other languages in their daily interactions. The use of Namdeutsch is intergenerational and not restricted to the language of the young. The multilingual context of Namibian German has a particular influence on the informal registers of speech. While the formal registers are quite close to standard German in Germany, the use of the vernacular points to a Namibian version of German that deviates from this in interesting ways.

My presentation will first focus on the historical roots of the spread of German in Namibia under the German colony in South West Africa and attempt to provide a historical overview of the short German colonial period in Namibia, highlighting the ways in which the German language was spread and its most recent repercussions.

In the second part of my talk, I will present a corpus study that underpins and discusses some linguistic phenomena. This second research will focus on morphological aspects relevant to the diachronic perspective of this variety, in particular word formation strategies (German/English/Afrikaan/African languages word combinations and derivations) and lexical polysemy. It will be based on the corpus Deutsch in Namibia (DNam) - a new digital resource that comprehensively and systematically documents the language use and related language attitudes of the German-speaking minority in Namibia. The corpus Deutsch in Namibia is part of the

Archive for Spoken German (AGD), a research data centre for corpora of spoken German at the Leibniz Institute for the German Language (IDS-Mannheim).

Frederike Schram (Turku)

Virtual Linguistic Landscapes: Exploring the Use of Low German on Instagram

This study focuses on how Low German is used and combined with other languages in commercial Instagram posts. It shows how a minoritized variety is used in online advertising, combining the investigation of regional or minority languages in commercial contexts with the study of virtual linguistic landscapes. The study of linguistic landscapes, i.e., the representation of languages in public spaces, offers insights into the use and function of languages, their social status, and the associated power dynamics in the given context (see, e.g., Gorter & Cenoz, 2023). As public life is becoming increasingly globalised and takes place online, it is crucial to expand the analysis of linguistic landscapes to include virtual linguistic landscapes.

The corpus of commercial Instagram posts containing Low German used in this study consists of 1,157 posts that feature visuals (images & videos) including written texts. The visuals were analysed based on the languages used, whether their use fulfilled communicative or rather symbolic functions, and the design of the visuals. The analysis shows that Low German was the most frequently used language in the visuals. In most cases, however, several languages were used that fulfilled different functions: While High German or English were employed for providing information and details about the advertised products, Low German served a different purpose. The commercial Instagrammers used Low German in the names of the products or their shops, as single words printed on the products, or, when written text was the only content of the visuals, as eye-catching single words or sayings. The use of Low German was therefore rather tokenistic and commodified, serving as a symbolic element in the visuals. In contrast, the other languages had a different communicative function, which illustrates the multifaceted dynamics in the linguistic landscapes of commercial Instagram posts. In conclusion, the findings of this study emphasise the increasingly symbolic role of Low German in a multilingual society.

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Session 3

Alessandra Tomaselli, Romano Madaro & Ermenegildo Bidese (Verona, Trento)

On the correlation between Germanic V2 and the low realization of the infinitival marker. Evidence from Germanic varieties spoken in NE-Italy

Regarding the German varieties spread across NE-Italy (Cimbrian, Mòcheno, Sappadino, Saurian, Timavese and Valcanale German), there is a general agreement in the specialized literature on the hypothesis that a solid structural-V2 pattern (i.e. the mandatory movement of Vfin to COMP/Fin^0) is paired with a Split-COMP configuration (cf. Bidese 2023 for a general overview). Two traditional correlated phenomena have been taken as diagnostics for Vfin-to-C movement, namely (i) the root-embedded asymmetry, and (ii) pronominal Subj-Vfin inversion in root sentence (examples in 1(a-c) for Cimbrian).

As the Cimbrian examples 1(a, b) show, the lexical complementizer *az* (*that*) and Vfin compete for the same target position, i.e., COMP/Fin^0, and host the enclitic subject pronoun =*ar* (*he*). The relative position of the negation *nèt* reinforces the root-subordinate word order asymmetry. Further evidence in this sense is provided by the borrowed complementizer **ke** (1c), which, on the contrary, requires a V2 word order pattern. The two aspects (i) and (ii) are traditionally interpreted as evidence for structural V2 assuming that COMP has specific phi-features that attract Vfin.

Further evidence is provided by the realization of the infinitival marker in Germanic V2 varieties (from Standard German to Historic Germanic minority languages). Both Cimbrian and Timavese reproduce the German-model realizing the infinitival marker *zo* ('to') as a verbal prefix in the low vP domain (examples 2a-c). Both Cimbrian and Timavese diverge from German as they allow the infinitival particle+V to move higher within vP (see examples in 3). Furthermore, Cimbrian diverges from Timavese as it allows a further step outside vP confirming the most innovative character of Cimbrian (the southernmost Germanic variety spoken in Italy) with respect to Timavese (examples in 4), which shows a more conservative situation in line with the Germanic minorities of the West-to-East line (cf. Madaro et al. submitted). As (4a) shows, *zo*+V may even precede the negation *nèt* which is usually taken as a diagnostic for V to INFL/T movement and which is well attested in Cimbrian as far as auxiliary movement is concerned (cf. Tomaselli & Bidese 2023).

All the micro-variations in (3) and (4) do not compromise the general observation that the infinitival marker is lexically realized inside vP coherently with German

syntax and allow us to hypothesize that the low position of the infinitival marker represents the "other side of the coin" of V2, i.e. the lexical realization of subject agreement morphology.

Consequently, we will speculate on the idea that there is a correlation between the locus where finite/agreement features are lexically realized and the domain that hosts the infinitival marker, as the functional head which requires the lexicalization of overt agreement morphology is incompatible with the realization of the infinitival marker (i.e., the lexicalization of [-fin]):

V2 languages / German	Romance languages / Italian	English
[+fin] morphology lexicalized in CP	[+fin] morphology lexicalized in INFL/TP	[+fin] morphology lexicalized in vP and checked by INFL/TP
[-fin] morphology lexicalized in the lower vP domain ➔"zu" as verbal morphology as 5a-c)	[-fin] morphology correlates with a free morpheme in COMP/FinP (6a-b)	[-fin] is realized in the higher INFL/TP domain (➔ English *to*), examples 7(a-b)

Table 1. Summary of the theorization presented.

(1) a. Haüt in balt **hatt**=ar *nèt* gesek in vuks
today in-the forest has=he not seen the.acc fox
'Today, he didn't see the fox in the forest'

b. I gloabe [**azz**=ar *nèt* **habe** gesek in vuks in balt haüt]
I think that=he not has seen the fox in-the forest today
'I think that he didn't see the fox in the forest today'

c. I pin sichar **ke** [haüt **hatt**=ar *nèt* gesek in vuks in balt]
I am sure that today has=he not seen the fox in-the forest
'I'm sure that today he didn't see the fox in the forest'

(2) a. German: Er hat mich gebeten [ø nicht weg**zu**gehen]
'He asked me not to go away'

b. Cimbrian: Dar hatt=me gepittet [ø nèt vort**zo**giana]
'He asked me ø not to go away'

c. Timavese: Ear hott=mar ongschoft [ø nitt aichn**za**gean]
'He ordered me ø not to go inside'

(3) a. Cimbrian: Dar hatt=me gepittet [ø nèt **zo** giana vort]

b. Timavese: Ear hott=mar ongschoft [ø nitt **za** gean aichn]

(4) a. Cimbrian: ?Dar hatt=me gepittet [ø **zo** giana nèt vort] (OK: 70%)

b. Timavese: *Ear hott=mar ongschoft [ø **za** gean nitt aichn]

(5) a.   Gestern **hat**$_{[+fin]}$ sie ihn an der Uni nicht angetroffen
           'Yesterday, she didn't meet him'

     b.   …, **dass**$_{[+fin]}$ sie ihn (gestern) an der Uni nicht angetroffen hat
           '… that she didn't meet him yesterday'

     c.   (Sie hoffte), **ø**$_{[-fin]}$ ihn (gestern) an der Uni nicht an**zu**treffen
           'She hoped, not to meet him yesterday at the university'

(6) a.   Oggi all'università [(lei) non lo **ha** più incontrato]
           today at the university she not him has anymore met
           'Today, she no longer met him at the university'

     b.   Sperava [**di** [ø non incontrarlo più oggi all'università]]
           she hoped to not meet=him more today at the university
           'She hoped not to meet him again at the university today'

(7) a.   She **ø**$_{[+fin]}$ always meets him at the university

     b.   I want for her (not) **to**$_{[-fin]}$ meet him at the university

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Francesco Zuin (Udine)

Aspectual periphrasis in Timavese

Timavese is a Carinthian variety spoken in the hamlet of Timau in the municipality of Paluzza (Province of Udine) on the border with Austria. The inhabitants of the village descend directly from migratory flows of German settlers who moved between the 11th and 13th centuries from nearby Lesach and Gail valleys (see Kranzmayer 1986 [1963]) in order to exploit the mines in the area. Until a few decades ago, the Timavese variety was used by the entire community (cf. Geyer 1984), whereas today it is still actively spoken just by more than ca. 55% (cf. Costantini 2021) of the ca. 350 residents.

Unlike other minority communities, Timau shows a complex and multilingual repertoire for a long time. In fact, a 1602 document already testifies how at that time the population was able to speak alongside Timavese, the Carnic Friulian. Moreover, starting from the 19th century Italian was added to this repertoire (cf. Bergmann 1849[1999]; Baragiola 1915[1997]), leading to a situation of trilingualism (cf. Geyer 1984), albeit nowadays Italian is increasingly used even in domains previously dominated by other codes (cf. Francescato-Solari 2012[1994]).

Because of this long coexistence in the repertoire with other more prestigious Romance codes, Timavese represents a privileged example for the study of the dynamics of language contact. However, with exception of syntax (cfr. Madaro-Bidese 2022; Madaro 2023) and lexicon (cfr. Zuin 2022a, b), the contact on other linguistic levels have still not been investigated.

For what concerns the morphosyntax, Timavese displays three different periphrases which can convey both the progressive and perspective aspects, e.g.

(1) *I pin darhintar zan eissn*
   "I am behind to eat =>I am eating/I am about to eat"
(2) *I plaibt zan eissn*
   "I stay to eat =>I am eating/I am about to eat"
(3) *I tua eissn*
   "I do eat => I am eating/I am about to eat"

The first two periphrases are formally calques of Friulian (friul. *o sei daûr a mangjâ* "I am eating > I am eating/I am about to eat") and Italian (it. *io sto mangiando* "I stay to eat > I am eating/I am about to eat") and the third represents a functional specialisation of the *tun-Periphrase* on which many studies have been conducted for the German varieties in homeland (e.g. Eroms 1998; Fischer 2000; Langer 2001; Staudenmaier 2002; Schwarz 2004) and for those in Italy (cf. Angster 2005; Casalicchio-Perna 2012). However, as shown by the work of Bidese-Manzini (2022)

for Cimbrian which has a similar tripartite periphrastic system, these analytic constructions are not completely interchangeable but the preference for one or the other depends on linguistic and social factors.

To define whether in Timavese too, the three periphrases are only partially interchangeable, I submitted a questionnaire to 30 informants in Timau. It contained some Italian sentences and for each of them three possible translations created with the use of a different periphrasis. The informants were asked to select according to them which was the best choice, e.g.

Il bambino sta cadendo nel fiume (*the child is falling into the river*)
  a) *is ckint is darhintar in pooch zan voln*
[- correct] 1   2   3   4   5 [+ correct]
  b) *is ckint plaibt in pooch zan voln*
[- correct] 1   2   3   4   5 [+ correct]
  c) *is ckint tuat in pooch voln.*
[- correct] 1   2   3   4   5 [+ correct]

The results of this inquiry demonstrated on the one hand how the selection of a specific construction is influenced by different factors such as aspects, semantics and tense of the verb, as well as the sociolinguistic characteristics of the informant. On the other it has been shown how, although two of these three periphrases were borrowed from the Romance varieties, their degree of grammaticalization in Timavese differs from that of the donor languages.

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Melissa Farasyn (Ghent)

Non-resumptive left dislocation: A display of the special status of the syntax of the French Flemish dialects

In this study, I discuss some related patterns in the French Flemish dialects. These Germanic dialects, part of the West Flemish dialect group, are still spoken today by a small part of the population in the north-western part of Nord-pas-de-Calais in France. French Flemish (further FF) has not been standardised and for centuries was only transmitted orally. Since it is no longer acquired as a mother tongue, this is a study of the final stage of a Germanic language. It is based on a new linguistically annotated corpus of spoken data from the 1960s (Ghyselen et al. 2020) and new data (2021–2023) that I will also present.

  The syntactic phenomenon I discuss is called "non-resumptive left dislocation" (NRLD). Usually, patterns with left dislocation consist of a topic and a comment saying something about that topic. The comment usually contains a resumptive element. An example is *die* ('they') in (1), referring to *die katten* ('those cats'). This project concerns a never-described type of left dislocation in FF that is not attested in Standard Dutch, where the connection between topic and comment is not established via a repeating element, but in some other way. In sentences of type (2), for example, this is through a possibly semantic, implicational relationship between *die paarden* ('the horses'), beslaan ('shoeing' (of the hooves)) and *de ijzers* ('the irons'). Such examples are reminiscent of what Van Riemsdijk (1997) describes as Loose Aboutness Left Dislocation (3). In other NRLD patterns of type (3), the relationship is discourse-pragmatic and the topic functions as a kind of locative PP in which the preposition (in) is missing. These examples are reminiscent of spoken French, in which similar patterns have been attested (Barnes 1985). As in spoken French, the topic in (3) seems to be interpreted adverbially and to form a spatial framework within which the main predicate applies (Barnes 1985). In this way, they behave in a similar way to circumstantial frame setters, interacting with the syntactic derivation of the main sentence (Haegeman & Greco 2018; Greco & Haegeman 2020). They are also in an extrasentential position and (like the other patterns discussed) lead to superficial V>2 patterns. Such frame setters also occur in FF. Further, the connection can also be established through an alternative referent (4, cf. Barnes 1985) or phonological means (such as intonation, 5). The study was initially

conducted within a generative linguistic framework, but is mainly concerned with to what extent syntax plays a role in these interface phenomena.

To explain these patterns, in the discussion, I elaborate on why exactly these peculiarities occur in FF. I show that explaining these (and other) syntactic phenomena also requires knowing the extra-linguistic background of the language. In doing so, I discuss a number of peculiarities of the FF that ensure this (including the frequent V>2 word order in FF in general, Farasyn 2022), such as the occurrence of archaic elements due to linguistic isolation, being incorporated into France in the 17th century, and the influence of French and its status as heritage language speakers (cf. Aboh 2009, 2015, Benmamoun 2013).

EXAMPLES

1) Die katten[i], die[i] hebben honger.
2) a. overtijd die paarden[i], als ze[i] beslagen waren, al de ijzers[j] waren gemaakt met de hand

    b. Oh, tu sais, moi, la bicyclette, je n'aime pas me fatiguer (Van Riemsdijk 1997)
3) a. Ruisscheure[i] ze[j] zijn raar de Vlamingen[j]

        Letterlijk: **In** Ruisscheure zijn de Vlamingen zeldzaam.

    b. Oh oeuh, mais tu sais, l'métro, avec la Carte Orange, tu vas n'importe où (Barnes 1985)
4) Michel het is al beesten beesten
5) ja en de mensen[i] die vaarzen[j] gaan beginnen staan

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Historical and comparative linguistics, session chair: Christian Prado-Wohlwend
ROOM 16–0042, 13:00–15:30

Andrea Maini (Agder)

Navis a ventis pulsa: Wie die nordfriesischen Kognate buat, booat, buæt und büüt 'Boot' das urgermanische Konkretum *baut-a- *('welches sich stoßen/treiben läßt') belegen können*

Diese Präsentation hinterfragt die Annahme, daß mnd. *bôt* N./M. 'Boot' und mndl. *boot* N. 'id.' Reflexe von urgermanisch **bait-a-* N. 'Boot' sein können. Mein Zweck ist zu erklären, wie die nordfriesischen Kognate von mnd. *bôt* beitragen können, um ein neues Rekonstruktionsmodell für die urgermanische Form dieses Wortes zu skizzieren. Damit versuche ich, den Lautstand der Vokale der Kognate von mnd. *bôt* in sämtlichen germanischen Sprachen durch die mit dem urgerm. Vb. **baut-an-* ('schlagen, treiben, jagen') eng verwandten urgerm. Konkreta **baut-a-* M. und **baut-i-* N. 'welches sich stoßen/treiben läßt' zu erklären.

  Mein erster Punkt betrifft die reguläre altfriesische Lautentwicklung von urgerm. **ai,* welche in einer betonten geschlossenen Silbe ohne velarisierende Faktoren als /ɛː/ (<e>) wie in altfries. br/ɛː/d (< urgerm. **brait-a-* adj. 'breit') und h/ɛː/t (< urgerm. **hait-a-* adj. 'heiß') auftritt. Der entsprechende nordfriesische Lautstand ist /iː/ wie in wiedingarderfries. *briid* adj. 'breit' und *hiit^j* adj. 'heiß'. Dann würde urgerm. **bait-a-* eine Lautentwicklung über altfries. **b/ɛː/t* zu nordfries. **b/iː/t* voraussetzen. Doch entspricht der regelmäßige Lautwandel von urgerm. */ai/ zu nordfries. /iː/ keiner belegten nordfriesischen Form **b/iː/t* 'Boot' von mnd. b*ôt* N./M. 'Boot'. *De facto* gibt es keine Voraussetzung dafür, daß urgerm. **bait-a-* N. 'Boot' als die

ursprüngliche urgermanische Bildung der nordfriesischen Kognate von mnd. b*ôt* N./M. 'Boot' auftreten kann.

Mein zweiter Punkt betrifft den Lautstand sämtlicher belegter nordfries. Kognate von mnd. b*ôt* N./M. 'Boot' (z.B. syltfries. *buat* 'Boot', helgoländisch *booat* 'id.'*,* halligfries. *buæt* 'id.' und karrharderfries. *büüt* 'id.'), welche die regelmäβigen Reflexe von urgerm. *au > altfries. /aː/ > altnordfries. /ɔː/ > /oː/ > halligfries. /uɛ/ repräsentieren. Aus meiner Sicht kann der Lautstand der Vokalen in diesen nordfries. Kognate nur durch eine urgerm. Bildung **baut-a-* 'Boot' > altfries. *bāt 'id.', (und urg. **baut-a-* > mnd. b*ôt*) erklärt werden.

Mein dritter Punkt betrifft die semantische Beziehung zwischen germanischen nominalen und verbalen Bildungen, in denen die urgerm. Dehnstufenwurzel *baut-auftritt, um die Etymologie des Konkretums **baut-a-* zu rekonstruieren.

Abschließend werde ich die Frage der autochtonen Bildungen mndl. *beitel* M. 'kleines Boot' (< urg. **baut-il-a-*) und altwn. b<*ei*>*t* (< awn. *beyt*-) N. 'Boot' und die Frage der Herkunft von altwn. *bátr* M. 'Boot' ansprechen.

Eines meiner wesentlichen Ergebnisse ist, dass der Lautstand von mndl. *bāt* (früh belegte Doublettenform von mndl. *boot* N.) nur durch Entlehnung aus dem Friesischen zu erklären ist. Aus meiner Sicht kann altfries. *bāt 'Boot' sich nicht nur in den mndl. Sprachraum sondern auch in den altenglischen und altnordischen Sprachraum verbreitet haben.

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Ramón Boldt (Agder/Erlangen-Nürnberg)

Small class, big uncertainties. The semantics of the ōn-*verbs in Proto-Norse*

While some scholarly effort has been made investigating the possibilities of verbal word forma-tion in some of the Old Germanic languages (García García 2005; Marti Heinzle 2023; 2014; Riecke 1996; Schwerdt 2008), the Proto-Norse (and Old Norse)

weak verbs have not yet sparked much interest. Statements on the semantics of the Proto-Norse weak verbs are accordingly rare and limited to the biggest, the *jan*-class. In the most recent handbook on Proto-Norse, Michael Schulte (2018: 79) states that „[b]ei der Derivation übernimmt das *jan*-Verb die zentrale Aufgabe, kausative und faktitive Verben zu bilden".

   My talk aims to shed light on some dark areas of Proto-Norse verbal word formation by investigating the semantic possibilities of one of the smaller verbal classes, that is the weak *ōn*-class. While the semantic relationship between derivational base and derived *jan*-, *ēn*- and *nan*-verbs is comparatively uniform in the Old Germanic languages, the *ōn*-verbs show a great variety in this regard, ranging from intensive-iteratives (cf. Proto-Germanic *wlaitōn*- 'to look around' > Goth. *wlaiton*, ON *leita*, OE *wlātian*, from a base *wleitan*- 'to look') over ornatives (cf. PG *salbōn*- 'to anoint, provide with ointment' > Goth. *salbōn*, OE *sealfian*, OHG *salbōn* from a base *salbō*- 'ointment, salve'; EWA VII: 900 ff.) to instrumentatives (cf. PG *hrīdrōn*- 'to sift, sieve' > OE *hrīdrian*, OHG *rītarōn*, OS *rīderon* from a base *hrīdra*-'sieve'; EWA VII: 566 ff.).

   One of the Proto-Norse *ōn*-verbs is *bora**, attested in **bormota** ,drill-tired' (Eggja). If this is indeed a denominal derivativation from Proto-Germanic *borō*(*n*)- f. ,drill' (and not a primary verb continuing Proto-Indo-European *bʰerH*- 'to process with sharp tools'), the semantic relationship between base and derivative can be paraphrased as 'to use the object mentioned in the base as an instrument'. It would then belong to the group of instrumentative *ōn*-verbs that are well attested in the other Germanic languages (PG *hrīdrōn*- 'to sift, sieve', see above) but whose fate in Proto-Norse is still uncertain.

   In order to clear it up, I will analyze those sequences in runic inscriptions of the Proto-Norse period (up until 700), which according to the data collected by the Kieler Runenprojekt (runenprojekt.uni-kiel.de/) have been interpreted as *ōn*-verbs (see appendix).

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APPENDIX

Possible *ōn*-verbs in Proto-Norse are:

> ➢ *ahtan** 'to attack, pursue' (attested as **ahti**; Nydam)
> ➢ *aran** 'to achieve' (**aradu**; Trollhätten)
> ➢ *boran** 'to drill' (**bormota**; Eggja)
> ➢ *laþan** 'to invite' (**laþu**; Darum; Højstrup; Fyn; Schonen)
> ➢ *spahan** 'to foresee' (**spa**; Björketorp)
> ➢ *tawan** 'to prepare' (**tawo**; Trollhätten)
> ➢ *tihan** 'to show; interpret?' (**tia[de]**; Ågedal)

Luzius Thöny (Bern)

The Inflection of Predicative Adjectives – A Feature of the Periphery?

In the volume "Alemannien und der Norden" (2004) edited by H.-P. Naumann et al., a number of authors have pointed out similarities between language varieties on the Southern and Northern periphery of the area, where Germanic is spoken. One of the topics covered by these authors are lexical parallels. They discuss whether such parallels are due to a close relationship between Alemannic and North Germanic or whether they are simply old retentions. A critical analysis of the alleged lexical parallels showed that their extent had been overstated in the older literature (e.g. in the study by Kolb 1957).

A different aspect of this discussion – and one that has not been in the scholars' focus so far – is the inflection of the adjective in predicative position. Inflection of the predicative adjective is widespread in the north and also occurs in Highest Alemannic ("Höchstalemannisch") (cf. the map in SDS III, 256) but is missing in the areas in the middle. Consider the following examples in (traditional) Glarus dialect vs. Standard German:

Glarus dialect	Standard German	Translation
Ds Chriesi isch riifs	*Die Kirsche ist reif*	*The cherry is ripe*
D Chriesi sind riiffi	*Die Kirschen sind reif*	*The cherries are ripe*

In this paper, I'd like to take a broader look at this feature within Germanic varieties and discuss some of the historical developments that lead to the present-day situation. At the southern periphery, language contact with neighboring Romance varieties needs to be considered as a factor for the retention.

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Matteo Tarsi (Kyushu/Uppsala)

Verbs of intellectual activity in Germanic and their Indo-European semantic context: towards a lexical-typological characterization

The project "Conceptual metaphors and the organization of the lexicon: the case of verba *cogitandi*, *cognoscendi*, and *dicendi* (thinking, knowledge, and saying)" is being carried out at Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan, within the short-term (1 year) fellowship program by the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science. The project is multidisciplinary, for it combines comparative historical linguistics with insights from cognitive linguistics and linguistic typology.

  The overarching aim of the project is to trace the lexical-organizational patterns of selected verb meanings in the semantic spheres of thinking, knowing, and saying. The approach taken to the research matter starts from a historical onomasiological perspective (which lexical tokens express a certain meaning?) and moves on to deeper layers of analysis such as the etymological and the morphological. Behind all this, lies a cognitive linguistic approach to linguistic-historical studies, which has

given interesting results (e.g. Kölligan 2020 on Lat. *furor* 'anger' and the conceptual metaphors ANGER IS HEAT and A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER [THE BODY IS A CONTAINER]). At the foundations of such an approach, lies the fact that abstract meanings often have their roots in concrete experience, i.e. meaning is cognitively motivated. By means of a metaphorical process, a so-called "conceptual metaphor" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), the lexeme (or expression) belonging to the concrete domain (source domain) comes to be used with an abstract meaning, i.e. is mapped onto an abstract target domain (e.g. TO LEARN IS TO FOLLOW [A WAY, A TEACHER OR TEACHING] and TO LEARN IS A JOURNEY as witnessed by the PIE root *$leis$-'to follow'→'to learn'as in Ger. lernen'to learn'and lehren'to teach'[lit. 'to let learn'], Tarsi [under review] and Jap. 道doo 'way' as a suffixoid to names of disciplines [Hiraga 2008: 56]). In a nutshell, this project is about how lexica in the Indo-European languages have lexicalized certain meanings throughout time.

In my paper, I intend to focus on a portion of the hither-to gathered data, namely on verbs of intellectual activity in Germanic in synchrony and diachrony, and to trace conceptual metaphorical parallels with other Indo-European languages, ancient and modern.

The corpus of meanings under focus here is 'to believe', 'to forget', 'to imagine', 'to know', 'to learn', 'to remember', 'to teach', 'to think', and 'to understand', which are investigated in a wide selection of Germanic languages and paralleled with semantically corresponding lexemes in all families of Indo-Eurpean.

The main question within the cognitive historical linguistic domain that this piece of research is asking concern the nature of human conceptualization from concrete to abstract, in search for common patterns. Of interest is, for example, to know which concrete domains are selected to convey a certain abstract meaning and whether the same choice is of common Indo-European descent (1), polygenetic (2), or due to contact (possibly 3).

(1) TO KNOW IS TO HAVE SEEN: Goth. *witan* 'to know', Gk οἶδα 'I know', Skt *véda*, perfect formations of PIE *$ueid$-'to see' [Lat. *video* 'I see' etc.], hence 'I have seen → I know (for I have seen)'

(2) TO KNOW IS TO GET HOLD OF SOMETHING: Eng. *to grasp*, It. *apprendere*, Icel. *nema*.

(3) TO TEACH IS TO LEAVE A MARK: Eng. *to teach*, on the model of Lat. *insignare*?

Other research questions concern the morphological making up of said verbs and the lexical-morphological relationship between verbs with complementary meanings (such as 'to teach' and 'to learn').

The project, of which this paper constitutes a small part, aims at providing a standard for further research in lexical typology in search of the common conceptual ground to human language.

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Christian Prado-Wohlwend (Valencia)

Some Gothic female names on the Iberian Peninsula between the 6th and 8th centuries

The number of texts in Gothic is relatively small. For the Ostrogoths, only names are known. Most of the texts are of Visigothic provenance and can be divided into two main groups. On the one hand, there are the fragments of the Bible translation by Bishop Wulfila - in particular the *Codex argenteus* - and on the other, there are smaller documents such as the *Skeireins*, some calendars, sales contracts or proper names that have survived in ancient sources.

In certain areas of the Iberian Peninsula, however, there are several documents engraved in slate dating from the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries. These documents are written in Latin but contain several personal names of Germanic - presumably Visigothic - origin. The so-called Visigothic slates have been studied by various Spanish scholars (e.g. Velázquez Soriano 1989), but mainly from the perspective of archaeology or Latin philology. The proper names they contain, even if they were Latinised and integrated into the late antique onomastic system of the Iberian Peninsula (cf. works on Ostrogothic onomastics in late antique Italy, e.g. Francovich Onesti 2007, 2013), represent an interesting linguistic material that could be added to the previously known Visigothic anthroponymy (cf. Piel, Kremer 1976).

The aim of this lecture is to present the female Gothic personal names such as *Agilo*, *Ispasanda*, *Tefreda* or *Vstrildis* contained in these Visigothic slates and to analyse them etymologically on the basis of the existing research literature (cf. Holthausen 1934; Feist 1939; Lehmann 1986).

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