

German(ic) in language contact

Grammatical and sociolinguistic dynamics

Conference from 3rd – 5th July 2019
FU Berlin, Seminarzentrum Silberlaube
Otto-von-Simson-Str. 26



Organisers: Research team on German in Namibia, HU & FU Berlin
www.geisteswissenschaften.fu-berlin.de/v/namdeutsch/Workshop
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www.geisteswissenschaften.fu-berlin.de/v/namdeutsch
www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/de/institut/professuren/multilinguale-kontexte/Projekte/Namdeutsch

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Description of the Workshop

Contact between speakers of different languages or varieties leads to dynamics in many respects. This workshop is going to focus on German and other Germanic languages in multilingual contexts, bringing together two strands that are motivated by our research on German in Namibia: On the one hand, we invite contribution focussing on the dynamics of German in contact, i.e., on language variation and change within German. Topics to be discussed include grammatical change, the role of norms, normative orientations, and the role of speakers' attitudes. On the other hand, the workshop aims to integrate this with papers focussing on the specifics of language contact phenomena when closely related Germanic languages come into contact. Interesting topics will be, for instance, how to handle contact phenomena of closely related languages (such as German in contact with Afrikaans and English in Namibia, given the further possibility of a Low German substrate), or how to disentangle language internal and language external factors (such as contact) in the explanation of innovations.

The workshop will bring together scholars who share a general interest in language contact phenomena but work in different frameworks, such as colleagues who are concerned with *Sprachinseln*, historical (socio-)linguistics, theoretical approaches to multilingualism et cetera.

Invited speakers:

Dalit Assouline (Haifa)

Hans C. Boas (Austin)

Ana Deumert (Cape Town)

Steffen Höder (Kiel)

Nils Langer (Flensburg)

Rosemarie Tracy (Mannheim)

Organisation

Venue

The conference will take place in the 'Seminarzentrum' of Freie Universität Berlin. It is located in the so-called "Silberlaube" in Habelschwerdter Allee 45. You can get there by subway (U-Bahn) or local train (S-Bahn). The closest subway stops are *Freie Universität (Thielplatz)* and *Dahlem-Dorf (U3)*, the closest S-Bahn stop is *Lichterfelde West (S1)*. From the *Lichterfelde West* stop, it is a 12-minute walk to the conference venue. Alternatively, you can take the M11 bus (direction *Dahlem-Dorf*) to the conference venue. Get off at the bus stop *Hittorfstraße*, which is on Habelschwerdter Allee right outside the entrance to our building.

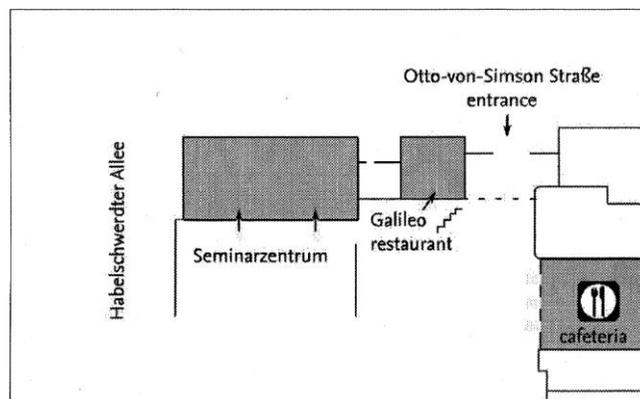
For your reference there is a campus map at the back of this brochure.

Note that public transport tickets are valid for all buses, trams, subway and local trains. For further information, please contact the BVG website (<http://www.bvg.de/>).

Catering

There will be tea and coffee on offer everyday, and lunch on Wednesday and Thursday.

Lunch will be provided at the *Galileo* restaurant, next to the Seminarzentrum. Please indicate your choice from the menu for both lunches beforehand, on Wednesday.



Social Program

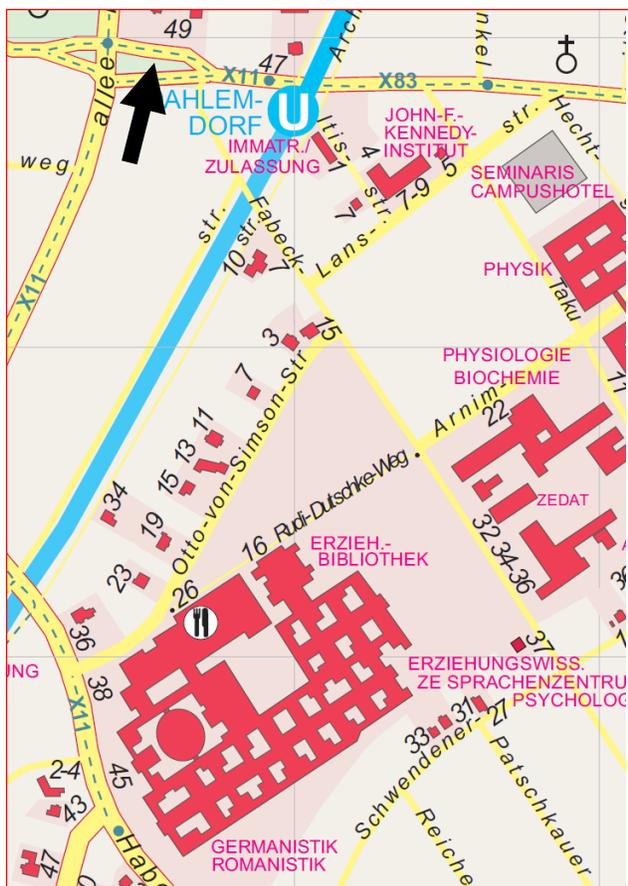
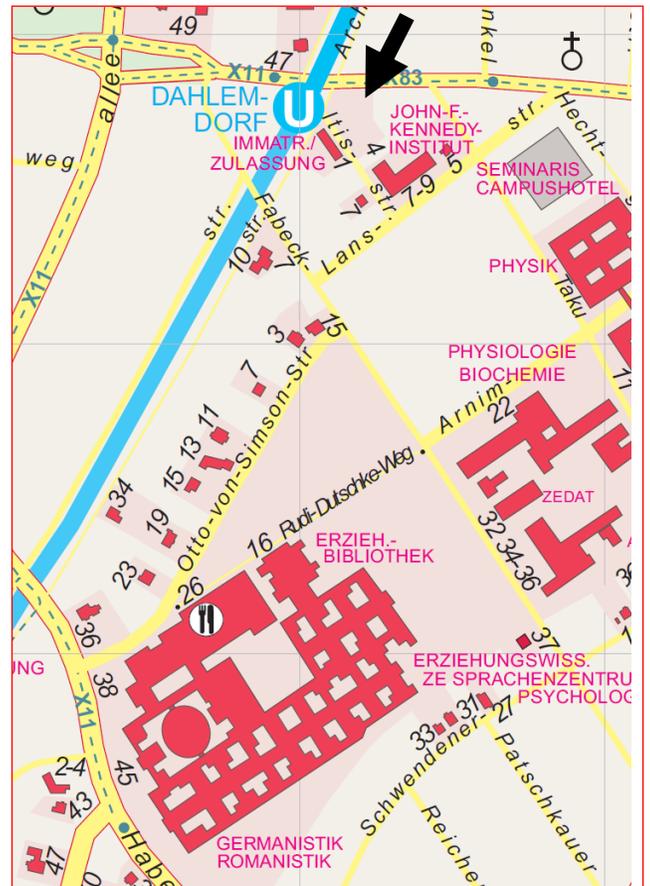
Tuesday, 2nd July
19.00 h Warming-Up

The Warming-Up takes place
at restaurant *Luise*.

Königin-Luise-Straße 40 - 42
14195 Berlin

close to subway stop *Dahlem Dorf* (U3)

<https://www.luise-dahlem.de/>



Thursday, 4th July
19.30 h Conference Dinner
(with registration only)

The conference dinner takes place
at the restaurant *Alter Krug*.

Königin-Luise-Straße 52
14195 Berlin

close to subway stop station *Dahlem
Dorf* (U3)

<http://alter-krug-berlin.de/>



Friday afternoon, 5th July
14.00 h Beer Garden

Join us for a leisurely afternoon in the beer garden
Maria & Josef close to the university.

Hans-Sachs-Straße 5
12205 Berlin

close to local train stop *Lichterfelde West* (S1)

<http://www.mariaundjosef.com/>



Wireless Network Access

As a conference participant, you can connect to the wireless network with the SSID "conference". When connected, please open any web page. Instead of the web page called, a form will appear. In this form, enter the following key:

z9xvy8m8

You will then have access to the wireless network and you will automatically be forwarded to the web page that you originally tried to open.

This key is valid on all days of the conference. For technical reasons, however, the connection to the wireless network may be interrupted at midnight, so you may need to repeat the procedure when you first log in in the morning.

Please ask the conference staff if you need any assistance.

Note that connections to the wireless network "conference" are not encrypted and are thus not secure. To ensure confidentiality and encryption, please use appropriate protocols (https, ssh, VPN).

Programme

<i>Wednesday, 3rd July 2019</i>	
8.30 – 9.15	<i>REGISTRATION</i>
9.15 – 9.30	<i>INTRODUCTION</i>
9.30 – 10.30	Hans C. BOAS (Austin) <i>A constructional approach to case syncretism in Texas German</i>
10.30 – 11.10	Sheena SHAH (Hamburg) <i>German communities in rural South Africa: An overview of their history, sociolinguistic context and language varieties</i>
11.00 – 11.40	<i>COFFEE BREAK</i>
11.40 – 12.20	Sebastian KÜRSCHNER (Eichstätt-Ingolstadt) & Mechthild HABERMANN (Erlangen-Nürnberg) <i>Language variation in the Bavarian dialect of São Bento do Sul, Brazil</i>
12.20 – 13.00	Neele HARLOS (Marburg) <i>Mennonite German(s) in Uruguay (MGU)</i>
13.00 – 14.20	<i>LUNCH</i>
14.20 – 15.20	Rosemarie TRACY (Mannheim) <i>Germanic sisters online: competition, cooperation and co-production</i>
15.20 – 16.00	Chaya R. NOVE (City University of New York) <i>Contact Effects in New York Hasidic Yiddish Peripheral Vowels</i>
16.00 – 16.40	Marc PIERCE (Austin) <i>Language Contact and the History of /pf/ in Texas German</i>
16.40 – 17.10	<i>COFFEE BREAK</i>
17.10 – 17.50	Maike ROCKER (Pennsylvania State University) <i>East Frisians achter de Penn: language contact in letters to a German newspaper in America</i>

<i>Thursday, 4th July 2019</i>	
9.30 – 10.30	Dalit ASSOULINE (Haifa) <i>Contact-induced change in American and Israeli ultra-Orthodox Yiddish</i>
10.30 – 11.10	Noa GOLDBLATT (Jerusalem) <i>The borrowed discourse marker well in German speech islands</i>
11.10 – 11.40	<i>COFFEE BREAK</i>
11.40 – 12.20	Nantke PECHT (Maastricht) <i>Progressive aspect in Cité Duits</i>
12.20 – 13.00	Edgar BAUMGÄRTNER (Frankfurt, Oder) <i>Variation in the placement of finite verbs – examples from speakers of a German Sprachinsel in Russia</i>
13.00 – 14.20	<i>LUNCH</i>
14.20 – 15.20	Steffen HÖDER (Kiel) <i>Grammatical arealisms across the Danish-German border from a constructional perspective</i>
15.20 – 16.00	Claudia BUCHELI BERGER (Genève) <i>Is Jenish more than a restricted lexicon?</i>
16.00 – 16.40	Christian ZIMMER (FU Berlin) <i>Intra-speaker variation and implicational scales in Namibian German</i>
16.40 – 17.10	<i>COFFEE BREAK</i>
17.10 – 17.50	Margaret BLEVINS (Austin) <i>Orthographic Normalization of Language Contact Data</i>
17.50 – 18.30	Thomas SCHMIDT (IDS Mannheim) <i>News on corpora of extraterritorial varieties in the AGD</i>
19.30	<i>CONFERENCE DINNER</i>

<i>Friday, 5th July 2019</i>	
09.30 – 10.30	Ana DEUMERT (Cape Town) <i>Settler Colonialism Speaks – Scripts of Supremacy, Servitude and Resistance</i>
10.30 – 11.10	Patrick WOLF-FARRÉ (Duisburg-Essen) <i>German minorities in Latin America: Towards a classification of former language islands</i>
11.10 – 11.40	<i>COFFEE BREAK</i>
11.40 – 12.20	Henning RADKE (Universiteit van Amsterdam) <i>Namibian German in Computer-Mediated Communication: on the Correlation between Sociolinguistic Variables and Multilingual Speech Acts</i>
12.20 – 13.20	Nils LANGER (Flensburg) <i>"Book-Frisians are pretty perfect as regards grammar but they are also exhausting, as they keep correcting us" - On evaluating language use, language change and language contact in North Frisian</i>
13.20 – 14.00	<i>FINAL DISCUSSION</i>
14.00	<i>BEER GARDEN</i>

Abstracts

Invited Speakers

Dalit Assouline (Haifa)

Contact-induced change in American and Israeli ultra-Orthodox Yiddish

Yiddish, the traditional Germanic language of Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, is maintained today as a spoken language in some ultra-Orthodox communities in the US, Israel and Europe. In these communities, Yiddish is used as an insider code with family and friends, while all adult speakers also use the majority language: English in the US, Canada and the UK; Hebrew in Israel; and Flemish or French in Belgium. These communities offer a unique opportunity to focus on the impact of language contact on linguistic change, due to their shared linguistic origin and similar sociolinguistic settings: Contemporary Yiddish varieties derive from the same Eastern European Yiddish dialects, from which most of them broke off at the same time, after WWII, and they are all spoken in small, segregated, highly traditional, and close-knit ultra-Orthodox communities. Therefore, the main factor distinguishing them is the identity of the majority language.

This talk offers a linguistic and a sociolinguistic overview of the two largest Yiddish-speaking communities in the US and in Israel, while also presenting several salient morphological and syntactic differences between American and Israeli varieties. A discussion of these differences takes into account both the possible impact of the majority languages, as well as the role of speakers' attitudes and the lack of normative pressures in the ultra-Orthodox speech communities.

Hans C. Boas (Austin)

A constructional approach to case syncretism in Texas German.

This talk presents a constructional analysis of case syncretism in Texas German. Part one summarizes previous research on case syncretism by Eikel (1954), Gilbert (1972), Salmons (1994), and Boas (2009). This section focuses, among other things, on the interplay of internal and external factors when accounting for case syncretism (reduction towards a two case system). Part two presents novel data from the Texas German Dialect Project (www.tgdp.org), which shows that case syncretism is not a uniform across-the-board process that affects all relevant verbs and prepositions in similar ways. Instead, the data suggest a relatively high degree of intra-speaker and inter-speaker variation when it comes to the distribution of nominative, accusative, and dative cases. This observation forms the basis for part three of the talk, which proposes a bottom-up usage-based constructional account of case syncretism. Central to the analysis presented in section three is one of the leading concepts of Construction Grammar, namely that language is non-modular and non-derivational, in particular when it comes to how different types of linguistic information influence each other (phonetics, phonology, morpho-syntax, semantics). The fourth part summarizes the main findings and discusses open research questions.

Ana Deumert (Cape Town)

Settler Colonialism Speaks – Scripts of Supremacy, Servitude and Resistance

In this talk, I take a closer look at the sociolinguistic dynamics of language contact in Namibia. My argument is inspired by Derek Denis and Alexandra d’Arcy’s recent paper *Settler Colonial Englishes Are Distinct from Postcolonial Englishes* (2018). Denis and d’Arcy position settler colonialism (and settler colonial theory) as a new epistemological perspective in the study of varieties of English. While their work focuses primarily on linguistic forms and structures, my interest is in the sociolinguistic creation of voice: How does settler colonialism speak? And what

voices are enregistered in the settler colony? What sociolinguistic scripts do they create? Building on Beatriz Lorente's (2017) work on 'scripts of servitude', I suggest that we find two additional scripts in colonial and apartheid Namibia: scripts of supremacy and scripts of resistance. German played a role in all of them, with linguistic structure being indexical, and at time iconic, of the broader social meanings that were (and are) being expressed.

References

Denis, D. and D'Arcy, A. 2018. Settler colonial Englishes are distinct from postcolonial Englishes. *American Speech* 93: 3-31. Lorente, B. 2017. *Scripts of Servitude: Language, Labour Migration and Transnational Domestic Work*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Steffen Höder (Kiel)

Grammatical arealisms across the Danish-German border from a constructional perspective

German and Danish share a long, complex, and multifaceted history of language contact (Fredsted 2009, Winge 2009, Höder forthc.). Besides other contact scenarios, societal as well as widespread individual multilingualism (in parts also including North Frisian) has characterized the linguistic situation in the territory of the former Duchy of Schleswig (comprising the northern part of the federal state of Schleswig-Holstein in Germany as well as the southernmost part of Jutland in Denmark) from the early Middle Ages until the present day. Among other things, this has led to a series of language shifts within what is now the Danish-German border region. In South Schleswig (south of today's border), speakers usually shifted from dialectal Danish to dialectal Low German varieties until the mid-20th century, a process often accompanied or followed by an additional acquisition of regional High German varieties or even a complete shift to High German. Subsequently, members of the Danish national minority added an emerging regional variety of Danish to their repertoire, labelled South Schleswig Danish (Pedersen 2003, Kühl 2015). In North Schleswig (north of today's border), Danish dialects coexist with Standard Danish and a variety of regional High German.

In structural terms, this contact scenario has resulted in a range of innovative constructions that are shared by a number of the varieties spoken in the border region, while diverging markedly from other varieties of Danish and German, respectively (Höder 2016). Examples include

- a. a de-obligative future construction ('shall future'):
Ich soll morgen nach Hamburg fahren (regional High German)
 1sg shall tomorrow to Hamburg drive
 'I'm going to drive to Hamburg tomorrow'
- b. a de-additive infinitive construction ('and infinitive'):
Dat is nich licht un verstahn allens (Low German dialect)
 3sg.n is not easy and understand everything
 'It isn't easy to understand everything'
- c. possessive linking pronouns:
dæn 'gamət 'man, sid 'hu.s (Danish dialect)
 def.sg.u old man his-sg.n house
 'the old man's house'
- d. an animacy-gender-sex distinction in the personal pronoun paradigm:
Mann → *he* *Fru* → *se* *Hund* → *en* (Low German dialect)
 man(u) 3sg.anim.m woman(u) 3sg.anim.f dog(u) 3sg.inanim.u

The talk presents a constructional analysis of these arealisms within the paradigm of Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG; Höder 2018). DCxG is a usage-based construction grammar approach to language contact situations that offers a fresh, socio-cognitively realistic view of contact-related phenomena in multilingual communication and language change. The key idea of DCxG is, in line with current assumptions in contact linguistics (e.g. Matras 2009), that languages as such do not have an any priori status. Rather, constructions – representing both individual speakers' linguistic knowledge and the conventionalized grammar shared by a multilingual community – can carry the type of pragmatic meaning that would restrict them to particular communicative settings, as multilingual communities tend to associate different languages with different contexts. However, many constructions ('diaconstructions') are not restricted to a particular set of communicative contexts, but occur in a multitude of settings in a given community.

DCxG predicts that, all other things being equal, the amount of diaconstructions in the construction of a multilingual community will increase ('pro-diasystematic change'): constructions that are restricted to a particular communicative context undergo a process of pragmatic bleaching resulting in their productive use in

several or all of the community's languages. The talk argues that the emergence of arealisms in the Danish-German border region can be explained as pro-diasystematic change.

References

Fredsted, E. 2009. Sprachen und Kulturen in Kontakt – deutsche und dänische Minderheiten in Sønderjylland/Schleswig. In C. Stolz (ed.), *Neben Deutsch. Die autochthonen Minderheiten- und Regionalsprachen Deutschlands*, 1–23. Bochum: Brockmeyer. **Höder**, S. 2016. Niederdeutsch und Nordeuropa: Eine Annäherung an grammatische Arealität im Norden Europas. *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 139, 103–129. **Höder**, S. 2018. Grammar is community-specific: Background and basic concepts of Diasystematic Construction Grammar. In H. C. Boas & S. Höder (eds.), *Constructions in contact. Constructional perspectives on contact phenomena in Germanic languages*, 37–70. Amsterdam: Benjamins. **Höder**, S. Forthc. Die deutsch-dänische Grenze von 1920 als Zäsur. In N. Palliwoda, V. Sauer & S. Sauerlich (eds.), *Politische Grenzen – sprachliche Grenzen? Dialektgeographische und wahrnehmungsdialektologische Perspektiven im deutschsprachigen Raum*. Berlin: de Gruyter. **Kühl**, K. 2015. South Schleswig Danish: Caught between privileges and disregard. In R. Muhr & D. Marley (eds.), *Pluricentric languages. New perspectives in theory and description*, 243–256. Frankfurt: Lang. **Matras**, Y. 2009. *Language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Pedersen**, K. M. 2003. Border-region Danish. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159, 127–138. **Winge**, V. 2009. Deutsch und Dänisch. In M. Elmentaler (ed.), *Deutsch und seine Nachbarn*, 1–13. Frankfurt: Lang.

Nils Langer (Flensburg)

"Book-Frisians are pretty perfect as regards grammar but they are also exhausting, as they keep correcting us" - On evaluating language use, language change and language contact in North Frisian

Minority language are subject to discussions to linguistic purity just as much as big languages. In this paper, I will present reactions to old and new language-contact phenomena from folk-linguistics and popular science and discuss to what extent different conditions and lines of argumentation apply to big vs. small languages. The data reviewed include empirical evidence from a project (supported by the Smithsonian Center for Folk Life and Cultural Heritage) on the effectiveness of language policy as reported by members of the public in North Frisia.

Rosemarie Tracy (Mannheim)

Germanic sisters online: competition, cooperation and co-production

Language contact phenomena such as bilingual slips of the tongue (“I was *hoffing* äh *hoffing* äh hoping”) and the kind of mixing involving longer alternating stretches (e.g. “Und scheinbar die Mutter *wasn’t a very good housekeeper*, ‘and apparently the mother ...’) are both amusing and instructive when it comes to understanding what happens online in the performance of bilingual speakers. Especially in the case of closely related languages such as German and English, the analytical challenge of identifying what each coactivated language contributes to individual utterances may be considerable. In my talk I argue that German-English language mixing, far from being “messy”, is formally systematic, fulfills identifiable discourse functions and provides us with interesting insights into what speakers consider equivalent or in need of repairing. My contribution will be based on a corpus of conversational and written data collected within a longitudinal DFG project investigating language use and maintenance in German immigrants in the United States (Tracy & Lattey 2010). Over a period of six years we collected a corpus of conversational and written data from the same participants, who had lived in the U.S. for 50-70 years at the time of the first recording. I will also address the question of what bilinguals can teach us about the steadiness of adult “steady states”.

Edgar Baumgärtner (Frankfurt, Oder)

Variation in the placement of finite verbs - examples from speakers of a German Sprachinsel in Russia

Verb-second (V2) word order is common for most of the Germanic languages (except English). This rule applies particularly to main declaratives, whereas embedded clauses tend to show more variation, either verb final as in German or on fourth position before finite verb and object as in Swedish. Icelandic and Yiddish on the other hand allow V2 also in embedded clauses (cf. König & van der Auwera 1994). In the case of Yiddish, Weinreich (1958) and Santorini (1989) assumed that the emergence of V2 was due to contact with Slavic languages. Most recently and from a formal perspective Pereltsvaig (2017) described the development “as a result of interference through shift by Slavic-speaking women who married into the Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish communities.” (433). (In the footnote following the citation, the author supposes the same contact-induced reason for the emergence of embedded V2 clauses in Icelandic, namely Irish speaking mothers marrying Islanders)

Other Germanic varieties surrounded by a dominant Slavic language can be found in the German National Rajon located in West Siberia in the steppe of Kulunda (Russia). In 2017 I spoke to more than 30 people from five different communes. My informants were capable of either Katholisch or Lutherisch (upper and central German dialects). Apart from free speech in interviews and translation of the Wenker sentences, I asked the informants to retell the frog story (Mayer 1969) in their local dialect, whereby a corpus of ten stories has emerged (This set-up usually is known as a standard method in the international language acquisition research (Berman & Slobin 1994)). In the workshop, I would like to show some results from the analysis concerning the placement of the finite verb. One finding is that the dialects in question also allow V2 in embedded clauses, as can be seen in the following:

(1) *s GUT der HOT den nix kaPUTTgemacht*

‚(Es) ist gut, (dass) der hat den nichts kaputtgemacht.‘

(1301NGe; 04:18)

(2) *RUM RUMgsatz mit DEne bis er HINkommt bis ins WASsar*

‚Hin und hergesprungen (ist er) mit denen, bis er hinkommt bis ans Wasser.‘

(1301NGe; 04:25)

These two examples do not really seem to be surprising, as standard German also knows types like (1) as in “*Es ist klar, es gibt solche Sätze*” or exclusion of the object as in (2). Also, due to the relatively little number of embedded clauses in the corpus, it is hard to infer a general trend. This does not apply to the verb-initial (V1) placement of finite verbs in the frog-corpus. Examples as in (2, without enclitic pronoun) or the following appear much more frequently:

(3) *KOMmte=se in nem WALD*

‚Kamen sie in einen Wald.‘

(1101L; 09:46)

(4) *Hen=se dort den frosch gSUCHT gSUCHT und geRUFEN geRUFEN*

‚Haben sie dort den Frosch gesucht, gesucht und gerufen, gerufen.‘

(1701W; 35:52)

Again, instances like (3) and (4) are not unusual in standard German as shown by Auer (1993), Önnarfors (1997) and most recently discussed by Beutler (2018).

That poses the question whether the examples of variation in placement of finite verbs really reflect syntactical innovations and if so, where they come from. Contact-induced explanations for syntactical borrowings are considered to be less likely (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988). At the same time, grammatical innovations are unsuspected to happen in most of the German speech islands today (For an exception cf. Wiese et al. (2014) on grammatical developments in Nam-Deutsch). One would rather expect language decay in an extraordinary fast way as shown by Salmons (1994), Riehl (2016) and Rosenberg (2016) in the domain of case loss. In order to disentangle language internal and external factors, one can also look at the language use of those who emigrated after the collapse of the Soviet Union to Germany. I am planning to collect recordings in Germany of relatives from people still living in the Rajon today and comparing the findings.

References

Auer, P. 1993. Zur Verbspitzenstellung im gesprochenen Deutsch. *Deutsche Sprache* 23. 193–222. **Berman**, R. A. & D. I. **Slobin** (eds.). 1994. *Relating events in narrative: A crosslinguistic developmental study*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum. **Beutler**, J. 2018. V1-declaratives and assertion. In M. Antomo, S. Müller & Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (eds.), *Non-canonical verb positioning in main clauses*, 161–178. (Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 25). Hamburg: Buske. **König**, E. & J. van der **Auwera**. 1994. *The Germanic Languages*. London / New York: Routledge. **Mayer**, M. 1969. *Frog, where are you?* New York: Dial Books for Young Readers. **Önnerfors**, O. 1997. *Verb-erst-Deklarativsätze. Grammatik und Pragmatik*. (Lunder germanistische Forschungen 60). Stockholm. **Pereltsvaig**, A. 2017. On Slavic-influenced Syntactic Changes in Yiddish: A Parametric Account. (Ed.) Y. Oseki, M. Esipova & S. Harves. *Annual Workshop on Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics. The NYU Meeting 2015*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications. 281–300. **Riehl**, C. M. 2016. Reliktvarietät, Herkunftssprache, Minderheitensprache und neue Mehrsprachigkeit: Das Barossa-Deutsche als Beispiel für die Dynamik der deutschen Sprache in Übersee. In A. Lenz (ed.), *German Abroad. Perspektiven der Variationslinguistik, Sprachkontakt- und Mehrsprachigkeitsforschung*, 241–267. (Wiener Arbeiten zur Linguistik 4). Göttingen: V&R unipress. **Rosenberg**, P. 2016. Regularität und Irregularität in der Kasusmorphologie deutscher Sprachinselvarietäten (Russland, Brasilien). In A. Bittner & K.-M. Köpcke (eds.), *Regularität und Irregularität in Phonologie und Morphologie: Diachron, kontrastiv, typologisch*, 177–218. (Lingua Historica Germanica 13). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter. **Salmons**, J. 1994. Naturalness and Morphological Change in Texas German. In N. Berend & K. J. Mattheier (eds.), *Sprachinselforschung: eine Gedenkschrift für Hugo Jedig*, 59–72. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. **Santorini**, B. 1989. The Generalization of the Verb-Second Constraint in the History of Yiddish. University of Pennsylvania. **Thomason**, S. G. & T. **Kaufman**. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. **Weinreich**, U. 1958. Yiddish and Colonial German in Eastern Europe: The Differential Impact of Slavic. *American Contribution to the Fourth International Congress of Slavistics*, 369–421. (Slavistic Printings and Reprintings 21). Moscow: 'S-Gravenhage. **Wiese**, H., H. J. **Simon**, M. **Zappen-Thomson** & K. **Schumann**. 2014. Deutsch im mehrsprachigen Kontext: Beobachtungen zu lexikalisch-grammatischen Entwicklungen im Namdeutschen und im Kiezdeutschen. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 81. 274–307.

Margaret Blevins (Austin)

Orthographic Normalization of Language Contact Data

In order to conduct systematic comparative research, language variety data must be processed in such a way that they can be compared to one another, e.g., via systematic annotation (cf. Boas 2016: 38-40). I argue that orthographic normalization is an important part of systematic annotation of language variety data. While individual projects have developed their own normalization systems, e.g., *Unserdeutsch* (Götze et al. 2017), a standardized approach to orthographic normalization does not exist. (Although standardized systems for many types of annotation have been proposed, no standardized system for orthographic normalization exists. Other standardized annotation systems include IPA for phonetic transcription (International Phonetic Association 1999), GAT for orthographic transcription (Selting 1998; Selting et al. 2009; Schmidt et al. 2015),

and STTS for POS-tagging (Schiller et al. 1999; Westpfahl et al. 2017)). This paper discusses the challenges inherent in constructing an orthographic normalization system for German(ic) language contact data, and proposes solutions to these challenges.

For the purpose of this paper, I define orthographic normalization as the mapping of original transcribed utterances to a set of consistent, systematic representations. For example, the original utterances [ʌpfəl], [ʌpəl], and [ʌbəl] could all be mapped to the normalized orthographic representation <Apfel>. This paper explains why orthographic normalization of language contact data is a non-trivial task, and discusses challenges inherent in normalizing lexical material that does not have a phonetically related standard form (e.g., *Bungis* for *Kürbis* ‘pumpkin’) and single- word language contact phenomena, e.g., loan words (e.g., *centy* ‘candy’) and code-mixing (e.g., *gefıxt* ‘fixed’), as in (1) below. The data used for this paper comes from recordings of translation elicitations within the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP) (Boas et al. 2010).

(1) *er hat denn corn* [gəʌkt] (TGDP file number 1-2-1-12-a)

[gəʌkt] → *geschält* (normalized (translated) according to standard German))

[gəʌkt] → *geschakt* (normalized using to standard German orthography)

[gəʌkt] → *geschuckt* (normalized using standard German / English orthography)

[gəʌkt] → provide no normalization and mark token as “foreign language material”

I argue that multiple increasingly-standard normalization layers are necessary to both support comparative research and make normalization decisions transparent (cf. GAT’s “Zwiebelprinzip,” Selting 1998), as demonstrated in (2).

(2) Original transcription: *er hat denn corn geschuckt* (TGDP file number 1-2-1-12-a)

Orthographic normalization (minimal): *er hat denn corn geschuckt*

Standard language normalization / translation: *er hat den |dann Mais geschält*

The goal of this paper is to help begin to construct a set of normalization guidelines for translation elicitation data that will result in making these data more accessible, easy to compare, and transparent. This orthographic normalization system is as theory-overarching as possible, to ensure that it is as useful to as many researchers and applicable to as much data as possible. This in turn can support research on language contact phenomena, e.g., external vs. internal factors in language innovation.

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Claudia Bucheli Berger (Genève)

Is Jenish more than a restricted lexicon?

The language of the Swiss, Austrian, German and Alsatian travellers is called *Jenisch* in German and *Yéniche* in French. Since the 18th century, Jenish words were documented by policemen, churchmen and educators. During the 19th and 20th century, travelling was considered a psychological or racial defect. The main society attributed only one function to Jenish: Hiding information. Despite many persecutions, the Jenish way of speaking (called *dibbere* by themselves) is still sustained, sometimes passed on with deficiency.

Lexicologists very often claim that the Jenish “language” only consist of a restricted lexicon and doesn’t possess an own grammar. The secret words “simply” replace German words while the syntax and the morphology remain German (Roth 2001: 170-171, Theilacker 2017: 32-33, Siewert 2016: 9, Wikipedia *Jenische Sprache*). Actually, Siewert (2016: 13) names that grammar-language “Wirtssprache”.

This paper wants to challenge the view of Jenish as a lexicon without a proper syntax. The author of this paper wants to connect the research on Jenish to the modern research on sociolects and language contact. Many questions remain open concerning Jenish.

As the speakers of this sociolect are travellers, where is the host variety or the proper Jenish grammar from? Does it show features from a certain area/dialect/variety or is it a mix with proper innovations? Further, what kind of consequences had (and still has) the contact with other languages or varieties on the host language or the proper Jenish syntax? If French, Romanes and Jiddish left traces in the Jenish vocabulary, did they also influence the syntax or morphosyntax of Jenish?

This paper will present evidence that there is or was a Jenish syntax different from a German variety. For example, Siewert (2016: 19) mentions that, in secret languages, the adjective follows the substantive sometimes, i.e. the adjective is in an ungrammatical position for the speakers of German. In the example (1) (see below), it is the negation particle *lori*, placed at the end of the sentence, that is unusual for (southern) German (dialects). Here the Jenish syntax follows a rule like “place the element at another position than the position that it would have in German.” Further, the syntax (and meaning) of *schäff(e)/schäft* is especially worth to be analysed. It resembles rather a presentative ‘it is, that is’ than a verb (see examples (2) and (3)). Regarding the Jenish narrative strategy, a short text in Swiss Jenish (see example (4)) shows that the storyteller refers to himself with the pronouns *mär*, *mir* ‘we’ and *i* ‘I’ but also with the substantive *zgaschi* ‘the (young) men’ (with neuter article *z* and neuter name suffix *-i* (with proper names a proximity marker in Swiss German dialects)).

Concerning the character of the “host language”, the documentary movie *Jenisch und jung* gives us some insights into the syntax of the Swiss German dialect that some Jenish speak in the interviews and in contact with the members of the main society (see examples (5) and (6)).

Examples:

- (1) [...], isch me abe gehocht **lori**, [...]. ‘ist mir aber gelungen nicht’ (Wikipedia, *Jenische Sprache*)
- (2) **Schäft** ä latscho Seite ‘ist eine schöne Seite’ Lützenhardter Jenisch (Efing 2012)
- (3) Guck mòò, **schäfft** e quant Schaischi! ‘Schau mal, das ist ein hübsches Mädchen!’ Überlosheim Jenisch (Besse 2016: 57)

(4) *Mamerä sicherät Stacherlig mit Hodä, dä Brunhans mit Guriss beharchämär Zratti. Zratti hurrät **zgaschi** gschwächt, mir malochät Moori und [...]. I und Dschiegä holchät mit äm Gumiritsch Schübiss, [...]. Mir holchät [...].*

‘Die Mutter kocht Igel mit Kartoffeln, den Kaffee mit Schnaps bekommen wir am Abend. Am Abend ist der Bursche betrunken (= ich), wir machen Lärm und [...]. Ich und das Mädchen fahren mit dem Fahrrad weg, [...]. Wir kommen [...].

(5) *Äs **chunt** der langwillig* ‘es wird dir langweilig’

(6) *Mer **chunt** nöd verjagt.* ‘Man wird nicht verjagt’

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Noa Goldblatt (Jerusalem)

The borrowed discourse marker *well* in German speech islands

The present talk is a part of an ongoing study investigating the borrowing patterns of discourse markers in several German speech islands, aiming to shed light on the borrowing patterns of these multifunctional items. This talk will offer a descriptive account of the functions of the borrowed English marker *well* in Texas German and Australian German, from a comparative point of view.

The corpora investigated are the Texas German Archive (<https://tgdp.org/dialect-archive>) and the Australian German Corpus in DGD (<https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de>). The sample comprises 300 randomly selected occurrences of borrowed *well* from each corpus, and additional 150 examples of the uses of *well* in the local English varieties that appeared in the corpora. All occurrences were analyzed according to

the categorization system of the functions of English *well* discussed in Müller (2004), who classified her findings into three levels of discourse (see Table 1); this system was applied to both the German and English examples in the corpora (Table 2). Examples 1-2 showcase the use of two functions in TG and AG, the ‘Rephrasing or Correcting a Phrase’ and ‘Indirect Answer’ functions, respectively.

As expected, there are some differences in specific categories; most notable is the use of *well* to mark quotation, much more common in TG than in AG, or the relatively higher frequency of the DIA function in AG compared to TG. However, when it comes to the higher levels of discourse, the data present misalignment between each German variety and its donor English variety. These results does not support the baseline assumption of the study, which states that any difference in the functional patterns of the German contact varieties could, at least in part, be explained by the different patterns in the donor languages; in fact, the data show greater variance between the German varieties than between the English donors, and thus different explanations are needed.

One possible explanation is related to the nature of the sample used; the English examples are in fact quite limited to short codeswitched utterances placed in between chunks of German discourse, and perhaps does not reflect the full potential of uses as compared to spontaneous monolingual usage. In order to test this theory, a follow-up study of monolingual corpora of Texan and Australian English is planned.

Another explanation can be based on the nature of the specific DM chosen – *well* is extremely multifunctional, and it is possible that the analysis presented here is somewhat skewed by the decision to assign each occurrence of *well* to only one functional category, when de facto it may serve more than one function in the discourse. This theory will be tested comparatively to the borrowing patterns of other DMs, at the next stages of the study.

Examples:

(1) Rephrasing or Correcting a Phrase (RCP):

Texas German

So ... ich hab gar nich ... well ich hab mich
 So pause I have really not pause **well** I have me
gar nich gemeldet for den ... job.
 really not volunteered for the pause job
 'So I really haven't – **well** I really haven't volunteered myself for the job.'

(https://tgdp.la.utexas.edu/files/prod/index.php?file_name=1-1-1-14-a.html)

(2) Indirect/insufficient/delayed Answer (IDA):

Australian German

R: *Was würden Sie sagen ... was würden Sie sagen für 'Witze'?*
 What would you say pause what would you say for 'Witze'
 M: *... **Well**, da bringt man wieder das englische 'rein.*
 pause **well** there brings one again the English in
 R: *Jokes.*
 Jokes.
 R: "What would you say – what would you say (in AG) for Witze?"
 M: "**Well**, there one brings English in again."
 R: "Jokes."

(https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/DGD2Web/ExternalAccessServlet?command=displayTranscript&id=AD--_E_00071_SE_01_T_01_DF_01&cID=c268&wID=w1704)

Table 1: Overview of the functions of *well* (Adapted from Müller, 2004:1163)

Level	Category	Short explanation of the function of <i>well</i>
Local	RCP	Rephrasing or correcting a phrase
	SRP	Searching for the right phrase
Structural	QUO	Introducing a (real or fictitious) quotation
	MTS	Move to story
	NSC	Introducing the next scene
	CCL	Conclusive well
Dialog	IDA	Indirect/insufficient/delayed answer
	DIA	Direct answer to (combined y/n- and) wh-question
	RSQ	Response to a self-posed question
	CTA	Continuing answer
	COO	Contributing own opinion
	EPS	Evaluating previous statement(s)

Table 2: Functions of *well* in the corpora

Category	Texas German	Australian German	Texas English	Australian English	Texas German	Australian German	Texas English	Australian English	Level
RCP	16	34	5	3	35	67	15	11	Local
SRP	19	33	10	8					
QUO	26	2	6	0	139	98	49	58	Structural
MTS	13	14	6	12					
NSC	48	32	13	17					
CCL	52	50	24	29					
IDA	43	48	17	23	126	135	86	81	Dialog
DIA	34	52	12	13					
RSQ	3	3	1	2					
CTA	31	22	24	18					
COO	5	5	9	11					
EPS	10	5	23	14					
Total	300	300	150	150	300	300	150	150	Total

References:

Diewald, G. 2013. „Same same but different”–Modal particles, discourse markers and the art (and purpose) of categorization. In Degand, L., B. Cornillie & P. Pietrandrea, eds. Discourse markers and modal particles: categorization and description. Vol. 234. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. **Müller, S.** 2004. "Well you know that type of person': functions of well in the speech of American and German students." Journal of pragmatics 36, no 6. 1157-1182.

Neele Harlos (Marburg)

Mennonite German(s) in Uruguay (MGU)

In the 1940s, German and Plautdietsch speaking Mennonites fled before the Red Army from the Free City of Danzig/West Prussia, some of them ultimately settling in Uruguay. This talk focuses on the socio-linguistic and grammatical characteristics of MGU as spoken by the immigrant generation and their descendants. The analysis is based on recordings from the early 1990s by Clemens Scharf (cf. Scharf 2001) of about 100 different speakers/groups (the original recordings were generously made available to the author of this abstract for study and preservation).

As such, the Mennonite Germans in Uruguay do not constitute one single language island but rather several settlements that are on the one hand identified by their strong communal cohesion but on the other hand are open towards non-

Mennonites and interact with them on a daily basis. This fluidity of cultural and religious boundaries constitutes the background of the present study. The interviews were elicited with a focus on language acculturation, especially concerning contact with Spanish, but also offer insights into language change concerning the speakers' attitude to heritage and languages and their self-identification.

The study of the complete material is a part of a language island research project over the next five years. First results show phenomena typical for language change in a contact environment, e.g. lexical (example 1) and grammatical transfer (example 2) but not all changes can be attributed to direct Spanish influence (externally induced change). In example 3, the speaker uses the dative masculine form of the definite article. The case is correct, but it should be the feminine form *der*. In Spanish, the *dictadura militar* is feminine, too, so why does the speaker use masculine? I argue that this is because the speaker uses the form that is more overtly dative, involving the nasal that is associated with the German dative case (also called *Wem-Fall* or “whom-case”) (internal change).

Compared to other Mennonite language islands it is striking that MGU is very close to Standard High German although considering the background one would expect a variety closer to Plautdietsch (as spoken today by North American and Mexican Mennonites); some older informants claim Plautdietsch knowledge but no proficiency. All informants are bilingual German/Spanish speakers with Spanish proficiency varying according to age and location. Some phonological peculiarities do point towards Low German, possibly Low Prussian, substrate (cf. example 4).

1. “...diese Bilder von den *santos* [Heiligen] und so weiter ...” (...these pictures of the *santos* [saints] and so on ...)
2. “Und [es] kam eine große Hungersnot.” (And [it] came a great famine.) Prodrop
3. “Die Sache ist, wenn die Leute sagen ja bei dem Militärdiktatur ging es uns besser ...” (The thing is, when the people say yes with the military dictatorship we were better off ...)
4. “Kochlöffel” (cooking spoon) Standard High German: “Kochlöffel”

References:

Scharf, C. 2001. *Parallele sprachliche Akkulturation mennonitischer Einwanderer in Uruguay* (Dialectologia pluridimensionalis Romanica 13). Kiel: Westensee.

Sebastian Kürschner (Eichstätt-Ingolstadt) & Mechthild Habermann (Erlangen-Nürnberg)

Language variation in the Bavarian dialect of São Bento do Sul, Brazil

In São Bento do Sul, Santa Catarina, a high number of speakers still uses German. Immigrants from the earlier Bavarian-Bohemian (now German-Czech) border region brought a Bavarian variety to this place. It is currently mostly used in the oldest generation, but also younger speakers exist. We will present data gathered 2002-2005 by Bernd Naumann and his team, cf. Gärtner (2011). We will deal with intra and inter-individual variation concerning the following aspects:

- a) variation between dialectal and standard variants of German;
- b) variation between German and Portuguese variants;
- c) inter-dialectal variation in German.

With respect to c), a common dialectal variety has seemingly emerged, while some tracks from other German dialects remain. Since the emigration area of the largest group is located in the transitional zone between Middle and North Bavarian, variation specific to this region is found, e.g., falling vs. rising diphthongs (*Bua* vs. *Bou* ‚boy‘). We will show variational patterns such as these using data from especially informative speakers.

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Janosch Leugner (HU Berlin)

Ties and boundaries of the multilingual Namibian-German community: Contact and segregation.

In this paper, I analyse language contact spaces of Namibian German with Germanic languages in contrast to Bantu/Khoekhoegowab languages and survey results as well as language attitudes of Namibian Germans, showing that social

segregation is a key factor in supporting or reducing contact-induced language variation and change.

The Namibian-German community is a highly vital minority. Set in a multilingual environment, Namibian-German is under long-term influence from Afrikaans and increasingly from English – but seldom from Bantu or Khoekhoegowab languages (Wiese, Simon, Zimmer & Schumann 2017; Zimmer forthcoming). Bantu or Khoekhoegowab based lexical items mentioned in dictionaries for Namibian-German (Nöckler 1964; Pütz 2001; Sell 2011) comprise of only 2%-10% of total items and are mostly semantically associated with the domain of farm labour. In my talk, I discuss this nexus from a sociolinguistic point of view.

The Namdeutsch-Project (<www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/de/institut/professuren/multilinguale-kontexte/Projekte/Namdeutsch>), a cooperation between Humboldt University, Free University of Berlin and UNAM Windhoek, has indicated that there are competencies in African languages among Namibian Germans. According to our questionnaires, 13% of speakers indicate at least minimal knowledge of African languages. Such knowledge seems to be particularly available, if speakers are connected to farm life, e.g. own or grew up on a farm. This link becomes also evident in interviews conducted as part of the project.

At the same time, the interviews indicate positive attitudes towards learning African-Namibian languages. Such attitudes are related to, for example, the construction of Namibian belonging and to increased interethnic contacts through friendship. However, this does not seem to result in systematic language contact and linguistic transfer. A reason might be the as yet relative sparsity of informal, friendship-based relations between German Namibians with speakers of Bantu/Khoekhoegowab languages. I will discuss this possibility, arguing that recent observations on the effects of residential segregation on patterns of ethnolinguistic variation in US Cities (Duncan 2018) might be applicable to the German-Bantu/Khoekhoegowab contact situation as well. In so doing, I also underline the importance of including historical and social insights into processes of language contact especially in such complex sociolinguistic situations as in post-apartheid Namibia.

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Chaya R. Nove (City University of New York)

Contact Effects in New York Hasidic Yiddish Peripheral Vowels

New York Hasidic Yiddish (HY) has been directly transmitted by post-Holocaust immigrants and is currently the native tongue of five generations of bilingual speakers in New York. Among attested Eastern European Yiddish dialects, only Central Yiddish (CY), the ancestral dialect of HY, retained the feature length into the twentieth century (Herzog, 1965; Jacobs, 1990; Weinreich, 2008). However, while the contrast in these vowel pairs in CY are described in terms of length, they have not been analyzed acoustically. A pilot study (Nove, 2018) suggests that whereas the durational distinction in the HY low vowel /a/ has been maintained (e.g., in words like *haant* ‘today’ and *hant* ‘hand’), the contrast in its high peripheral vowels /i/ and /u/ has come to resemble the English qualitative tense/lax distinction (e.g., in *zin* ‘son’ vs. *zin* ‘sun;’ and *shtruf* ‘punish’ vs. *shlof* ‘sleep’).

This paper compares the phonetic properties of HY and English vowel pairs {/i/, /ɪ/}, {/u/, /ʊ/}, and HY {/a:/, /a/} and English /a/, produced by 24 bilingual speakers in New York. The data consist of audio-recorded word lists (110 tokens per speaker: 10 of each vowel, 6 HY and 5 English). For each vowel pair, duration and formants (F1 and F2) are compared across language, vowel and speaker generation. Preliminary results confirm the existence of a quantitative and qualitative (i.e., tense-lax) distinction in the high vowel dyads, but only quantitative differences between HY long and short /a/ for these speakers. That is, while long and short /a/ exist in the same phonetic space and are distinguishable by relative duration, the short correlates of the high vowels are lower and more centralized than their long counterparts. Moreover, there is evidence of change over time, specifically a gradual lowering and centering of HY /i/ and /u/ between second and third generation speakers, resulting in the gradual convergence of these vowels with their English equivalents.

The different trajectories of change in HY high vs. low vowels, with patterns of contrast in the high vowels becoming more similar to their English counterparts, while the /a/ pair, which lacks an equivalent in Northeastern American English, behaves differently, invites a contact-induced account. The results are also interpreted with reference to theories of second language acquisition, including Flege's (1995, 2007) Speech Learning Model (SLM). This model assumes that sounds in a speaker's first and second languages exist in the same space and exert a bidirectional influence on each other, with phonetically similar cross-linguistic sounds forming a single category. The use of quantitative variationist methods enables this study to capture a change in progress, thus shedding light on the development of a Yiddish dialect in its new sociocultural environment. Moreover, this paper demonstrates how drawing on theories of second language acquisition can lead to a more nuanced understanding of the factors, including articulatory and perceptual mechanisms, that influence language change under contact.

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Nantke Pecht (Maastricht)

Progressive aspect in Cité Duits

This talk aims to provide a first discussion on the use of progressive aspect in *Cité Duits*, a Dutch- German-Limburgian contact variety spoken in the former coalmining district of Eidsen (the *cité*) in Belgian-Limburg. *Cité Duits*, literally 'neighborhood German', developed among locally-born children of immigrant miners of different European language backgrounds in the thirties and forties of the former century. Nowadays, it is on the cusp of disappearing, with the few remaining speakers being all in their eighties (cf. Pecht 2015; forthc.). Up to this point, no systematic linguistic analysis has been conveyed to determine its linguistic character. In order to explore what speakers do when construing events in *Cité*

Duits, I will tackle the following questions: (i) Which preferences do speakers of Cité Duits show when expressing ongoingness when it comes to form and usage patterns? (ii) Do speakers prefer grammaticalized means to express ongoingness or do they favor lexical expressions? (iii) Is there evidence for a specific mixed Dutch-German-Limburgian aspectual system?

The investigation of aspectual constructions is particularly fascinating as the linguistic means in the three contact languages differ to some extent but also overlap. First, explicit marking of aspectual constructions is considered optional in varieties of Dutch and German (cf. Behrens, Flecken & Carroll 2013: 95). Second, the languages have similar means to mark progressive aspect overtly (1a-c), although they seem to differ in the extent to which the aspectual perspective is selected (cf. Flecken 2011; also van Pottelberge 2004).

- (1) a. Zij is **aan het** lezenINF. (Dutch)
 b. Zèij is **aon 't** lèzeINF. (Maaslands = Limburgian dialect)
 c. Sie ist **am** LesenINF. (German)
 'She is reading.'

As the examples in (1a-c) illustrate, the three contact varieties possess similar formal means to express progressive aspect. In Dutch (a) and Maaslands/Limburgian (b), the preposition *aan/aon* 'at' is followed by the definite article *het* or reduced *'t* and the infinitive of the verb 'to read', while in German (c), the verbal infinitive follows *am*, a contraction of the preposition *an* and the definite article *dem* (cf. Booij 2008: 80). In contrast, posture verb constructions as in 2 (a, b) are only available in Dutch and Maaslands but not in German:

- (2) a. Ik **zit** een boek **te** lezen. (Dutch)
 b. Ich **zit** e book **te** leze.
 I sit a book to readINF
 'I am reading a book.'

A first analysis of the data set suggests that several means to express progressive aspect coexist. Next to patterns such as in 1 and 2, speakers use constructions that are not grammatically (but sometimes lexically) marked. In addition, speakers express ongoingness with the verb *bleiben* 'to stay' + infinitive, similar to Dutch (cf. Broekhuis, Corver & Vos 2015: 20).

(3) (171115_5)

ja dan bin ich **bleiben** **stehn**, hè?
yes then am I stay standINF PAR
'Then I continued standing there.'

While the meaning of the main verb remains the same, the utterance can be interpreted as denoting a state that continues to exist. Whereas the first part of the talk introduces the progressive types and functions in Belgian Dutch, Maaslands and German, the second part explores the use of progressive aspect in Cité Duits by also looking into the semantic categories of verb classes that yield progressive aspect. The data analysis is based on audio data of spontaneous-like interactions (approx. 320 minutes) gathered by a method of sociolinguistic fieldwork in 2012/13 and 2015/16.

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Marc Pierce (Austin)

Language Contact and the History of /pf/ in Texas German

The precise effects of contact with English on Texas German remain difficult to pinpoint. On the one hand, contact with English has clearly triggered some changes in Texas German. For instance, the number of English loan words in Texas German has increased sharply since the 1960s, which is indisputably due to the increased contact between the languages since then. In other areas, the impact of language contact is not as clear, e.g. while Eikel (1949) argued that contact with English reshaped the Texas German case system, Boas (2009) instead treats contact with English as one of several factors that motivate the change. In this presentation,

I address the history of the affricate /pf/ in Texas German, in an effort to determine the role of language contact in its development.

According to Eikel (1954), which is based on data collected in the 1940s and 1950s, /pf/ did not appear word-initially in Texas German, meaning that words beginning with [pf] in Standard German, e.g. *Pferd* ‘horse’, began with [f] in Texas German. It did, however, appear word-medially and word-finally, e.g. in *Topf* ‘pot’. In light of the numerous similarities between Standard German phonology and Texas German phonology discussed by Eikel, this situation indicates that a sound change from /pf/ to /f/ (deaffrication) had taken place.

The situation soon changed: Gilbert (1972: Map 103), which is based on data collected in the 1960s, notes that his informants pronounced words like *Pferd* with an initial [pf] (e.g. 100% of his informants produced an initial [pf] in *Pferd*). In other positions within the word, Gilbert’s informants used both [pf] and [f]. This indicates that the earlier sound change had been undone, as /f/ had been affricated in word-initial position to [pf].

In the data collected by members of the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP; www.tgdp.org) since 2001, the situation has changed again. According to Boas (2009), only 8% of his informants pronounced words like *Pferd* with an initial [pf]. This shows that the affrication process indicated by the Gilbert data has also largely been undone, i.e. that /pf/ has again been deaffricated to /f/.

I argue that the best account of the Texas German facts is a relatively straightforward sequence of sound changes, /pf/ > /f/ > /pf/. I further contend that contact with English is one of the possible causes, but not the sole motivation for the changes. That is, given all of the other potential factors, including the original donor dialects of Texas German and the changing linguistic and social status of Texas German, a multiple causation scenario makes considerably more sense than one based solely on contact with English. This leads to the further conclusion that contact with English must be invoked cautiously when analyzing Texas German, as it may be only part of the scenario, and sometimes not even the most important part at that.

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Henning Radke (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Namibian German in Computer-Mediated Communication: on the Correlation between Sociolinguistic Variables and Multilingual Speech Acts

What effects do sociolinguistic variables have on the choice between standard and non-standard language usage? This question has been largely discussed in variationist sociolinguistic research (Tagliamonte 2011, 32; Peersman et al. 2016, 2). The proposed presentation contributes to the discussion by focusing on the subdomain of computer-mediated communication (cmc) through the example of German-speaking Namibians. In recent years, cmc has enabled them to create virtual networks irrespective of the place they live in. Two of these networks are placed center-stage in the envisaged talk. Although, they mainly focus on the German-Namibian diaspora in Germany, other groups are represented too, such as Namibians in Namibia and Germans in both Namibia and Germany. They therefore form a unique online community which is shaped by networked multilingualism using Afrikaans, English, Standard German and Namdeutsch, a non-canonical variety of German which evolved in the multilingual context of Namibia during the course of the 20th century (Wiese et al. 2014, 2017; Wiese and Bracke 2019; Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016, 2015; Dück 2018; Shah 2007; Häusler 2017). To what extent and in which ways do the virtual subgroups differ in their language choice? The envisaged presentation seeks an answer this question by using correlation analysis of sociolinguistic variables such as gender, place of birth and place of living. The effect that these personal variables have on multilingual speech acts, will be compared to the effects of impersonal variables such as the theme, genre and length of a digital message. The analysis is based on a self-compiled corpus containing more than 8,000 digital speech acts published between 2002-2018. Hence, the data almost cover the entire history of the internet as a mass medium and are therefore particularly suited to investigate the interplay between sociolinguistic variables and multilingual speech acts. Furthermore, the proposed presentation uses meta-linguistic statements as examples to shed more light on the role and function of the non-canonical, Namibia-specific language features in German-Namibian cmc. The research is based on the notion of networked multilingualism, that is “the entire range of linguistic resources” within cmc (Androutsopoulos 2015, 185) and draws parallels with the notion of metrolingualism

which is seen as “a product typically of modern, urban interaction” (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010, 245). It is part of a dissertation that addresses the question as to whether the German-Namibian online community has created their own specific type of networked multilingualism.

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Claudia Maria Riehl (LMU München)

Language contact and language attrition: Restructuring processes in Barossa-German (South-Australia)

Language communities on the verge of extinction are of particular interest for language contact studies: they display both restructuring processes due to long-term language contact and simplification strategies caused by lack of usage (see Schmid 2011, Riehl 2018). Against this background, this paper presents the outcomes of a project on the last remaining speakers of a German enclave variety in South Australia, the so-called Barossa-German. Our sample includes 35 speakers

(between 75 and 96 years old, mean age = 85). The data encompass a corpus of narrative interviews (mean length of 60 min. per speaker), a sociolinguistic questionnaire, and a translation task which includes single words, phrases and sentences. The recent data are compared with historical data (Clyne 1967, published in dgd.ids-mannheim.de, Paul 1965) to illustrate the developmental path of the phenomena. In this paper three major findings will be addressed:

1. Reduction of the case-marking system

The reduction of case marking, mainly the gradual loss of the dative case, is one of the most considered grammatical features in contact settings for German heritage varieties but there is conspicuous variation among the various communities (cf. Louden 1994, Born 2003, Rosenberg 2005ff., Boas 2009, Nützel and Salmons, 2011, Riehl 2015, Yager et al. 2015). Our data illustrate that in verb-assigned constructions dative case marking is almost completely lost in the NP and only used in frequent constructions where case is assigned by prepositions. Best retained are frozen units such as *zur Schule*, *zur Kirche* which had been in the speakers' repertoire for a long time and used with high frequency. Moreover, it can be demonstrated that in the pronominal system Barossa German develops a two-case system (nominative and oblique case).

2. Gradual removal of the sentence brace

Another widespread phenomenon in German-speaking enclaves is the gradual removal of the so-called '*Satzklammer*' (sentence brace) (Riehl 2010). Surprisingly, among Barossa-German speakers the sentence brace is relatively stable, but we can also observe a significantly higher percentage in frequent constructions and in code-mixed utterances (s. Ex. 1). There is, however, a high inter-speaker variation in the last generation which can be traced back to individual access to literacy (see Riehl 2015).

3. Restructuring of past tense marking

Another tendency is the emergence of a periphrastic construction with *tun* to mark single events in the past tense (s. Ex. 2). This seems to be a comparably new development since the historical data show only habitual marking. In total, the use of the *tun*-periphrasis in the recent corpus is three times as high as in the historical data but demonstrates also high inter-speaker variation.

The grammatical changes discussed in the paper will be interpreted as simplification and restructuring processes which are indirectly caused by language

contact. It will be argued that the development is also influenced by sociolinguistic factors such as lack of norms, lack of access to literacy and individual attitudes of speakers.

Examples

- (1) she *was so surprised that we did still sprechen a bissl Deutsch.*
- (2) a) (DH talks about the confiscation of guns during WW II)
*Und es war n police-Mann. Der **tat** alle die Flinten... **einnehm*** (DH)
[lit. 'And it was a policeman. He did collect all the guns.']
- b) (GG talks about an evening when they met new immigrants from Germany)
*Nun sind wir da hin gegangen und denn äh mein Mann is bei die Männer gegangen, die **taten** Canaster **spielen*** (GG) ['And then we went there and then uh my husband went with the men, they did play canaster']

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Maike Rocker (Pennsylvania State University)

East Frisians achter de Penn: language contact in letters to a German newspaper in America

When East Frisians settled in the US in the 1850s, they brought two languages with them: High German (HG), used in writing and education, and Low German (LG) spoken with family and in the community (Schnucker 1917, Frizzel 1992). This study documents the use and modification of these two languages in a sample of letters written between 1940 and 1969 to the *Ostfriesische Nachrichten* (ON), an East Frisian-American newspaper that seems to not have received any attention from the linguistic point of view.

The ON was a biweekly newspaper first published in 1882 in Iowa (Lindaman 2004). It provided news from the motherland and connected the various East Frisian settlements. Letters were written to the newspaper to inform readers about events in the colonies. Typical news reported in these letters included deaths, weddings, child births, the weather, and farming. In its early years (1884-1915), the ON was almost exclusively published in HG, with little to no LG, and no English content whatsoever. However, and in contrast to other newspapers in HG, which were discontinued or switched to English (Salmons 1983), at one point the ON saw a different and unexpected linguistic shift, as they started to include abundant content in LG.

While some contributors continued to use only HG, others wrote exclusively in LG, or switched between both languages. Interestingly, authors who used only LG did not report on typical topics, but instead shared personal opinions and stories. Similarly, those who used both languages always reported more serious content in HG, while writing about lighter news in LG. This is clearly seen in (1):

- (1) Zu Fulda ist unser Freund Thade Dannemann nach langem Leiden zur ewigen Ruhe eingegangen. [...] *Güstern hett dat hier düchtig schneet un vanmörgens lagg de Schnee so hoch, dat wi hast nicht mehr fahren könt*
'In Fulda, our friend Thade Dannemann has come to eternal rest after long suffering. [...] *Yesterday, it snowed a lot here and today the snow was so high that we almost could not drive anymore.*' (March 20, 1940; LG marked in italics)

The extension of LG to the written domain, the pragmatic differentiation shown in switches between HG and LG, and the markedly limited presence of English found

in the data, together, provide new insight of processes of language loss and maintenance, and of linguistic and discursive dynamics in general. All this occurs in an understudied trilingual community that has since lost its written HG and will likely see the loss of its remaining LG-speakers within the next 20 years, in favor of a total adoption of English (see Mertens 1994).

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Thomas Schmidt (IDS Mannheim)

News on corpora of extraterritorial varieties in the AGD

The Archive for Spoken German (AGD) at the Institute for the German Language (IDS) in Mannheim is a central collection point for corpora of spoken German. During the last five years, we have put a focus on data of extraterritorial varieties of German and intensified our efforts and collaborations for acquiring and curating corpora of German abroad. In my contribution to the workshop, I would like to give the audience an overview of recent achievements, ongoing work and future plans in this area.

Sheena Shah (Hamburg)

German communities in rural South Africa: An overview of their history, sociolinguistic context and language varieties

German settlement in South Africa took place in various migration streams, beginning in the early 1700s. Today, German-speaking communities are scattered throughout the country; while most German speakers are concentrated in urban areas, a number of rural German settlements continue to exist. Rural German-speaking communities are predominantly found in three provinces in South Africa:

KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), Mpumalanga (MP) and North West (NW). In these communities, villagers speak various languages on a daily basis, including German, English, Afrikaans, and sometimes also a local African language. Institutions such as a German school and/or a Lutheran church often play an important role in bringing the community together and in promoting the use of German among villagers. Often a local variety of German continues to be spoken as an L₁ by most villagers in these rural German communities. The local varieties exist alongside Standard German, which is used in formal contexts, i.e. it is the main medium of instruction in German schools and the variety used in educational materials.

In this presentation, I will focus on five rural German-speaking communities in South Africa, namely Hermannsburg (KZN), Lüneburg (KZN), Piet Retief (MP), Gerdau (NW) and Kroondal (NW). The presentation opens with a brief historical overview of these German-speaking communities, followed by a description of the sociolinguistic situation of the speakers. The main part of the presentation is dedicated to the presentation and discussion of selected morphosyntactic and lexical characteristics of these local varieties. Examples from both spoken and written data are provided.

Patrick Wolf-Farré (Duisburg-Essen)

German minorities in Latin America: Towards a classification of former language islands

The German minorities in Latin America have always been sort of a side field of German ‘language island’-studies. Research on a bigger scale has mainly been made in Southern Brazil (cf. e.g. Altenhofen 2006) and regarding the Mennonites in various countries of Central and South America (cf. Siemens 2018, Kaufmann 1997). German minorities in other countries, such as Argentina, Uruguay, Chile or Paraguay, have been the focus of individual studies, smaller enclaves like those in Peru (Pozuzo) and Venezuela (Colonia Tovar) are yet to be analyzed regarding their linguistic situation. From a historical perspective, one could even add formerly German-speaking groups, especially German Jewish refugees in Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, and the Dominican Republic (cf. Kaplan 2010). But what do German immigrants from the mid-19th century in Chile or Brazil have in common with Volga Germans in Argentina, Mennonites in Mexico or German Jewish families in the Caribbean? Is it purposeful at all to study the respective German

communities within the individual national states, or are there entanglements to be looked at from a super-national perspective (cf. Penny 2017)? And which of these groups are or have ever been actual ‘language islands’?

In my talk, I want to present a first step towards a classification of these communities of German origin. The categorization is supposed to put the many cases of (possible) language islands in perspective. The goal is to get a clearer view on the situation of German minorities in Latin America, which could later on help set them into context with other groups of German origin throughout the world. My work is based on the ‘language island’-concept (as defined by Mattheier 1996) and comparative efforts concerning the Germans in Latin America (cf. especially Rosenberg 2003, 2018 and Altenhofen / Steffen 2013).

I plan to give a brief historical introduction to German immigration into Latin America, point out the various groups and locations and work towards commonalities. Given the research at hand, and since Germanic linguistics have been the starting point for the language island theory, I am firstly applying this categorization to (former or current) language islands of German-speaking origin. It is for future studies to find out whether this can be applied to cases of other languages as well. In theory, there is no reason why it shouldn’t be possible.

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hope to shed some new light on the interplay of language contact, variation and change.

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