A SWISS-GERMAN DIALECT STUDY:

THREE LINGUISTIC ISLANDS

IN MIDWESTERN U.S.A.

DISSEETATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
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By

Marion Roy Wenger, B. A., M. A.

* * *

The Ohio State University
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Approved by

[Signature]

Adviser

Department of German
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VITA

March 25, 1932  Born - Elkhart, Indiana

1958 . . . . . . B. A., Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana

1958-1959 . . German Government Scholar, Ruprecht-Karl University, Heidelberg, Germany

1961 . . . . . . M. A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1961-1962 . . Instructor, Department of Foreign Languages, Bethel College, Newton, Kansas

1963-1970 . . Associate Professor, German Department, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Germanistics

Studies in Germanic Linguistics. Professors Wolfgang Fleischhauer, Gerhard Eis, Peter Wapnewski

Studies in Germanic Literature. Professors Oskar Seidlin, Friedrich Sengle, Bert Nagei

Studies in Anthropological Linguistics. Professor Leonard Newmark
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INTRODUCTION

At the outset, a word of clarification is in order. A definition of the scope of the present work will help to explain its title. Just as it was a matter of immediate practical concern for the writer to set the limits of a feasible research project, so the reader will be served by a delimitation of the topic. Attention is directed, then, not to Swiss-German dialects in America at large, nor even more narrowly, to such as may be found in Ohio and Indiana; the focus here is on the description of one Swiss-German dialect as it is spoken in three communities in these two states.

This dialect of Swiss-German, whose geographical and historical location is detailed below, is commonly called "Schwyzerdütsch" by its native speakers, but in order to avoid a possible confusion with a group of dialects in the Swiss homeland currently referred to in the collective sense by the same name, the particular American variety treated here will be identified by the abbreviation SwdtA.

In this presentation, the description of the grammatical structure of SwdtA, is supplemented by selected representative texts which have been transcribed from the spoken language and a vocabulary which is
based on these and similar transcriptions undertaken by the author in the course of this research. But grammar and vocabulary have not been arranged according to the logic of a manual for the language-learner, for which purpose additional prescriptive rules of usage would be required. The aim of this work has been rather to provide an accurate and comprehensive description of the dialect as it is spoken and primarily in terms of its own inherent patterns and structure, although not to the exclusion of references to related dialects, past and present, at points which invite comparison. The main body of linguistic material is prefaced by an historical sketch of the social matrix of SwdtA. and a discussion of methods used in gathering the data which constitute the corpus upon which the description has been based.

Living language is, by definition, changing language. And the present state of SwdtA. is not only a product of the past—it is the present aspect of continuing change. Thus, to lift out one arbitrarily chosen moment in the sweep of change and to hold that one moment in artificial suspension for more deliberate examination will, of necessity, result in a time-bound document. In a larger perspective, however, the meaning of this descriptive work will reach beyond the purely momentary to the extent that it faithfully records that moment. The larger frame of reference is the historically self-conscious tradition of which SwdtA. is but one facet. At best, this study of SwdtA. will
reflect something of that sense of history as it contributes to the documentation of one immigrant sub-culture and of immigrant languages in America in general.
CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL
SETTING OF SWDTA.

1.0 The geographical location of the target communities
1.1 The rationale for selecting the communities
1.2 The communities as "linguistic islands"
1.3 The founding of the communities
1.4 Religious conservatism and dialect retention
1.5 Linguistic unity and religious plurality
1.6 The impact of English on the communities
1.0 It is not coincidental that of the three communities studied, Kidron, Ohio, a rural center located in Wayne County, is at once the easternmost and the earliest settlement in the group. A second area of concentration of speakers of SwdtA. embraces parts of Putnam County and Allen County in northwestern Ohio, in the Pandora-Bluffton area. The third and newest settlement is located in and around the town of Berne, Indiana, in Adams County. All three are bound by a common ethnic and religious heritage which can be traced back to the Canton of Berne, Switzerland; and since the migration to America in the nineteenth century, interchange and intermarriage between these communities have strengthened the ties. To be sure, differences in speech can be observed from one geographical group to another, from one family to another and indeed from one generation to another. But these differences are slight in comparison with the overwhelming similarities and they are best understood as variants of one uniform dialect, SwdtA., which is common to all three areas.¹

The Ohio communities are illustrations of the fact that local geographical-political subdivisions are not always coterminous with

¹Delbert Gratz, Bernese Anabaptists, pp. 141-172, gives the history of other communities settled by Swiss immigrants from the same tradition in Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Ohio, Ontario, Oregon and South Dakota.
"community" as conceived by the residents themselves. In identifying sub-varieties of SwdtA., based on contrasting speech forms in the three communities, the Swiss-speaking inhabitants of the rural area stretching south and east from Pandora toward Bluffton, Ohio, are referred to by their cousins as "Potnamer", while the Swiss community around Kidron is commonly called "Sonnebärg" in local parlance. Wherever necessary to distinguish the three linguistic communities in this work, preference is given to the older, native terms "Bärn", "Potnam" and "Sonnebärg", which antedate the present-day postal stations of Berne, Pandora and Bluffton, and Kidron.

1.1 The rationale for focusing on precisely these three communities in this investigation is based first on the fact of their linguistic interrelatedness, supported by a former confessional unity and a later common history of migration and resettlement, in terms of which they constitute a self-defining group. One could have broadened the investigation to include individuals and groups who left these settlements to carry the dialect to still other places. But the data collected here are adequate, both in terms of being sufficiently extensive and representative, for the purpose of description and for illustration of some few aspects of the linguistic usage of a minority group.

1.2 Inquiry into the present form of a Swiss-German dialect spoken in the American Midwest suggests a prior question. How did these SwdtA. communities come into being in the first place or, perhaps
more important, how have they survived the cultural leveling process in the New World "melting pot"? A full examination of the emergence and development of the dialect would lead beyond the scope of this work, but even for the strictly synchronic perspective, it is significant to note that SwdtA. has been spoken here for nearly a century and a half. Each settlement was eventually surrounded by English-speaking neighbors, resulting in a small enclave, or "island", of SwdtA. speakers, not only far removed from the linguistic mainstream in the Canton of Berne, but also effectively isolated by their speech from the more immediate English-language majority culture. To define SwdtA. functionally as the medium of exchange within a sub-culture and as one element which served to distinguish that sub-culture is to add another dimension to our description.

Through increased contact and communication with the outside world, these cultural in-groups gradually opened up and became at least partially integrated into the larger host culture, so that today even the linguistically conservative have become bilingual, with American English as a second language. This bilingualism necessitates adding a footnote to the figure of speech "linguistic island" used in the title. Whereas earlier it might have been possible to plot a sharp line of demarcation, either on a sociogram or on a geographical projection of the area in question and thus to outline a linguistic barrier or boundary which set apart the individual speaker of SwdtA.
and defined his community in contrast with majority usage, this is no longer the case. The locus of contact between American English and SwdtA. now lies within the bilingual individual. Although the process of acculturation has not yet been fully completed, even the individual who prefers to use SwdtA. with family and friends also communicates freely in English and thus he is no longer linguistically separated from the majority, except perhaps by his own choice, as he may choose to exclude an English-speaking person from a private conversation. According to a former simplistic classification, all non-Swiss-speaking people, regardless of origin, were categorically considered to be "Anglische". The extreme ethnocentricity reflected in this distinction is somewhat modified by the humorous connotation which usually attaches to its use today. But the full emotional impact of the word has not been lost, as is evidenced in the regret of a grandfather as his grandson took a wife who, although of ethnically pure Swiss stock, was "anglisch", that is, unable to speak SwdtA. and to pass it on to the great-grandchildren.

1.3 Four Swiss families who came to settle in Wayne County, Ohio, in 1819 brought with them the name of their former home in the Bernese Jura, Sonnenberg. They came from that center of Anabaptists.  

2 Known in England and France as Anabaptists and in America as Mennonites, after the Dutch Anabaptist leader Menno Simons, these Swiss simply referred to themselves as Brüder, or Brethren, avoiding the disparaging term Wiedertäufer.
in the vicinity of Tramelan, now in the Canton of Berne, attracted by the letter of one Bendicht Schrag, also an Anabaptist, who had preceded them to America. The new "Sonnebärg" which they founded in the wilderness of Ohio soon became a kind of foothold in the New World, a rallying point for their coreligionists, who followed in considerable numbers. Thus, of the three communities settled largely by direct migration of Swiss Anabaptists, "Sonnebärg" is the oldest. But its importance for the group of three is more than a matter of relative age. The strategic location of "Sonnebärg" made it a pivotal point in the stepping-stone migration of Bernese who followed the westward progression of new land settlement into the former Northwest Territory. From this jumping-off place in Wayne County came the founders of the Putnam County settlement in 1833 and five years later, in 1838, the first Swiss family to settle near the present Swiss center in Adams County, Indiana.

Much has been made of the search for religious freedom as a prime motivating factor in the colonization of America. In this case, however, economic considerations were at least equally important. For almost three centuries, the Anabaptists in Europe had survived religious intolerance and persecution, but for many, a precarious existence became unbearable following the lean years of 1816-1817. And just as the famine was compounding the problems of poverty and overcrowding in the Jura mountains, letters began to arrive from America,
full of the promise of the land beyond the Alleghenies and details of the passage from Switzerland to Ohio. "America fever" swept over Europe and in the next forty years many immigrants made that trek from the Bernese Emmental, from the Jura and from the forest of Normanvillars across the French border\(^3\); so many, in fact, that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were more Anabaptists of Bernese descent in America than in the homeland and some formerly thriving communities had become nearly extinct.

But a discussion of the virtual emptying of a community in the European homeland or of transplanted Swiss communities in America may tend to magnify unduly the size of this migration. In terms of total numbers, it was not a large movement, comprising some 1,200 in the sixty-year period following the famine year of 1816, according to the estimate of one historian.\(^4\) Nor was it a mass movement in terms of transferring intact a large group or an entire community at once, although in one peak year, 1852, about eighty Anabaptists came to "Sonnebärg", most of whom subsequently went on to find homes in the same area in Adams County, Indiana. Despite the more normal pattern of sporadic movement in limited numbers, it is altogether appropriate to speak of community migration. For the newly-arrived

\(^3\)In the Terretoire de Belfort, Alsace, France.

\(^4\)C. Henry Smith, Mennonites in America, p. 241
families and individuals typically sought out their own kind—relatives or at least those of similar origin and common faith with them.

Thus, "Sonnebärg", "Bärn", and "Potam" became first rural, European, Anabaptist communities reconstituted in America. In their language, as well as in social customs and religious belief and practices, they preserved the Emmental culture which had been carried from the Canton of Berne to predominantly French-speaking areas in the Jura and Vosges mountains early in the eighteenth century by refugees from religious oppression. Anabaptists had long incurred the wrath of Church and State in Berne by refusing, for reasons of conscience, to swear the oath or to bear arms. Inasmuch as religious beliefs, particularly the latter tenet of non-violence or non-resistance, figure as contributing factors in the mixed motivation of this latter-day exodus, the migration to America was but another stage in the progressive dispersion of Bernese Anabaptists. 5

1.4 Thus far, the story is much the same as for many other immigrant groups which have been assimilated into the larger American culture, retaining only vestiges of their former self-identity. And so one might expect to find a gradual accommodation to American cultural patterns on the part of the first-generation Swiss born in America, not without some resistance from the "older generation", of course,

5The primary historical source for this entire section was Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists*
leading to an intergenerational conflict that is resolved only with the passing of the older, original settlers.\(^6\) It should not be surprising that the SwdtA. communities have undergone a similar process of adaptation to a new environment. The striking thing is the extent to which it remains only a partial acculturation, the tenacity with which some cultural patterns have been preserved, among others, the Swiss-German dialect.

Along with a distinctive language, one of the most important unifying factors in the establishment and maintenance of these communities was religious conformity, not to be confused with absolute homogeneity. For already in Europe there were doctrinal differences and factions which had divided the Anabaptist churches. But prominent in the scale of values which survived such internal divisions was the doctrine of non-conformity to the "world". And the corollary to this doctrine was a high degree of in-group conformity, enforced by the double-edged blade of church discipline and social pressure. Within a given congregation, both aspects of the conformity/non-conformity principle were spelled out in terms of formal and informal sanctions, although the outward forms varied from time to time and from place to place. The actual manifestations of this principle have sometimes

\(^6\) For general observations on the retention of immigrant languages in America, see Joshua A. Fishman et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States*, especially Chapter 2.
caught the fancy of curiosity seekers. A ban on buttons or a rejection of modern labor-saving devices, to name just two such "quaint" customs, are in themselves of less importance for our consideration here. More important is the fact that the non-conformist, isolationist world view which underlies them and which was originally founded in a very literal and practical interpretation of the Biblical injunction to come apart and be separate from an unregenerated world is still a functionally operative force today, outlasting all the changing outward signs it has evoked.

Inevitably, changes have come and "Sonnebärg", once the model of a closed ethno-religious community, now embraces a wide range of varying degrees of conservatism in religious practice and social norms in general. And perhaps it was also inevitable that those changes which brought the SwdtA. communities closer to the mainstream of American culture, including the adoption of American English, have had a religious dimension in addition to the purely social implications. In any case, it is clear that a conservative religious orientation was influential in retarding linguistic change and, if the foregoing analysis is correct, not alone by reason of an unthinking resistance to change, but because SwdtA. was an integral part of the self-definition of the in-group. For the individual, SwdtA. was an identification mark which served to distinguish him from the "English" world around him.
In "Sonnebürg", as later in "Potnam" and in "Bärn", the rural location suited the background and occupational skills of the Anabaptist settlers as well as it did their separatist views toward society. In the remote setting which promised to favor the preservation of the integrity of such a small sub-culture, a livelihood was assured these European peasants who cleared the land and developed a thriving agriculture. Unlike some utopian experiments on the Western frontier, the SwdtA. communities transplanted a solidly established way of life and historical tradition. A fair evaluation of this tradition must take into account its basically rural nature and origin. Today, farming no longer occupies a major sector of the labor force, but ruralism continues to influence thinking and values in these communities and has become subtly interwoven with religious motives.

1.5 A crude test of the present viability of the dialect was suggested by a comment frequently heard from SwdtA. speakers over forty years of age to the effect that they spoke SwdtA. almost exclusively before attending an English-language public school. Inquiry on the point revealed that in the present generation, pre-schoolers who can speak SwdtA. better than English are few and to be found primarily in families which are more conservative in religious practice and, often enough, live on the farm. In the view of the author, this further confirms the correlation between linguistic conservatism and
religious conservatism. But although the church is the largest single institution in these communities, membership in the SwdtA. linguistic community is no longer synonymous with membership in any one religious or church group.

Over the years, the specific doctrinal emphasis on religious conformity which had been a prime cohesive factor in the founders' generation gradually lost its former intensity. The principle of local unity, which had once been espoused somewhat idealistically as an article of faith, gave way to the reality of divisions within the church and religious pluralism. But at the same time that the doctrine of non-conformity was being interpreted more liberally, it became clear that the influence on the community by the church, as institution, was broader than that one doctrine. For the various emerging churches and denominations now shared the social significance of the mother congregation, serving as social centers of focus in the community.

The native historiography of the SwdtA. communities recognized the central importance of the church as an institution in the life of the community. One example must suffice: Eva Sprunger's *The First Hundred Years: A History of the Mennonite Church in Adams County, Indiana, 1838-1938*. On the occasion of the first centennial, personal anecdotes and character sketches were gleaned from collective memory and recorded in a familiar manner reminiscent of a reunion within an extended family. But as is indicated by the sub-title, this a local
church history and in historical outline, *The First Hundred Years* recalls a century marked by the tenures of outstanding church leaders, by times of unusual religious stirring and by church construction dates.

1.6 Looking at these local histories with the dialectologist's bias, it is interesting to note that little is said concerning the language which, after all, gave these three communities a rather unique character in comparison to the neighboring towns. The first major external event of sufficient consequence to be recorded in the history of "Bährn" was World War I, which had a considerable impact on internal community affairs, including church activities. But up to that point in history, the chronicler had more or less tacitly assumed the general use of SwdtA. in colloquial speech and the specialized, but socially significant use of High German as a liturgical language just as it was taken for granted that occasional quotes in the original SwdtA. and dialect nicknames interspersed throughout the book would be self-explanatory.

But now outside events abruptly accelerated a change in linguistic usage which had been so gradual that it was hardly considered worthy of mention and the balance of influence between SwdtA., American English and High German heretofore accepted as the *status quo*, was irreversibly shifted. Owing to the war and growing anti-German sentiment in America, even the peace-loving Swiss Mennonite farmers came under suspicion because their God understood German and in
a relatively short time, English came to replace High German in the church services of the First Mennonite Church in Berne.

English-language services were first introduced on a regular basis in 1914 or 1915, beginning with one Sunday evening meeting a month. By 1918, there was an English service every Sunday evening and by 1922, a monthly Sunday morning service had been inaugurated. Soon thereafter, the use of High German was limited to every other Sunday morning and then to one Sunday morning a month. The change also affected church auxiliaries such as the Men's Choral Society, the Temperance Society and Sunday School organizations, which had had German-language origins. English also gradually supplanted German in church-related activities in the two Ohio communities at about the same time, and for the same reasons.

It should be noted that the official adoption of English by the church was also a source of inner tensions within other immigrant communities of similar background, where the traditional liturgical language was relinquished amid conflicts subsumed under the label "das Sprachproblem". Although on the surface of things there appears to have been a rapid turnover from German to English, the "language problem" cannot be attributed solely to anti-German pressures from without, for there was a growing tendency toward wider acceptance of

Sprunger, The First Hundred Years, p. 90
English in secular affairs within the SwdtA. community before the war. But war hysteria and the concomitant super-patriotic reaction to everything German provided the catalyst which accelerated the process of linguistic change. Had it not been for strong public sentiment, accentuated by sporadic forays into the community and overt acts of hostility, it is unlikely that those charged with religious authority would have yielded so readily such a cornerstone of religious practice. The private, everyday use of SwdtA. was also adversely affected by anti-German feelings after the war, but to a lesser degree.

High German is still used liturgically on rare occasions, such as a group visit by Swiss coreligionists, or the annual "Swiss Day" celebration in Bluffton or the quarterly German hymn-sing in the old Sonnenberg church near Kidron. But years of disuse are taking their toll and one informant confided that the High German spoken at such public gatherings is "pretty much Swiss". Rare as they are, these special services are heavy with nostalgia for older residents who recall the days when the very idea of addressing the deity in English would have been considered an "outlandish", or alien thought or even downright frivolous. For their grandchildren, on the other hand, an all-(Swiss)German church service is an equally novel experience today.

For many older speakers of SwdtA., English remains the language of commerce with outsiders and of book learning and a pale
substitute indeed for their native idiom, with its emotional loading, particularly in the area of humor. "Get two people talking SwdtA. together", according to an oft-repeated assertion, "and they'll be laughing over a joke within minutes." And it is understandable that for them, SwdtA. has a depth of connotations going back to the very first songs, sayings and children's rhymes learned in mother's arms or on father's knee long before attending English-language public school. A selection of items from the oral "literature" of the SwdtA. communities is attached in an appendix of interest to the folklorist as well as to the linguist.
CHAPTER II

THE COLLECTION OF THE DATA

2.0 Inter-relatedness of the target communities
2.1 Gaining access to the informants
2.2 First contacts with the informants
2.3 The selection of informants
2.4 The interview procedure
2.0 During a preliminary sampling of the SwdtA. dialect near Kidron, Ohio, it immediately became apparent that restricting this investigation to a narrower study of the speech of that one community would present something of a problem. For it so happened that among the first five informants contacted, all of them long-time residents of "Sonnebärg", three were in fact natives of "Bärn". Their speech confirmed the strong similarities between the two communities where they have lived, but the informants themselves were quick to point out some of the differences as well. Moves by such individuals, whether through marriage outside the home community or through option moves from one community to another, have resulted in an intermixture of the speech forms of all three communities. Largely because of the presence in each community of some native speakers of SwdtA. not born locally, it was decided to examine simultaneously the speech of all three, "Bärn", "Potnam" and "Sonnebärg", with special attention to be given to those forms considered unique to one community or to another.

2.1 The limited size and the relative compactness of each of the three communities studied were decidedly advantageous. All of the collection of data could be done by the author working alone, thus avoiding the difficulties of correlating the findings of several investigators. In order to coordinate the efforts of a team of investigators,
the interview must be planned with emphasis on uniformity of approach and consistency to assure accuracy in the reported findings. The independent investigator, on the other hand, enjoys more flexibility in tailoring the interview to suit the circumstances. The interview format and methods which proved most successful are dealt with in the discussion of the research instrument below.

The actual work of collecting the linguistic data was facilitated by SwdtA.-speaking friends and acquaintances of the author who helped to make the all-important first contacts and to open the door for later visits. Given the entree provided by a few key introductions and the Swiss Anabaptist background and family name of the author (although himself not a SwdtA. speaker), it was not difficult to gain access to many homes and to establish rapport rather quickly with a variety of informants. There was an occasional reminder of the importance of proper identification as, for instance, when the author, a conspicuous stranger in a small town where almost everyone knows everyone, was mistaken for a door-to-door salesman and treated accordingly—just one of the minor occupational hazards of dialect research. Usually, however, a brief explanation of the proposed study of SwdtA. was sufficient to change an initial reticence into warm and even enthusiastic cooperation.

2.2 One device used successfully on first meeting with a new informant was a small portable tape recorder-player with a sampler tape.
Short excerpts in SwdtA, which had been pre-recorded for the purpose of demonstration (with the consent of the speakers) were played on a battery-powered Norelco "Carry-corder" to illustrate something of the interview procedure. The portability of this machine enabled the investigator to conduct the first conversation anywhere, unrestricted by the need for a power source or sound control which subsequent interview-recording sessions required. The sound of a neighbor's voice seldom failed to "break the ice" conversationally and to establish an easy and informal atmosphere for the interview. One of the great favorites on the sampler was a story of more than average interest to the dialect researcher, although for a different reason. In this evidently well-worn tale, the speech impediment of a distant relative was mimicked by the raconteur, with humorous comments on that unfortunate person's peculiar idiolect of SwdtA. 1

In each interview, the first concern was to set the informant at ease and to minimize any self-consciousness, particularly regarding his speech. In a number of instances, when the conversational medium shifted from English to SwdtA., there was a clearly observable release of inhibitions on the part of the informant. This was especially striking in the classic case of one rather reserved married

1 Idiolect is understood to be the personal variety of the community language spoken by one individual. For a discussion, with illustrations, of the speech of the individual vis-à-vis the speech of his community, cf.#5.4
couple who expressed polite interest throughout a discussion in English of the objectives of the interview. They then evidenced an abrupt change of character as they spontaneously improvised a hilarious dialogue based on the situation suggested by a "story-without-words" picture shown them. In their bantering in SwdtA, they were much more unaffected and momentarily oblivious to the intruding stranger and his recording apparatus. By way of explanation, they later offered this opinion, often confirmed by other informants, "If you want to say something funny, you just have to say it in SwdtA." It is interesting to note that in the instructions given with the picture, the subjects were simply invited to say something about it. It was not suggested that this was to be entertaining or amusing nor that they do it by dramatizing or playing roles, as they did. The element of humor which they injected into their interpretation was as much their own as the impromptu dialogue.

2.3 In general, the strategy for selecting informants was to include persons of differing educational backgrounds, of various occupations, both male and female representatives of all four living generations. Those who were interviewed registered an awareness that American English has been gradually replacing SwdtA. in everyday speech. In the absence of reliable statistics, however, one of the challenges of this study was to try to quantify in some way the use of SwdtA. at this
point in the transition. Unfortunately there are no figures to indicate how many people use SwdtA., how well they speak it or how often it is sued. But on the basis of inquiry during the field work, the following generalization is offered as an observation, not as a prediction: young marrieds now between the ages of twenty-five and forty are in the last generation to speak SwdtA. as fluently as English. This age group was taken as the basis for a four-generation age scale and the majority of informants were drawn from this generation and from their parents' generation. Much less numerous were those of the grandparents' generation, although they were frequently recommended because of the alleged "authenticity" of their SwdtA. speech. ² Despite special efforts to seek out SwdtA.-speaking children, particularly those of pre-school age, very few of them were actually contacted and interviewed.

The field work on this project was done mainly during the summers of the years 1963-66, a time-span too brief to measure a trend toward the increased use of English. But the fact that SwdtA. speakers are proportionately fewer among the young may be taken as one indication. The incursions of English may be seen at another level as well, for even among those who have not abandoned the use of

²For more on the popular conception among SwdtA. informants of "authentic", or "pure" vs. "corrupt" dialect speech, cf. #5.2 ff.
SwdtA., it is not uncommon for a young informant to apologize for the admixture of English in his dialect speech, often with the suggestion that in the SwdtA. of his parents and grandparents, such was not the case. But the vitality of SwdtA. is not in direct proportion to the age of its speakers and it would be an error of oversimplification to identify the active use of it solely with the oldest members of the community, perhaps thereby inferring that they are destined to pass from the scene together.

To do so would be to overlook an additional factor of importance in the distribution of SwdtA. which has already been mentioned in the discussion of religious non-conformity. Whereas one informant ventured the opinion that few SwdtA. speakers under forty years of age could be found, this judgment was contradicted by a minister of a more conservative church in the same community who said that there were many such. And indeed there were, within the latter's circles. The correlation between conservatism in religious practice and the longer retention of the immigrant dialect was borne out by the research findings and, in retrospect, amply justified an early decision to include among the criteria for selecting informants a consideration of the prospect's religious affiliation.

In interviewing some informants of ultra-conservative persuasion, a minor, but interesting technical problem arose. Their cooperation
was secured through the good offices of mutual friends, but because of religious scruples, they sometimes were reluctant to permit a tape recorder in the home to record the interview. These tapes had proven to be such an invaluable supplement to and control check on the handwritten notes taken down during the interview that it became almost standard procedure to record a sample of each informant's SwdtA. speech wherever practical. In cases where there was any hesitation to accept the idea of recording, of course, care was taken to respect the sensibilities of the informant(s).

One promising opportunity to record the speech of those least influenced by American English turned into a disappointment. A young couple had tentatively agreed to permit a taped interview with their children, all of them nearly monolingual speakers of SwdtA., a rarity in these basically bilingual communities. The parents, although bilingual themselves, spoke SwdtA. almost exclusively with the children, who were not yet old enough to attend public school and had never heard an English-language radio or television broadcast in the home, because of a religious ban on such "questionable means of entertainment". Perhaps the tape recorder's remote family resemblance to these taboo electronic gadgets prompted the firm, but polite withdrawal of the invitation and the parents could not be dissuaded by a compromise offer to omit the recording equipment from the interview.
2.4 In most of the homes visited, where radio and television have taken their places along with the telephone, there was no resistance to voice recording beyond a self-conscious reaction which might well be considered natural when attention is called to the normally unpremeditated act of speech. After the first conversation with a new informant, in which the objectives and methods of the study were explained, subsequent sessions were scheduled and usually permission to record was obtained. A Wollensak T-1500 Stereo tape recorder and Warren Radio hi-fidelity magnetic tape were used to make these recordings, often under acoustic conditions somewhat less than ideal. All excerpts to be used for closer phonetic comparisons and a few voice solos were recorded at 7 1/2 ips, whereas slow speed recordings (3 3/4 ips) were made of undirected conversations primarily of lexical interest and some lengthy public programs in SwdtA, which had to be recorded under adverse conditions.

In the typical recording session, two or three informants engaged in an exchange in SwdtA., while the investigator assumed a more incidental role, breaking in occasionally to ask a question or to give direction to the conversation. A man and wife, or a grandson and grandfather, two brothers or two neighbors were invited to discuss topics suggested by an illustrated manual designed specifically for this purpose by the author. Single informants were not questioned steadily during the recording, but were encouraged to
develop a sustained monologue, with occasional prompting by the investigator kept to a minimum. The aim in all of this was to elicit short samples of SwdtA, speech approaching an ideal of normal, unaffected pronunciation, intonation, diction and rate of delivery.

The dialectologist-observer should seek to work as inobtrusively as possible, but in actual practice, the ideal of non-interference with normal speech patterns can be attained only in part. Even in the rare case that the investigator were a permanent resident and had the leisure to overhear and note various random bits of linguistic usage in a given community, the value of his findings would be diminished by the enormous extent of time required to gather data at such a glacial rate. Instead of relying on pure chance and infinite patience, the non-resident investigator will more likely yield to the demands of time and accelerate the collection process by means of a research instrument designed to elicit certain selected items. There is an element of compromise involved here, however, for such an instrument has the disadvantage of sacrificing, to some degree, the naturalness of the ambience in which the speech act normally occurs. At best the very presence of an outside investigator is abnormal to the situation and will inevitably have an effect on normal speech. At the very worst, the informant will consciously alter his speech to try to conform to what he thinks will be pleasing to the investigator. In the present study, for instance, it was noted that some SwdtA, informants who had once studied High German,
upon learning that the author was a German professor, deliberately skewed their responses toward "Schriftdüütsch" or came up with obscure terms which were rarely used locally, but which reflected their knowledge of the literary standard.

2.41 A widely-accepted instrument for dialect research, particularly for research oriented toward word geography, is the questionnaire, consisting of a battery of questions calculated to bring to mention certain specific linguistic forms. A key to the successful use of the questionnaire is consistency. Each interview must be conducted in the same manner and the questions must be put to each informant in the same way to assure a reliable basis for comparison. The strictest practitioners of the questionnaire technique would have all questions formulated in detail prior to the interview and follow a rigid, predetermined format during the interview. This highly controlled method of inquiry is non-specific only in the sense that the actual words or phrases sought after are suggested to the informant, rather than precisely and openly stated. In the most radical form of the questionnaire imaginable, even the oblique questions could be eliminated, leaving only the answers, i.e. explicitly stated words and phrases to be echoed by the informant in his own native speech. A well-known application of this principle is the set of forty "test sentences" sent by Georg Wenker to over 40,000 school districts.
in Germany to survey regional variants. Dialectologists have since criticized this method because it produced only translations of the sentences originally composed in the standard literary language and because Wenker's survey was conducted indirectly, with linguistically untrained correspondents reporting for each locality. In a more recent and more refined research effort, investigators for the Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz (SDS) undertook a direct oral-interview of the German-speaking areas of Switzerland based on an extensive questionnaire numbering 2600 separate items.

In the development of any such research instrument, it is customary to submit it to a field trial in order to determine how appropriate it is to the research problem. In the case of the SDS research, for example, careful construction and pre-testing of the questionnaire were essential, since it was to be administered uniformly by a team of investigators, thus precluding any "tinkering" with the final form of the questionnaire to adapt to unforeseen conditions or unanticipated responses. The format and techniques used in collecting data for the

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3 The Wenker sentences (ca. 1880) formed the basis for the research leading to the Deutscher Sprachatlas (DSA). The maps of the atlas itself have been promoted as a research instrument rather than as research findings. The author concurs with Wesche's opinion that speech samples elicited by means of the WS are something other than "die heutige Mundart in all ihren Schattierungen, wie sie an Ort und Stelle gesprochen wird", his object of study and mine as well, cf. Pretzel Festgabe, pp. 355-368.
present study underwent a similar modification and development in connection with preliminary sampling and testing of various devices. The research instrument which evolved during the testing phase both reflects those first experiences in the field and also reveals the author's considerable indebtedness to other dialectologists who have gone before, but it departs from the conventional questionnaire in important ways which merit an explanation.

2.411 In examining the decision not to use a rigid questionnaire, two basic facts should be kept in mind. First, unlike word geographical studies which plot the distribution of dialects by comparing \( X \) different variants of a given form or forms, as found in \( X \) different locations, our aim was to describe a single, uniform dialect which was already geographically defined. The main objective, therefore, was not to lead each informant to produce the same given form or list of forms in response to questioning. Rather, within topical limits suggested by the interviewer, the informant was led to take the initiative in conversing in his native dialect, either with other speakers of SwdtA. or with the interviewer, thus generating a corpus upon which the description could be based.

2.412 A second consideration has to do with the contact language used in elicitation. Although all informants were bilingual in English and SwdtA., they were literate only in English, with few exceptions, since
their native SwdtA. is an unwritten language. Only a few could read and write the literary language most closely related to SwdtA., i.e. High German. Consequently, elicitation materials, particularly in printed form, which were formulated in High German were of limited use. Despite their doubtful validity for this study, the Wenker sentences were used with several SwdtA. speakers as a trial procedure and in the anticipation that the responses would offer an interesting comparison with related Swiss dialect forms measured by that same standard in Switzerland itself. Predictably, there were difficulties. In some cases, the High German model sentence was only partially or incorrectly understood. Other informants who understood German better sporadically produced mixed forms which were neither SwdtA. nor High German, but something in between the two.

High German was not the only potential source of interference. Although the interviewer's passive comprehension of SwdtA. was fair to good initially, his inability to speak it imposed an added handicap in conducting the first interviews. And even with an increasingly active command of SwdtA., it was necessary to rely mainly on English, with occasional recourse to High German, to draw out the informant, even at the calculated risk of influencing his or her diction. For in a sizable sector of the vocabulary of SwdtA., American English loan words are in competition with or have already replaced the older
forms historically derived from Alemannic. Indeed, the extent of this vocabulary drift promised to be an interesting aspect of the larger study of SwdtA. from the very beginning. In order to discover which of two competing forms an informant would prefer, the interviewer was at pains to avoid mentioning either an English or High German equivalent which, by suggestion, might have prejudiced the choice in favor of the loan from English or the synonym from Alemannic derivation.

2.413 A second device was administered on a trial basis, as were the Wenker sentences, to a limited number of people in each community. Following R. E. Keller's discussion of regional variants and rural/urban contrasts within the speech of the Canton of Berne, a list of sixty-three words and phrases was compiled, focusing on the peculiarities of Bärndüütsch. Each item was presented on a separate flash-card with a High German cue on one side and an English cue on the reverse. The informant was offered the High German word first and was allowed to look at the English for confirmation before producing the SwdtA. equivalent. The interviewer gave further oral confirmation upon request by pronouncing the German word on the card. As with the Wenker sentences, informants who read High German fluently were most successful and the same general limitations of

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4See the entire second section of the chapter on word formation, #5.2 "Borrowed elements in SwdtA." below.

5R. E. Keller, German Dialects, p. 88
visual verbal stimuli were encountered, but since all informants could also read English, the secondary cue in English was usually adequate to clarify any misunderstanding. The responses provided a helpful profile of the phonology of SwdtA., although there are no plans at present to pursue the comparison with Bärndüütsch in Switzerland.

A full list of High German and English cues is attached in Appendix A.

It should be recalled at this point that both the Wenker sentences and the list of key words cited by Keller were designed with European circumstances in mind and they had to be adapted to the present, basically different situation. The Wenker sentences required some interpretation and the Keller list was amplified as the research progressed. As may be seen from the discussion of the questionnaire, both of these devices are highly specific, or explicit, with reference to the relationship of query to response. Two additional elicitation procedures were followed with more success, both of them less specific in this narrow sense of verbal explicitness, but tailored more directly to the sociocultural context of SwdtA. in America. Both have as their point of departure the illustrated manual referred to above.

2.42 To provide a conversation starter, the author put together a forty-page portfolio of colored illustrations and line drawings in black and white which depict objects and activities familiar to the SwdtA. informant. Graphic representations of various kinds have been used in linguistic research, but the immediate inspiration for this conversation
piece came from an experimental elicitation manual developed by Dr. Stanley Sapon. But whereas Sapon's booklet aimed at culture-free vocabulary and universal emotions and experiences, the focus was narrowed deliberately in the SwdtA. manual to the unique blend of Bernese Anabaptist culture and Midwestern American rural life.

Such a manual is, most simply stated, but one abstraction removed from real situations and concrete objects to which the investigator might refer. Instead of touring the farm buildings to inquire after implement names, for example, pictures of the tools are offered to the informant for identification. In addition to obvious economies of time and energy, the illustrated manual shares the main advantage to be gained by referring directly to concrete objects in that it provides a non-verbal stimulus.

2.421 In view of the special vocabulary problem with pairs of competing synonyms in SwdtA. and the desirability of obtaining an unbiased response, a non-verbal stimulus, such as a picture, recommends itself particularly for its non-suggestiveness. Ideally, the image should be unambiguous as well as non-suggestive (the two are not mutually exclusive attributes), but here the limitations of graphics and the possibility of impaired perception enter in. For instance, the informant

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may be far-sighted, or simply unfamiliar with pictures or otherwise unable to associate readily graphic image and object, as has been suggested in Hotzenköcherle's criticism of this approach in the introductory volume of the SDS. 7 Perhaps difficulties of this sort are generally more prevalent; among SwdtA. speakers they constituted a negligible hindrance. But the use of graphics entails physical hazards of two main types, as has just been noted. In addition to deficiencies on the part of the informant, there is the possibility of error owing to technically inferior or poorly prepared materials. Gross misidentification of familiar objects seen out of context can occur, but in the examples cited by Hotzenköcherle (a red beet mistaken for a radish, a berry mistaken for a cherry), one wonders if the quality of the illustrations used were not to blame if the pictorial method failed, rather than the method itself.

Ambiguity may result, then, from human or material shortcomings; fortunately, something can be done in the latter case to increase the effectiveness of the elicitation materials, just as other field techniques are improved through experience. The first SwdtA. informants who worked with proof pages of the proposed manual suggested helpful changes, such as enlarging the line drawings and adding more color. These changes were incorporated into the final version

7R. Hotzenköcherle, Einführung in den Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz, Volume A, p. 18
and at the suggestion of one housewife and mother, a color section of
special interest and visual appeal for children was added. In general
categories, the balance of content could be summarized as follows:
1) housework, home and the family, five pages; 2) foods, provisions
and shopping, seven pages; 3) wild-life, weather and natural environ-
ment, ten pages; 4) the farm, farm-work and farm-related vocations,
sixteen pages; 5) children's world, five pages; 6) descriptive adjectives
and contrasting attributives, one page and 7) religion, one page. Some
samples of the illustrations used are attached in Appendix B.

2. 422 Line drawings were used throughout the manual and were
complemented by colored illustrations in all categories but six and
seven. These line drawings furnish excellent detail, thanks to a tech-
nique employed in some polyglot illustrated dictionaries. Each item
on the plate bears a number and in the dictionary, a legend would iden-
tify the items by number in separate, parallel lists of words. For the
present purpose, however, the glossed legends are omitted and the en-
tire picture or any desired part of it may become the focus of attention.
The informant can describe the picture in his own words or identify
any detail upon request without being influenced in his choice of words
by the interviewer. This type of non-verbal stimulus is nearly ideal,
since it meets so well the double criterion set out above. It is first
unambiguous, for the investigator can refer directly and unmistakably
to any desired detail: "What is 3?" "What is 4 doing to 5?" "How would you describe 6 in comparison to 7?" and of course the numerals 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are eminently non-suggestive, a desideratum when one is dealing with the bilingual whose first language shows an admixture of elements borrowed from his second language. An incidental by-product of the informant's total absorption with words and things is his unaffected rendition of the numerals themselves. In such unguarded moments, his pronunciation may well differ from the citation form used when he counts self-consciously, as in a rote series.

The forte of the line drawing is that it lends itself well to the pursuit of names of many objects, activities and characteristics. The same tableau of a cow stable could be read in several ways. The picture of a cow could be taken to represent the species and lead to equivalents for "milch cow", "calf", "bull", "heifer", etc. Or a wealth of detail could be identified: stanchion, milk stool, bucket, strainer, manger, etc. Or again, the method of milking depicted could evoke a comparison of old-fashioned and modern farming methods.

2.423 Color plates with much less detail proved to be equally adequate for the latter, more general discussion of farm-related activities, which came easily for the majority of SwdtA. informants. The great favorites were color photos of cheese-making and apple butter-cooking, which prompted vivid and involved recollections of the whole
process. Here, the picture itself simply provided the background idea; the detail came from the informant's own experience.

By contrast with the drawings, the color of these situational pictures enhanced the overall attractiveness of the manual. Apart from this general esthetic effect, however, color also served to accentuate certain details, notably in the illustrations of crops, fruits and vegetables which were otherwise too similar in shape and size to be distinguishable in black and white. A combination of the two media produced optimum results, as in the two-page spread which duplicated the interior of an old-fashioned country variety store. Seen side by side, the color page invariably caught the informant's eye first, while the black and white analog required closer scrutiny. Spontaneous first reactions and broad observations were thus aptly complemented and balanced by careful consideration of detail. This encouraged the informants to follow their own interests and still reserved for the investigator a measure of control of the situation in order to avoid aimless wandering.

2. 424 The pictorial elicitation manual places in the hands of the informant something familiar, something captivating enough to counter the novelty of being interviewed. The presence of the investigator is less distracting with the manual prominently in the center of attention, but he continues to give direction to the interview nonetheless, whether
cast in the role of interlocutor or of interested listener. There is not
a high degree of overt control in this use of the manual, but the inves-
tigator is actually not so much passive as unobtrusive by comparison
with the researcher who works with a rigid questionnaire.

Perhaps the best evaluation of the manual comes from the inform-
ants themselves. One gentleman who was interviewed twice, once with
the picture-book and once without it, complained on the second meeting
that he couldn't think of a thing to say, although he had been quite vol-
uble before. He quickly analyzed the problem for himself; the suggest-
iveness of the visual stimulus was the missing, determinative factor.

[zo òpis xont òim nd zo gra:di n xɔpf
i muas òpis kæ: das i xa: bryxtæ dærvæææ]

'That sort of thing doesn't just come to mind.
I have to see something so that I can talk about it.'

2.425 A secondary use of the manual which evolved quite naturally
out of the first was even more informant-centered, or conversely,
even less controlled by the investigator. The informant was invited
to expand at will on any topic he might associate, however freely,
with the graphic image, which functioned mainly as a conversation
primer. Autobiographical reminiscences of this sort tend to ramble
and to become highly personal, even embarrassingly so at times.
But among all the extraneous particulars and potentially awkward

8Speaker 23 in an interview.
moments, the patient and sympathetic listener will be rewarded to discover important clues to the social meaning of language. And along with the local customs and folkways which come to light and which properly belong in the province of the folklorist, there are to be found fragments of formula-bound language.

In the present research, for example, the author was pleasantly surprised by the serendipitous discovery of a modest tradition of proverbial sayings and folk songs in SwdtA, which were proffered by the first informants, even before the elicitation strategy outlined in this chapter was fully formulated. Although unwritten, they have been preserved and handed down in a conventional form which makes them extraordinarily resistant to change. As "fossilized" linguistic forms, they must occupy a special place alongside the main body of a description of present-day SwdtA., but they are equally deserving of the descriptivists' attention as are the more recent attempts to use contemporary SwdtA. as a vehicle for poetry and pageant drama—a rudimentary vernacular literature intended more for the ear than for the eye.

Topically, the elicitation probes ranged far and wide to obtain a representative sampling of SwdtA. Individual responses often went beyond expectations, as has been seen. And collectively, the SwdtA. speakers of the three communities contributed, often enough in high
good humor, to a linguistic aggregate upon which the following study could be based. Their generous cooperation during this phase of the research is deeply appreciated.
CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY

3.0 Introductory

3.1 Linear phoneme inventory

3.2 Consonants

3.3 Semi-vowels

3.4 Vowels

3.5 Phonotactics

3.6 Phonemic effects

3.7 Sound system in comparative perspective
3.0 In this chapter, two aspects of the sound structure of SwdtA. are treated. The primary emphasis here is on the patterning of phonemes, which are listed along with their allophonic variations. Secondarily, the SwdtA. sound system is seen in comparative perspective, with reference to historically related Upper German dialects.

The deliberate use of such terms as "structure", "patterning" and "system" in this presentation of SwdtA. phonology will make it abundantly clear that the individual sounds will be described first as interrelated elements in an integrated system of sounds, rather than merely listed accumulatively as separate items in an inventory of phonology. For this immediate purpose of emphasizing the interrelatedness of SwdtA. sounds, a broad phonemic transcription provides optimum clarity.

A further objective in this work will be to convey something of the actual pronunciation of SwdtA. to the uninitiated reader, and that purpose is best served by a closer transcription. Accordingly, although the phonemic structure as outlined here is reflected in general by the transcription system used throughout the remaining chapters, the chief allophones are subsequently transcribed rather more closely as an aid to the reader.
3. 1  The linear phonemes which constitute the basic units of the sound system consist of:

- 17 consonants,
- 3 semi-vowels,
- 11 stressed vowels,
  of which 10 have long analogs and
  of which 8 may function as leading elements of vowel glides, plus
- 1 unstressed vowel.

3. 2  The consonant system of SwdtA. may be described in terms of the following parameters: (1) point of articulation (labial or labiodental, alveolar, palato-alveolar, velar, glottal); (2) manner of articulation (stops, affricates, fricatives in a dual series, nasals, apical trill); and (3) intensity of articulation (lenis, fortis). This latter contrast, lenis ≠ fortis, is phonemically distinctive only for stops and front fricatives (labio-dental and alveolar).

  All sonorants, comprising the apico-alveolar trill and the nasals are, by definition, voiced. All other consonants lack any significant degree of voicing. In other words, the presence or absence of voicing is never a phonemically distinctive feature. In the stop series, the diacritical marks serve as a reminder that in SwdtA, the contrast is essentially lenis ≠ fortis, not voiced ≠ voiceless, as is the case in the contrasting stop series symbolized /p, t, k/ ≠ /b, d, g/ in Modern High German and in English.
Table 1.

CONSONANTS

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Bi-labial or labio-dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Affricate)</td>
<td>(pf)</td>
<td>(ts)</td>
<td>(tʃ)</td>
<td>kʃ</td>
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<tr>
<th>Fricative</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonorant</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3.21 The lenis stops in initial, medial and final position:

/b/: [p] before and after fricatives, [b] elsewhere:

/blats/ 'place' [blats] /bšla:/ 'to shoe(a horse) [pšla:] 

/abør/ 'but' [abir] /aerboː/ 'pea' [ærboː] 

/xorb/ 'basket' [xorbo] /xvroː/ 'pretty, nice' [xvroː] 

/d/: [t] before and after fricatives, [d] elsewhere:

/diøj/ 'deep' [diøj] /ʃdaː/ 'to stand' [ʃtaː] 

/drøz/ 'the horses' [dros] /dʃaːv/ 'the sheep'(pl.) [tʃaːv] 

/laːdə/ 'to load' [laːdə] /dʒaːdə/ 'German'(adj, pl.) [dʒaːdə] 

/bild/ 'picture' [bild] /blɔdaː/ 'best' [blɔdaː]
/g/: [k] before and after fricatives, [g] elsewhere:

/glæzəd/ 'laughed' [glæzət] /gəsə/ 'happened' [kəsə]

3.22 The fortis stops occur only in medial position:

/f/: fortis and long /rɪpə/ 'rib' [rɪpə]

/i/: fortis and long /bætə/ 'to pray' [bætə]

Except in one word, the velar analog does not occur as a simple fortis stop, but one allophone of the affricative /kx/ shows an analogous long and fortis stop before the release. Ex.: /vɛkə/ 'to waken' has a lengthened stop element written [vɛkə] or [vɛkə]. The shorter stop element is always found in /dɔkədər/ 'doctor' [dɔkədər].

The near symmetry of the stop series /b, d, g/ ≠ /p, t, ɣ/ suggests that the affricate /kx/ represents a shifted derivation of a formerly long and fortis stop */k/. Within the phonemic system, it is the functional equivalent of /f/ and /i/.

3.23 By contrast with /kx/, all other fricative sequences, whether stop + fricative (pf and ts in the Table 1. above) or fricative + stop, are not separate phonemes, but clusters or groups of homorganic phonemes. Consider the following pair of words: the diacritic — in /rɪpə/ 'rib' denotes a long and fortis stop; the cluster /pʃ/ in /rɪpʃə/ 'to pluck(a fowl)' is pronounced with approximately the same degree of intensity and duration (as a group) as is the simple stop /f/.

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1 See #3. 73 below.
The environmental conditioning effect of fricatives was noted in the preceding discussion of lenis stops (cf. #3.21). By definition, each fricative sequence combines a fricative (either as leading or terminal element) with a stop. Only in the case of the true affricate /kw/ is a digraph used to indicate a single phonemic unit; otherwise, clusters of stops and fricatives are interpreted as phoneme sequences (cf. #3.534).

Apart from their appearance in such "affricate" clusters, simple [p t f s] in the closer transcription stand for the semi-fortis (or semi-lenis) allophones of the lenes / b d v z /, and by contrast with the fortis / p t f s /, they are approximately "half as long and half as strong."²

3.24 The lenis fricatives in initial, medial and final position:

/\v/: [f] [v]

/\v\r\s\d\a:\/  'to understand' [\v\r\s\d\a:]  
/\k\v\ae\v\o\r/  'bug, insect' [\k\v\ae\v\o\r]  
/\v\o\r\v\v/  'five' [\v\o\r\v\v]~[\v\o\r\v\v]  

/\z/: [s] [z]

/\d\a\z/  'that' [\d\a] (absolute final) [\d\a i\s] 'that is' (intervocalic)  
but: /\k\v\ae\:z/  'cheese' [\k\v\ae\:z] (historically medial, now final as a result of apocope)

3.25 The fortis fricatives occur only in medial position:

/ʃ/: /ʃə/ 'open' [ʃə] ≠ /ɔvər/ 'stove, oven' [ɔvə]
/s/: /kæsəl/ 'kettle' [kæsəl] ≠ /kæzəl/ 'cheeses' [kæzə]

3.26 This lenis ≠ fortis contrast does not apply to the other fricatives (palato-alveolar, velar, glottal).

/s/: /ʃu:1/ 'school' [ʃuːl]
/iːʃ/ 'ice' [iːʃ]

(short initially, short or long medially and finally)

/ʃ/: /zaxə/ 'thing' [zaxə] (short or long,
/bax/ 'creek' [bax] medially and finally)
/ŋ/: /hɔ:z/ 'house' [hɔ:z] (occurs only stem-initially)

Table 2.

CONSONANTAL ALLOPHONES: OBSTREUENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bi-labial or Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stop</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surdus</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>t̪</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>(pf)</td>
<td>(ts)</td>
<td>(t̬s)</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>s̪</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surdus</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.27 The sonorants. The nasals and the trilled /r/, although included among the consonants, show certain characteristics untypical of other consonants and reveal an affinity for vowels, which prompted one writer to propose for them the term "half-consonants".  

They are here called sonorants because they are voiced, unlike the obstruents, but like the vowels and semi-vowels. This feature of voicing makes it possible for the sonorant to become syllabic or syllable-bearing as the unstressed syllable nucleus approaches [Ø].

They are also rather unstable and there is evidence that they have been subject to historical change involving assimilation. Sonorants, particularly /n/ before fricatives and /r/ before alveolar stops, may become partially or completely vocalized. Partial vocalization is illustrated in the pair: [finθ] 'one' and [fi:zmaw] 'once, one time', where the disappearing nasal leaves a vestigial nasalization of the vowel-glide (plus compensatory lengthening). Total loss of the nasal is seen in [tʃɛ̌stɛɾ]~[tʃɛ̌stɪɾ] 'dark' and in [fœːvɛr] 'five' (cf. OHG. finf). Similarly, /r/ is reduced to [θ] in [dɛɾt]~[dɛɾɛɾt] 'there' and in [æːdbɛɾɪ] 'strawberry' (cf. SwdtA. [æɾdɛɾ] 'earth').

The lengthened sonorant consonants are also slightly more fortis, but do not contrast phonemically with the shorter lenis, as was the case with the fortis ≠ lenis obstruent pairs.

---

3Dieth, Vademekum der Phonetik, p. 173
Bilabial and alveolar nasals in initial, medial and final position:

/m/: /milx/ 'milk' [maux]
/tsaem:o/ 'together' [tsaem:o]
/boum/ 'tree' [boum]
/n/: /noeɣ/ 'new' [noeɣ]
/dran:o/ 'on (it)' [dran:o]
/bru:n/ 'brown' [bru:n]

/g/: occurs only medially and finally:
/$briŋ:ɵ/ 'jump, run' [$præŋ:ɵ]
/hauŋ/ 'hand' [har]  

Apical trill /ɾ/ occurs initially, medially and finally:
/ɾɛdə/ 'to talk' [ɾɛdə]
/kxarə/ 'car, auto' [kxarə]
/auŋɨ/ 'but' [a'bir]

3.3 The semi-vowels. Functionally and acoustically, the semi-vowels represent intermediate values between consonants and vowels. Initially, their consonant-like quality is more prominent; postvocally, they are more vocalic in nature.

Even in initial position, a definitive interpretation is problematical, as is illustrated by this pair in free variation: [jets] ∼ [iets] 'now'. The latter clearly contains a falling diphthong (cf. Fr. adieu [adjø], SwdtA. [adjo] 'goodbye') and by contrast, the former could be written as a rising diphthong [jets]. For more examples of shifting
stress see the discussion of vowel-glides, cf. #3.52.

Intervocally, /j/ and /w/ regularly appear as lengthened allophones [jj] and [uw] (filling the hiatus). In absolute final position, post-vocalic /l/ and /w/ have a tendency toward occlusion: [muw] 'mouth' and [frouw] 'wife'.

/j/:  /j-/ = [j] [juj] 'young'
     /-j-/ = [jj] [nae:iθə] 'to sew'
     /-j/ = [i] [næi] 'no'

/l/:  /l-/ = [t] [lu:ɡəθ] 'to look'
     /-l-/ = [i] [joðθθ] 'to yodel'
     /-ll-/ = [t]-[w] [fa:θ]-[fa:θ] 'to fall'
     /-l/ = [w] [epfuw] 'apple'

/w/:  /w-\ = [wi:kənd] 'weekend'
     /-w/ = [w] [frouw] 'wife, woman'
     /-w-\ = [uw] [blauwɪ] 'blue'(adj. pl.)

3.31 From the preceding, it is seen that final post-vocalic /l/, when fully vocalized to [w], coincides phonetically with post-vocalic /w/. The paradigms [luw]: [fu:iθ] 'lazy'(sg., pl.) ≠ [frouw]: [frouwə] 'wife, woman'(sg., pl.) prove that the final [w] may represent allophones of two distinct phonemes, /l/ and /w/ respectively. In pre-vocalic position, /l-/ [tiaθt] 'light' also contrasts with /w-/ in a few words borrowed from American English: SwdtA. [wi:kənd] 'weekend', [ti:wi:] 'television, TV'.
Table 3.

VOWELS, SEMI-VOWELS AND DIPHTHONG GLIDES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS AND SEMI-VOWELS</th>
<th>Front Unrounded</th>
<th>Front Rounded</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i(:)</td>
<td>y(:)</td>
<td>u(:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>i(:)</td>
<td>y(:)</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e(:)</td>
<td>ë(:)</td>
<td>ë(:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>æ(:)</td>
<td></td>
<td>a(:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iɛ</td>
<td>xɛ</td>
<td>uɛ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIPHTHONG GLIDES</td>
<td>æɪ</td>
<td>æɛ</td>
<td>æu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 There are eleven stressed vowels, ten of which may appear lengthened:

/i/: /ziðɛr/ 'cider' [sɪtɛɾ]

/giːɡɛ/ 'fiddle' [ɡiːɡɛ]

/ɪː/ /tsɪɡɛr/ 'cottage cheese' [tsɪɡɛɾ]

/æɪ/ 'game' [æpɪe]

/z/: /reðɛ/ 'to talk' [reðɛ]

/ʃnɛː/ 'snow' [ʃnɛː]
\[ \text{ae:/ }/\text{sæklx/} \text{ 'bacon' } [\text{sæklx}] \]
\[ /\text{nae:/} \text{ 'to take' } [\text{nae:}] \]
\[ /\text{y:/} \text{ 'people' } [\text{tyt}] \]
\[ /\text{y:zɔ/} \text{ 'our' } [\text{y:zı}] \]
\[ /\text{y:/} \text{ 'today' } [\text{hvt}] \]
\[ /\text{dy:r/} \text{ 'through' } [\text{dy:r}] \]
\[ /\text{æ:/} \text{ 'somebody' } [\text{æpar}] \]
\[ /\text{droæ:lɔ/} \text{ 'rolling pin' } [\text{droæ:lı}] \]
\[ /\text{u:/} \text{ 'up' } [\text{uı̯}] \]
\[ /\text{bru:n/} \text{ 'brown' } [\text{bru:n}] \]
\[ /\text{ɔ:/} \text{ 'head' } [\text{ɔpfi}] \]
\[ /\text{bɔ:ne/} \text{ 'bean' } [\text{bını̯}] \]
\[ /\text{a:/} \text{ 'hand' } [\text{hını̯}] \]
\[ /\text{bla:g/} \text{ 'plague' } [\text{bla:gi]} \]
\[ /\text{u:/} \text{ 'fly' } [\text{mını̯}] \]

3.41 The unstressed vowel /æ/ has two environmentally conditioned allophones:

\[ /\text{æ/} = [ı̯] \text{ before } /r/, \text{ except in the unstressed prefix } /\text{ver-}/ \]
\[ /\text{hrı̯:ı̯r/} \text{ 'behind' } [\text{hrı̯:ı̯ır}], \text{ elsewhere} \]
\[ = [\text{ı̯}]/\text{zı̯:ı̯r/} \text{ 'to sing' } [\text{zı̯:ı̯ır}] \]

/æ/ also appears as [ı̯] stem-finally in two-syllable feminine abstract nouns (cf. #5.1613) and neuter diminutive nouns (#5.1611).
3.42 The table of semi-vowels and vowels illustrates three contrasts in the SwdtA. vocalic structure: 1) tongue position (front, central, back); 2) tongue height (high close, high open, mid, low); and 3) degree of labialization (unrounded, rounded).

The latter contrast, rounded \# unrounded, applies only to high and mid front vowels, which show two analogous series, with and without lip-rounding. Even here, however, there is a gradation in degree of labialization more subtle than may be indicated by the opposing symbols: /i e ɛ / \# / y x œ / . Instability of the feature of labialization is evidenced synchronically in sub-phonemic fluctuation in the degree of lip-rounding; it is further confirmed diachronically in examples of assimilation: [voesː] 'to wash' (< MHG. waschen).

The low vowels, front and back, are relatively unrounded, whereas the remaining back vowels become progressively more rounded from mid to high open to high close.

3.43 Only in the case of the mid front unrounded and the mid back vowels does a change in the vowel quality accompany a change in the quantity, or length. The shorter vowel is also the more open (just as in NHG.): /ɛ(ː)/ = [ɛ], [eː], /ɔ(ː)/ = [ɔ], [oː].

Table 4.

HIGH AND MID VOWELS LENGTH

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{i} - \text{i} \\
\text{e} - \text{e} \\
\text{ɛ} - \text{ɛ} \\
\text{u} - \text{u} \\
\text{ʊ} - \text{ʊ} \\
\text{o} - \text{ɔ}
\end{array}
\]
3. 5 Phonotactics. Thus far in our description of SwdtA. phonology, the inventory of phonemes has been complemented by diagrammatic phoneme and allophone tables, which help to visualize structural correlations such as /b d g/ /f/ /p t (kw) / and /i e/ /iy/ /y oe/., again highlighting relationships between the units of the sound structure. A survey of the various possible occurrences and combinations of phonemes will complete the picture. The discussion of permissible phoneme sequences and the phonemic composition of the simple, one-morpheme word in SwdtA. provides a logical bridge from phonology to morphology.

3. 51 The monosyllable morpheme may be composed of from one to six or seven phonemes. Since every stressed syllable has as its nucleus a vowel or vowel-glide, it follows that the simplest morpheme possible would contain a single vocalic phoneme. Ex.: /a:/ 'at, on'. As many as three consonants may precede the syllable nucleus, and after it as many as three consonants may regularly follow, or even four in an occasional exceptional case. Illustrations of the commonest canonical forms for the stressed root syllable follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>VC</th>
<th>VCC</th>
<th>VCCC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>CVCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>CCVCC</td>
<td>CCVCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCV</td>
<td>CCCVC</td>
<td>CCCVCC</td>
<td>CCCVCCC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ex.: /a:/, /u:/, /ɛda:/, /ɔdə/: =

'at, on', 'you', 'to stand', 'straw';

/iː, /diː/, /ɔdiːn/, /ɔbrɪŋ - /=

'ice', 'table', 'small', 'to jump, run';

/ɑl/, /dæŋkə/-, /ɡraund/, /ʃbrɪkts- /=

'old', 'to think', 'ground', 'to spray';

/ærbz-ə/, /bʏrəd-ə/, /blɪts-ə/, /plənts-ə/ =

'pea(s)', 'to brush', 'lightening' 'to plant'.

Words composed of two or more morphemes may, of course, contain phoneme sequences not found in the monomorpheme. A cluster of four consonants is not uncommon in initial or medial position.

Ex.: /gʃdrɪksə/ 'painted' is a past participle and should be read g-ʃdrɪks-o, cf. /gʃdələ/ 'stolen'. The prefix has been coalesced.

/dsblɪndər/ 'laundry, linens'. The definite article /ds/ has been coalesced.

/ʃɪldkɔrd/ 'turtle', is a compound /ʃɪld/ + /kɔrd/, with final and initial clusters juxtaposed.

3.52 Occurrence of vowels. Vowels occur singly or in vowel-glides.

 Normally, only long stressed monophthongs are found in final position,
but even there the shorter analog may also occur as the result of prosodic shortening (where the syllable-final vowel is relatively unstressed in a phrasal stress pattern).

In addition to appearing as short or long monophthongs, eight of the stressed vowels may also introduce vowel-glides.

The falling diphthongs are:

High onset (ending on /œ/): /iœ, yœ, uœ /

Low and mid front onset (ending on /i, y/): /æy, æi /

and the latter's labialized analog: /oœy /

Low and mid back onset (ending on /u, w/): /ɑu, ɑu /

Sub-phonemically, "spurious diphthongs" may result from the combination of a vowel + the vocalized allophone of /ɨ/:

/mɪlʃ/ 'milk' (noun) [mɪux]
/mælʃə/ 'to milk' (verb) [mæuxə]
/ʃnɛlʃ/ 'splits' (pl. noun) [ʃplutʃ]
/ʃɛrʃbaldʃ/ 'to split' (verb) [ʃɛɾʃpaute]

In absolute final position, long vowels under emphatic stress and/or in slow speech may develop off-glides: /vɔː/ 'where' becomes [vɔːə]

This off-glide should also be considered a "spurious diphthong" and is therefore transcribed as a sequence of vocalic phonemes. The true diphthongs, on the contrary, are structurally equivalent to long vowels and function as syllable nuclei.
By contrast with the falling diphthongs above, a glide in which the stress peak falls on the terminal element is called a rising diphthong. From that rather simple definition, it is but a step to the main difficulty with rising diphthongs. The problem lies in the analysis of the first, now unstressed element, which tends toward the corresponding semi-vowel (cf. #3.3). Phonetically, [i̯] represents an intermediate value between [i] and [j]; similarly, [u̯] is intermediate between [u] and [w]. Note that [w], when an allophone of /l/, occurs only post-vocically and is thus unrelated to rising diphthongs, although it coincides phonetically with /w/ = [w] (cf. #3.31).

Table 5.

ALLOPHONES OF HIGH VOWELS
AND SEMI-VOWELS

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
j & i \text{ }
\hline
\text{i} & \text{u} \\
\text{I} & \text{U}
\end{array}
\]

In the description of semi-vowels, it was noted that the syllable nucleus in the SwdtA. word for 'now' [jɛts] - [iɛts] shows a shifting stress. The latter is a falling diphthong; the former may be written [jɛ] (semi-vowel + vowel) or [iɛ]. In two other SwdtA. words where the pattern of stress has become fixed, [iɛmɪk] 'somebody' and
[a'diə] 'goodbye' have falling diphthongs, whereas the corresponding forms in Modern High German and French have [je:] and [jø:] respectively.

Since the documents of Middle High German reflect the spoken language only imperfectly, the actual pronunciation of MHG. ieman 'somebody' and iezuo, iezö 'now' is open to discussion. But the first element of the digraph je initially likely stood for a MHG. sound less consonantal than [j] in Modern High German jemand andjetzt, perhaps more like our intermediate [i].

The variants [ʃi:əb] ~ [ʃi'æb] 'sieve' illustrate a long, stressed vowel (historically derived from short [i], cf. MHG. sib) which has been "broken" to a diphthongal glide. In a second stage of change, evidently now in transition, the stress is shifting away from the original vowel, resulting in a rising diphthong. Also affected by the same shift in stress pattern is [ʃi:əb] ~ [ʃi'æb] 'dear' (< OHG. liob).

3.53 Occurrence of consonants. The canonical forms listed in #3.51 show that consonantal sequences on either side of the syllable nucleus may grow to impressive complexity. The permissible combinations are sub-divided according to distributional position: syllable-initial or post-vocalic.

3.531 Initial C-

/b d g k x v z š h m n r l j/ singly before vowel:
/bi:/  'by, beside'  /ha:/  'to have'
/du:/  'you'  /mu:l/  'mouth'
/gæ:/  'to give'  /næ:/  'to take'
/kɔw/  'cow'  /ri:x/  'rich'
/vi:/  'how'  /la:/  'to let'
/zi:/  'they'  /ja:/  'yes'
/ʃo:/  'already'

3. 532 Initial clusters CC-

/b d g v kx / + /r/,  / b g v kx / + /l/,  / g kx / + /n/

/brɪŋə/  'to bring'  /blɪk/  'glance'
/dri:/  'three'  /glæz/  'glass'
/ɡræz/  'grass'  /vlæygə/  'fly'
/ˈvɜːʃə/  'fresh'  /klæt/  'clover'
/kɔrɑːkɔ/  'sick'

/gnuːə/  'enough'

/ˈkənɔːɾ/  'knee'

At first glance, /g/ seems quite productive in the formation of initial clusters of the type CC-. /gr/, /gl/ and /gn/ above are only three realizations of the set: /g/ + / b d v z ʃ h m n r l j /. Closer examination will disclose, however, that the examples /graːz/, /glæz/ and /gnuːə/ were chosen with some care, for the analysis of some clusters in this set is extremely problematical and a challenge to the best insights of synchronic and diachronic methods.
For example, synchronic evidence can readily be adduced to contrast monomorphemic /glaːz/ 'glass' with /glaː/ 'let' (past participle), although the initial clusters are phonetically equivalent. Given the infinitive form /laː/ 'to let', the descriptivist would tentatively analyze /glaː/ as prefix + verb stem /g-laː/, and further evidence would provide confirmation. In the case of /gliː/ 'immediately', on the other hand, the hypothesis "prefix + stem" would be discarded after a thorough search failed to turn up any related stem */liː/. On the basis of synchronic evidence alone, /gliː/ is correctly identified as a monomorpheme. But historically, this /gl-/ cluster proves to be a reduction from the prefix [gə-] + [l-] and thus more akin to /glaː/ than to /glaːz/.

The absence of stem-related morphemes made it possible for this stem (cf. MHG. gelich) to assume a new phonetic identity as the former prefix became fully coalesced to it, emerging after the metathesis as a /gl-/ stem. And today, historical derivation notwithstanding, such words as /gliː/ and /gləubə/ 'to believe' (cf. MHG. gelouben) are clearly felt to be morphemic unities, in contrast to /glaː/ and /gləfə/ 'run' (past participle). A parallel contrast with [b-] verbal prefix is illustrated by /bliːbə/ 'to stay' (MHG. beliben), as opposed to /bšlaː/ 'to shoe', cf. SwdtA. /šlaː/ 'to strike, hit'.
The forms in column B above are interpreted as dimorphemic (/g-la:/, etc.) principally because they show a close morphemic relationship to the forms in column C. But where that relationship is more obscure, the interpretation becomes correspondingly tenuous.

For the six examples given under A and B above, the interpretation is clear, but A and B really represent two poles, or end points on a continuum. Six additional words with the coalesced prefix are offered to illustrate the range of that continuum of interpretation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gnuːə/</td>
<td>/gə/</td>
<td>/gəː/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g³vəj/</td>
<td>/gəmə-/</td>
<td>/raʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/graːd/</td>
<td>/raʃ/</td>
<td>/gəː/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gæxəd/</td>
<td>/gæxə/</td>
<td>/væməikə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gæiks/</td>
<td>/væməikə/</td>
<td>/væməikə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gʊzə/</td>
<td>/væməikə/</td>
<td>/væməikə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. /gnuːə/ 'enough' (MHG. g(e)nuoc) clearly belongs in column A, there being no corresponding C form.

2. /g³vəj/ 'quick(ly)' (MHG. geswined) would certainly fall into column A. Although the relatively frequent C form
/gʊnd-/ /gʊŋ/ 'healthy' contains a related morpheme with sibilant + vowel + nasal, it is too remote semantically and acoustically to be recognized as such.

3. /ɡɹæd/ 'direct(ly)' (MHG. gerade) would undoubtedly also be assigned to A, despite the presence of a related C form /rɒʃ/ 'quick(ly)', for although the two stems are acoustically similar and semantically even closer, the relationship is not so conspicuous as to constitute a proof for the descriptivist. As with 2. above, the real, historical proof rests on evidence not normally accessible to the native speaker of SwdtA. or taken into consideration by the descriptivist.

4. /ɡɪd/ 'face' (MHG. gesiht) likely also belongs in A, but because of the semantic complex face-sight-see, the native speaker might well suspect a relatedness to /ɡzt:/ 'to see' and place it in column B.

5. /ɡmɪks/ 'mixture' clearly belongs in column B. Here is proof of the productiveness of the substantive-forming /g-/ of SwdtA, as it is prefixed to a stem borrowed from American English, which stem is also seen in the verb 'to mix up, together' /tsæməmɪksə/.

6. /ɡvɪz/ 'certainly, surely' (MHG. gewis) bears an obvious resemblance to the native SwdtA. verb form /vɪsə/ 'to know' and the slight divergence in meaning would not obscure that fact.
Perhaps the best solution for Nos. 2, 3, 4 and other words which, like them, appear somewhere between A and B is to call them borderline cases, as Kurath does, adding, "Such borderline cases exist in every language". 5

The fricative is another high potential cluster-forming agent. It can combine with the lenis stops /b d/ in syllable-final clusters as well as in initial CC-, CCC- with the concomitant conditioning effect on the stop element shown by other fricatives in such sequences(#3.21).

/š/ + /m n r l/:

/švimə/ 'to swim' /šrajə/ 'cabinet'
/šne:/ 'snow' /šlaŋə/ 'snake'
/šmukə/ 'to smell, detect an odor'

/š/ + /b d/:

/šbaeɪə/ 'bacon' /šdaeɡə/ 'stairs'

Initial CCC- clusters are relatively rare, and all are introduced by /s/.

/š/ + /br/, /bl/, /dr/:

/šbrŋə/ 'to jump, run' /šdrŋə/ 'to paint'
/ʃeɾ-ʃbl̩jəɾə/ 'to splinter, split'

3.533 Syllable-final -C. With the exception of /h/, which occurs only stem-initially as C-, and the fortis /p t f s/, which occur only

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5Hans Kurath, "Die Lautgestalt einer Kärntner Mundart und ihre Geschichte", Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung, No. 2, p. 8
intervocally as -C-, any consonant or semi-vowel may be found in syllable-final position.

/ b d g k v z s x m n η r l j w / :

/li:əb/ 'dear' /bɔ:m/ 'tree'
/nid/ 'not' /bru:n/ 'brown'
/draːɡ/ 'trough' /haŋ/ 'hand'
/ʃbaːk/ 'bacon' /beə:r/ 'bear'
/ʃdraːv/ 'punishment' /ʃbi:l/ 'game'
/ʌæz/ 'cheese' /nɔj/ 'no'
/iː/ 'ice' /vɾouw/ 'wife, woman'
/bæx/ 'creek'

3.534 Syllable-final clusters CC- :

/r/ + / b d g k s v z m n / :

/ɔrəb/ 'basket' /hərvə/ 'harp'
/haərdəʊpfəl/ 'potato' /kaːzə/ 'cherries'
/bæerg/ 'mountain' /ərm/ 'arm'
/ʃdɑrk/ 'strong' /ɡərm/ 'yarn'
/həɾʃ/ 'stag'

/l/ + / b d g k v z s / :

/ɔləb/ 'calf' /tsvɔːlv/ 'twelve'
/ɔləd/ 'cold' /alzərhand/ 'various'
/boʊl/ 'bellows' /valʃ/ 'false, wrong'
/mɪlk/ 'milk'
\( /m/ + / b d / : \)

\( /\text{lamb}\omega/ \quad \text{'lamp'} \quad /\text{hend}/ \quad \text{'shirt'} \)

\( /n/ + / d z \delta / : \)

\( /\text{grund}/ \quad \text{'ground'} \quad /\text{ganz}/ \quad \text{'goose'} \)

\( /\text{z\deltan}\delta/ \quad \text{'otherwise'} \)

\( /\eta/ + / \lambda x g / : \)

\( /\text{kr\etaŋx}/ \quad \text{'sick'} \quad /\text{mæŋgi\delta}/ \quad \text{'mostly'} \)

\( /\delta/ + / b d / : \)

\( /\text{væ\deltab}\omega/ \quad \text{'wasp'} \quad /\text{ba\deltad}/ \quad \text{'husk'} \)

The true character of the affricate clusters becomes clearer in the closer transcription in which they appear hereafter. In later chapters, \( /\delta b/ \) and \( /\delta d/ \) appear as \( [\delta p] \) and \( [\delta t] \). With a reminder concerning the intensity and duration of affricates (cf. §3.22), their distribution is here presented in the phonetic transcription for the sake of clarity.

Both \( [\delta p] \) and \( [\delta t] \) have been illustrated in pre-vocalic and post-vocalic position. Similarly, \( [\rho f, ts] \) may precede or follow the syllable nucleus.

\( /\text{p\eta\upsilonf}/ \quad \text{'pound'} \quad /\text{kb\omegaf}/ \quad \text{'herd'} \)

\( /\text{ts\etaf}/ \quad \text{'tooth'} \quad /\text{lk\omegaf}/ \quad \text{'cat'} \)

To these must be added the following fricative sequences:

- occurring only post-vocally: \( [-\text{ft}] : [\text{luf}t] \quad \text{'air'}, \)
- \( [-\text{xt}] : [\text{naxt}] \quad \text{'night'} \quad [-\text{ps}] : [\text{kr\omegaeps}] \quad \text{'crab'} \)
post-vocalic in one word: \([-p\varphi]\) : \([h\varphi p\varphi]\) 'pretty'

post-vocalic realization of \(-\ell\varphi\) : \([-t\varphi]\) : \([f\ell\ell\varphi]\) 'false'

post-vocalic in borrowed words: \([-\ell\varphi]\) : \([\ell\ell k\ell\varphi]\) 'to fix'

Post-vocalic clusters -CCC and -CCGC are relatively rare and involve /m n y r l/ + fricative sequences:

-CCC: /haerts/ 'heart' /\varphi dr\varphi mpf/ 'stocking'

/\varphi olts/ 'wood' /gants/ 'whole, entire'

/du:rl\varphi/ 'thirst'

-CCGC: /\ell\ell k\ell\varphi d/ 'fear' /h\ell\ell b\ell\varphi d/ 'autumn'

3.6 Phonemic effects.

1) The instability of /n/ is most obvious in final unstressed position. Here, the _n of MHG. is dropped unless a vowel follows. Consider the two greetings:

\([g\varphi t\varphi \ell\varphi \ell\varphi \ell\varphi] 'good day' :: [g\varphi t\ell\ell an a:b\ell\ell] 'good evening'\n
A possible interpretation would be that the /n/ is introduced to break the hiatus, but historically it is best explained as the loss of the final /n/ of the adjectival ending everywhere except before a following vowel. A high incidence of final /-n/ loss is also shown by infinitive and participle forms of the verb, except in pre-vocalic position within a phrase. Compare:

\([s\ell h\ell\varphi k\ell\varphi \ell\varphi\ell\ell] 'They sang.' with:

\([s\ell h\ell\varphi k\ell\varphi \ell\varphi\ell\ell \ell\varphi \varphi \ell\varphi\ell\varphi \ell\ell] 'They sang and yodeled.'\n

By analogy, the so-called "mobile -n" is interposed to avoid the hiatus, even where it is not historically justified. Compare normal and inverted word order for the following phrase:

\[ [ɪg \; gləub] \; :: \; [gləub\; ɪg] \quad 'I \; believe' \]

2) The vocalization of / n ɣ / before / v z ɣ x / was referred to in #3.27. The loss of the nasal, accompanied by nasalization and lengthening of the preceding vowel accounts for non-significant alternation of phonemes as broad as these two pronunciations of the verb

\[ [tɹɪŋ\; ləxə] \; :: \; [tɹɪŋ\; xə] \quad 'to \; drink' \]

In an analogous pair, the nasal loss has stabilized and the most common and accepted pronunciation of 'dark' is \([f\; ſtɪɾ]\), but the fact that \([f\; ſtɪɾ]\) is a recognized alternative sheds light on an historical sound change still in progress.

3.7 In the historical view, SwdtA. has largely remained phonologically conservative and resistant to change.

3.71 Like historically related dialects which have their roots in the extreme Southern Alemmanic area, SwdtA. shows little impact of two systematic vowel changes which gradually spread through most of the High German and Middle German dialects. The diphthongization of MHG. ṭ, õ, ū and the monophthongization of MHG. ie, wo, ūe have

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6 Keller, German Dialects, p. 54
come to be recognized as a standard for comparison, marking the transition from Middle High German to Modern, or New High German.

For the most part, SwdtA. has retained MHG. long vowels ð, û, õ as monophthongs. Compare:

MHG. min SwdtA. [mi:n] :: NHG. mein 'my, mine'
MHG. hûs SwdtA. [hu:s] :: NHG. Haus 'house'
MHG. liute SwdtA. [lyt] :: NHG. Leute 'people'
but MHG. niuw- SwdtA. [nju:] NHG. neu- 'new'

SwdtA. also retains the older diphthongs ie, uo, ue :

MHG. liucht SwdtA. [liuxt] :: NHG. Lichte 'light'
MHG. guot SwdtA. [guot] :: NHG. gut 'good'
MHG. hüener SwdtA. [hyenir] :: NHG. Hühner 'chickens'

3.72 Another vocalic feature unites SwdtA. with High Alemmanic, as opposed to other dialects in the High German area. Rounded, or labialized analogs of [œ], [ø] and [œ] are common in SwdtA., contrary to a trend toward loss of labialization to be noted already in the MHG. era. Particularly in the neighborhood of / l ñ v /, SwdtA. has the rounded vowels of High Alemmanic. Compare:

SwdtA. [svœ:ʊ] :: NHG. zwischen 'between'
SwdtA. [dœœ:ʊ] :: NHG. dreschen 'to thresh'
SwdtA. [œœfuw] :: NHG. Apfel 'apples'
but SwdtA. [œœfuw] NHG. Löffel 'spoon'
3.73 The velar /k/, representing fricative and affricate allophones, is a consonantal characteristic which identifies SwdtA. with Upper German dialects. A reflex of initial, post-consonantal and doubled k in WGmc., the affricate [kk] was part of a systematic consonant change, the Second, or High German Sound Shift, but reverted in most High German dialects to the stop [k]. Compare:

SwdtA. [xti:] :: NHG. klein 'little'
SwdtA. [xi:] :: NHG. Kind 'child'

but SwdtA. [kti] NHG. kein 'no, none'

The initial /k-/ in SwdtA. [kti], NHG. kein has undergone a separate development. It alone remains, a vestige of the negative compounded prefix OHG. nih- (cf. Lat. nec,neque) and is coalesced to the original stem -ein.

OHG. nih(h)ein MHG. nehein, dehein Early NHG. de-chein

3.74 Not only in phonologically conservative traits is SwdtA. similar to other High Alemannic dialects. It also shares some of the neomorphism which distinguishes specifically rural Bernese dialects. In fact, two sample words in the two immediately preceding paragraphs illustrate the innovative as well as the conservative. Among other characteristics of rural Bernese, as opposed to the dialect of the cantonal capital, Keller notes the vocalized /l/, seen above in SwdtA. [œpfuw] and the velarized /nd/, cf. SwdtA. [xii] above. Compare the following SwdtA. forms with corresponding urban and rural forms
of current Bernese, as cited by Keller: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Bd.</th>
<th>Rural Bd.</th>
<th>SwdtA.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fliege</td>
<td>Flöige</td>
<td>[fɔً۝yɡo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>füül</td>
<td>füif</td>
<td>[fɔً۝yv]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyschter</td>
<td>fsischter</td>
<td>[fys³tir]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mer nāme</td>
<td>mer nāá</td>
<td>[mər naː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mer chōńne</td>
<td>mer chōi</td>
<td>[mər xoʃ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.75 Given the history of the SwdtA.-speaking communities, the strong similarity between SwdtA. phonology and that of rural Berne, as reported by Keller, should not be surprising. But if the similarities are not surprising, one also should expect certain differences, in view of the time-depth of separation and the various influences to which each was exposed. The points at which the two sound systems diverge may present an interesting topic for historical-comparative study, but that lies outside the scope of the present work. A few examples will have to suffice.

Keller contrasts urban Bd. ufe, abe 'up', 'down' with rural Bd. uche, ache. Both doublets have correspondences which are current in SwdtA., but the contrast in usage is not related to the urban/rural distribution in the Swiss homeland. Rather, SwdtA. [uːʃə], [uəxə] and

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7Keller, *German Dialects*, pp. 87, 88
[æbo], [æxæ] reflect another kind of distribution and are discussed along with similar examples of particularism within the dialect, as it varies slightly from one community to another (cf. #5.43).

Predictably, the exposure to French and then to American English has brought about alterations in the basically High Alemannic-derived sound structure of SwdtA., particularly in order to accommodate some partially assimilated loan words. But in the main, the older phoneme structure has remained intact and has retained enough normative vigor to reshape borrowed words in accord with native SwdtA. phonemes. French adieu has thus become SwdtA. [əˈdjuː] and even the American English compound coal truck has been fully assimilated so that every single segment is phonetically unlike the original English phoneme and the total acoustic impression is decidedly "un-American": [kɔltrʌk].

Some loan-words which have resisted assimilation contain sounds outside the phonological structure of this chapter. These may be in part assimilated, as is [xuˈzɻ] [guˈzɻ] 'to go to bed' (Fr. se coucher), or nearly unchanged, as are English really and sure, featuring the Midwestern American retroflex r, rather than the apical trill of SwdtA., and dropped without ado in the middle of a sentence of otherwise unalloyed Alemannic stock and derivation. Further examples of loan-words in various states of assimilation are cited in the discussion of vocabulary admixture (#5.2).
As a matter of fact, in order to avoid the negative connotations of "impurity" and "corruption" by which many SwdtA. speakers popularly identify these sources of linguistic renewal in their native dialect, the term "alloy" is a singularly apt figure for the linguistic mixture in which new additives remain conspicuous for a time, gradually blend smoothly, to become imperceptible to the casual observer and eventually lose their identity to the whole, at the same time changing the proportional composition of the whole.
CHAPTER IV

FORM CLASSES

4.0 Form classes

4.1 Nouns

4.2 Attributive adjectives

4.3 Determinants

4.4 Numerals

4.5 Pronouns

4.6 Verb forms

4.7 Uninflected modifiers
4.0 The two principal criteria by which SwdtA. morphemes are here grouped into sub-classes have to do with (1) morphology, especially the combination of stems with inflectional and derivational affixes in complex words, and/or (2) syntax, the combination of free forms in phrases and clauses. The arrangement of syntactic constructions is treated more fully in Chapter 6. Syntactical function is of interest in this present chapter only insofar as it helps to determine morpheme classes.

4.01 Free forms in SwdtA. (as opposed to bound forms, which cannot stand alone and have meaning as morphemes only when attached to words) may be classified as: nouns, adjectives, determinants, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbials, prepositions and expletives.

In general, the American English admixture at the morphological level of SwdtA. consists of free forms which have been added to or substituted for native forms. English has influenced the SwdtA. inflectional system only marginally.

The impact of American English is most apparent in the stems of loan-words, loan-translations and blends of the two.

Ex. : loan-word : [fənts] 'fence'

loan-translation : [rɪguwvaeg] 'railway, railroad'

blend : [rɪguwfaents] 'rail fence'
But to the above nouns are added, in the plural, markers of noun subclasses derived from Alemannic, referred to below as Type 3, Type 1 and Type 3, respectively.

On the other hand, it is relatively rare that bound forms of American English derivation are found in SwdtA. Except for a few cases, where analogy has exerted pressure to accept American English ending, loan-words are regularly supplied with native SwdtA. inflectional and derivational affixes.

Ex.: SwdtA. [bakə] 'boxes' = Engl. box + plural sign /-ə/

SwdtA. [bærktɪ] 'keg' = Engl. barrel + diminutive /-tı/

4.1 Nouns may be classified according to the type of plural formation. The singular form may be altered by (1) the addition of a plural-marking suffix (/ə/ /-ər/ /-ə/ /-(ə)x/) and/or (2) a root vowel change. Only back vowels and vowel-glides with back onset are subject to (2), a vowel mutation commonly known as "Umlaut".

In singular and plural forms of the noun, the interpretation of final schwa syllables, whether a part of the noun stem or of a suffix to the stem, is somewhat complicated by the fugitive /-n/ referred to in #3.6. In the majority of occurrences, this final /-n/ (MHG.-e)n apparently has been lost, only to reappear before a following initial vowel and within a phrase.

Ex.: [əʰuːfə ʰɪntː] 'a heap, pile of snow', but
[əʰuːfən ɛjɪr] 'a heap, lot of eggs'
By way of comparison with NHG., SwdtA. has /-ə/ or /-ə(n)/ for most -(e)n plural suffixes in NHG., and most NHG. -e plural markers are [∅] in SwdtA. Ex.:

NHG.  Frau-en  SwdtA. [frɔuwə]  'women'
NHG.  Händ-e    SwdtA. [hɛŋ]  'hands'
NHG.  Berg-e    SwdtA. [bærgə]  'mountains'
NHG.  Küh-e      SwdtA. [kœːə]  'cows'

The noun classes in SwdtA. are marked in the plural by:

1) No change: singular and plural alike [æpfuw], [kœːŋ]
   'apple(s)', 'child(ren)'

2) Vowel change: [ʃtɔː] : [ʃtœː], [bruœːtər] : [bryœːtər]
   'stick, sticks', 'brother, brothers'

3) Add /-ə/: [bʊr] : [bʊrə], [baɛʁ] : [baɛɾə]
   'farmer, farmers', 'mountain, mountains'

4) Vowel change (where possible) + /-ər/ : [glaːs] : [gɛtʃir],
   [vɔr] : [vœːtir], [xɛːd] : [xɛːdɪr]
   'glass, glasses', 'word, words', 'dress, dresses(clothes)'

5) Add /-(ə)z/ : with partially and fully assimilated loan-words
   only: [ atl ] : [ aːltəz ] ~ [ autə ] (+ ∅), [ drɔks ] : [ drɔks ]
   'car, cars', 'truck, trucks'

Only rarely, by analogy, with a native stem: [zæx] : [zæxəz]
'thing, things'
With Type 3, compare: [śtrę:] : [śčiňo]. Final [-n] of the stem, although dropped in the singular, is retained in the plural form. In the same noun class: [xwxi] : [xux:iňe] 'kitchen', 'kitchens'. Before the plural marker /-ə/, feminine nouns ending in [-t] restore the fugitive _n (MHG. -in). Cf. #3.6.

4.11 Nouns are further distinguished with reference to gender, masculine, feminine and neuter, to use the conventional categories. Most SwdtA. nouns of native stock have the same gender as the corresponding NHG. nouns. There are exceptions, however, just as in many other German dialects which diverge from the written standard.

Ex.: [tək:ə] m. (NHG. f.) 'corner'

[baľ:ə] f. (NHG. m.) 'ball'

[хи̊mət] n. (NHG. f.) 'home(land)'

[rębi] n. (NHG. f.) 'rib'

and as head of a compound:

[hu:s aźte] n. (NHG. m.) 'line of work, here housework'

cf. NHG. Branche

In the absence of a prescriptive authority and with the normative influence of a written standard restricted to the religious sphere, only the conventions of local usage control and limit fluctuation in the vernacular. In gender distinctions, SwdtA. shows some of the permissiveness of spoken languages in general.

Ex.: [d1n] m. /n. (NHG. n.) 'thing' [văęšpı] n. /f. (NHG. f.) 'wasp'
SwdtA, nouns borrowed from American English are also assigned a gender but again some fluctuation in usage is tolerated. Two prominent factors in the gender categorization of such loan-words are likely (1) the gender of the native word replaced by the loan-word and (2) the gender of a phonetically similar native word, notably when a nominalizing affix is involved.

Ex.: [ˈʃviːpir] m. 'vacuum sweeper' and [baɪndɪr] m. 'grain binder', both with the agentive suffix of [vɪʃːɪr] m. (NHG. Wischer) and [bnɪːr] m. (NHG. Binder).

4.12 Distinctive noun case forms are now limited to a few relics of the former inflectional system. In a few plurals, a dative /-ə/ ending is retained. Ex.:

[ˈhɑːŋ] : [hɛnŋ], dat. pl. [hɛŋə]

[ˈkʌːə] : [kɛːə], dat. pl. [kɛːəə]

But the majority of nouns have an undifferentiated singular form plus a plural form, the burden of case distinction being borne by modifiers.

Ex.: [ˈxɪŋ] : [xɪŋ], dat. pl. [dɛːnə xɪŋ]

Both the /-(ə)z/ of the older Alemannic genitive and the American English 's of possession and personal relation have undoubtedly played a part in the retention of yet another relic, an occasional /-z/ genitive suffix. It is used with proper and common nouns alike, irrespective of gender and with singular or plural forms.
Ex.: [di lúiz naxbərz dɔxtiɾzman:] 'Louisa's son-in-law'

[mi ɡroʃfaʃirs ɡveʃtɾ] 'my grandfather's sister'

[y:zi naxbərz buəb:] 'our neighbors' boy, son'

Note that all three examples involve relationship between persons.

A common alternative to the genitive suffix is a dative paraphrase.

Compare:

[y:zi naxbərz buəb] above with:

[əm xaɛ:ziɾ si buəb] 'the cheese-maker's boy, son'

[əm haɛ:niɾ si muʃtiri] 'Henry's mother'

A third alternative is an option only when the referent is not a proper name. The referent is prefixed to the head word in a compound reminiscent of the American English (noun attribute) + (head noun) construction. Ex.: [di naxbuɾəxniɾ] 'the neighbor children'

The dative paraphrase is used to indicate possession as well as personal relation. Compare:

[əm xaɛ:ziɾ si buəb] above with:

[əm maɛtəɾi si rɔkə] 'the girl's dress, skirt'

[əm mo:ziɾ pitiɾ si ʃiɾiɾ] 'Pete Moser's barn'

[daɛm si haɾməɾiɾ] 'his hammer'

Ownership, present or past, of a farmstead may be indicated by the juxtaposition of the owner's name and the head noun [bliats] without connection. This use of [bliats] reflects the corresponding AE English
phrase 'the X Y place' in reference to the residence and/or farm of Mr. X Y, on which pattern the SwdtA. phrase is constructed.

Ex.: [uf œm bœzigir daen bëats] 'on the Dan Basinger place'

4.2 Closely associated with the nouns are the adjectives, which may

(1) modify nouns or the pronouns that replace them:

[œ:e:n] 'pretty': [œ:s œ:e:n si mœ:r] 'the pretty girl'
[rœ:t] 'red': [si xœ:pœ:iš rœ:t] 'his cap is red'
[mœ:yœd] 'tired': [œrœ zi mœ:yœd] 'we are tired'

or (2) function as nouns themselves (when a noun is implied):

[œrœm] 'poor': [œ:s œrœm] 'the poor (people)'

The predicate adjective is not declined. The attributive adjective precedes the noun modified and varies by the suffix patterns of two declensions, corresponding to the NHG. "weak" and "strong" declensions, with two cases distinguished, the common (former nominative and accusative) and the dative.

4.21 The first adjective declension. Following (1) a definite article, (2) a demonstrative pronoun, or (3) a possessive pronoun, the attributive adjective has three forms. Gender is distinguished only in the common case of the singular. In all other cases, the ending is [-œ],

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>common</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.22 The second adjective declension. Five different endings in this pattern are used to inflect the adjective standing alone or when preceded, in the common case only, by the indefinite article.

\[
\begin{array}{ccccc}
\text{m.} & n. & f. & \text{pl.} \\
\hline \\
\text{com.} & -\theta(n) & -z & -\acute{i} & -
\\
\text{dat.} & -\omega m & -\omega r & -\omega
\end{array}
\]

4.23 Adjectives which end in a vowel as the result of the loss of a final \([-n]\) in the stem restore that \([-n]\) before vocalic inflectional endings. Ex.: 

\[
[x\tilde{i}:'] \ 'little' : [x\tilde{i}:\omega n], [x\tilde{i}:\omega n], [x\tilde{i}:s] \ or \ even \ [x\tilde{i}:s\omega s]
\]

\[
[o\tilde{e}] \ 'open' : [o\tilde{e}n\theta], [o\tilde{e}n\acute{i}], [o\tilde{e}\omega s]
\]

4.24 Adjectival nouns are declined according to the patterns in \#4.21 and \#4.22 above, as are adjectives with noun function (where a noun is implied, cf. \#4.2). Ex.: 

\[
[di f\varphi r\varphi n\theta\varphi\theta] \ 'the \ relative' \quad [i:s be\varphi sta] \ 'the \ best'
\]

\[
[d\varphi r\ a\acute{i}t] \ 'the \ old \ man' \quad [di ar\omega m\varphi\theta] \ 'the \ poor'
\]

The substantivized adjective is also found in the genitive form, notably in a few formula-like neuter singulars, sometimes referred to as "quantitative adjectives". Ex.: 

\[
[f\mu w \ gu\omega t\acute{s}] \ 'a \ lot \ of \ good \ things' \quad [n\acute{y}t be\varphi\delta r\varphi s] \ 'nothing \ better'
\]

\[
[o\acute{p}i:s \ no\acute{e}g\varphi s] \ 'something \ new'
\]
4.25 Comparison of adjectives. Derivational suffixes marking the second and third degree of adjective comparison are added to the stem before the inflectional ending: comparative [-ir] and superlative [-št] \[\sim [-išt]\] (after a stem-final sibilant or some stem-final consonant clusters ending in [-t]). Ex.:

1. \([\text{bœ:nir}]\quad [hτišir] \quad [jὐy] \quad [xυrts]\)
2. \([\text{bœ:nir}]\quad [hτišir] \quad [jὐy] \quad [xυrts]\)
3. \([\text{bœ:nšt}]\quad [hτišišt] \quad [jὐy(k)st] \quad [xυrtsišt]\)

The latter two examples show stem vowel mutation, a frequently seen supplementary signal for the comparative and superlative degrees.

Further examples of this vowel change are:

1. \([\text{štarx}]\quad [švax] \quad [grœ:š]\)
2. \([\text{šte(r)χir}]\quad [švexir] \quad [grœ:šir]\)

Stem-final [-s], for example in \([grœ:š]\) above, may coalesce with the [-š] of the superlative suffix in a limited group of irregular adjectives.

1. \([grœ:š]\quad [guat]\)
2. \([grœ:šir]\quad [bēšir]\)
3. \([grœ:št]\quad [bēšt]\)

The comparative particles are \([\text{as}]\) and \([\text{vedir}]\):

\([\text{mi:nī šveštirə zi ĕltir az i bi}]\ 'my sisters are older than I am'
\([\text{nyːt tɕisstr bēšir vedir sef}]\ 'nothing tastes better than that!'\)
The AEEng. comparative construction (more) + (first degree polysyllabic adjective) served as model for the periphrastic comparative in SwdtA.:

\[ \text{æxî: m} \text{t: madîrn} \] 'a little more modern'

also with monosyllabic \[ \text{gry:ən} \] :

\[ \text{m} \text{t: gry:ən} \] 'greener'

4.26 Comparatives and superlatives may be used absolutely, i.e. not truly in comparison, but in the sense of 'very', 'quite', 'rather'.

Ex.: \[ \text{æn ðîtîrî frôuw} \] 'an elderly woman'

\[ \text{tsve: fo də me: bêšîn bû:ra} \] 'two of the better farmers'

4.3 Prominent alongside the attributive modifiers in the noun phrase are the definite article and the indefinite article, both of which are also declined to distinguish the gender and case of the noun modified.

4.31 The definite article.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>də(ə)</td>
<td>(d)ə</td>
<td>də ~ dî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| dat.  | dəm~əm | dər | də(n) |

The dative form [dəm] is used after a preposition, and the common form [dî] is used before an attributive adjective.
4.32 The indefinite article.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>ə(m)</td>
<td>əz</td>
<td>ə(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>(ə)mənə</td>
<td>ərə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After a preposition, the common form is [nə] for masculine and feminine and [nəs] for neuter singular. Ex.:

[fər nəs baɪɾ dagə] 'for a few days'

4.4 Numerals. The indefinite article represents, in effect, the numeral [qis] 'one', with the syllable nucleus reduced to the unaccented vowel [ə]. Under stress, the numeral is differentiated according to gender and case before a noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>əm</td>
<td>ənə</td>
<td>əs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>əm</td>
<td>ənəs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numerals [tsvəŋ] 'two' and [drə] 'three' also have masculine, feminine and neuter forms. The noticeable frequency with which the first from uttered was corrected by the speaker himself or by another native speaker who was listening in (perhaps the utterance of the noun served as a corrective reminder) indicates that this gender distinction is a tenuous one at best and is currently in an unstable state.
The dative form simply adds [-na] for all three genders.

4.41 The cardinal numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ɛjs]</td>
<td>[ɛlf]</td>
<td>[ɡnø:tsvaëntsːk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsvoɛr]</td>
<td>[tsvoɛlf]</td>
<td>[tsve:øtsvaëntsːk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dryː]</td>
<td>[dritsæː]</td>
<td>[drisːk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[fiːɾ]</td>
<td>[firtsæː]</td>
<td>[fiːrtsk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[foɛxt]</td>
<td>[fyitsæː]</td>
<td>[fyftsːk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zaæxs]</td>
<td>[zaextsæː]</td>
<td>[zaëxtsk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zibø]</td>
<td>[zibøtsæː]</td>
<td>[zibøtsːk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[axt]</td>
<td>[axtsæː]</td>
<td>[axtsk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nyːn]</td>
<td>[nyːntsæː]</td>
<td>[nyːntsːk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([tsæɔː])</td>
<td>([tsvaëntsːk])</td>
<td>[hundirt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>[duːzig]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compound cardinals after 20, i.e. 21, 22, 31, 32, etc., have fallen into disuse. The American English numerals are substituted for them, phonetically intact, in an otherwise completely SwdtA phrase, especially with reference to ages and to dates.
Ex.: [s 18 fyftsænx maerst nineteen ffty-two ksi]  
'it was on March 15, 1952'  
[zi 18 eighty-one ksi...no...eighty-four ksi]  
'she was eighty-one years old...no...eighty-four'

4.42 The ordinal numerals.
   1. [crést]  2. [tsvekt]  3. [drít]

Beyond 3., only limited use is made of the ordinals. Up to 20., the ending is [-t]. Ex.: [dø fírt džu:la] After 20., the ending [-st] is added to the disyllabic form.

4.43 Numerals as substantives. The numeral [gis] is used when the antecedent or referent is indefinite or of unknown gender. Ex.:  
[i gríb dær no: gis] 'I'll give you one(a slap, or blow)'

But when the gender of the antecedent is explicit, the masculine [zinə] or feminine [jini] may be used. Ex.:  
[min:x:yə ja: mar hez gæŋ no: jini]

'milch cows?...yes, we still have one'

After the definite article, [jini] is declined like an adjective of the first declension and frequently contrasts with [jyn:i:]. Cf. AEng. the one vs. the other.

---

1 But also: [ny:ntsæ: hündért o fyftsæg] '1950'  
[i ny:ntsæ: hündért en tsveuf] 'in 1912'  
[i ny:ntsæ: tsæ:] [i txæ:xi] 'in 1910', 'in '10'
Ex.: [da zi tsvê: vaγo uf øm æntø
zi tsvê: frouwø un uf øm ænjir ...]
'there are two wagons...on (the)one are two women and
on the other(wagon)...'

The numerals including 4 and following add a [-i] suffix when used
substantively or standing alone, but with reference to an implicit noun.

Ex.: [fii:ri], [foe:vî], [axî] 'four', 'five', 'eight'
[mer zi baut hændørtiksi] 'a hundred of us'
[s xî øxli: ap tsvœlfî] 'a little after 12:00 o'clock'
[vi maøns pûŋ væxkt s] [ny:nî ædir tsæxnî]
'how many pounds does it weigh?' 'nine or ten(pounds)'

4.44 The common forms of the most frequently used fractions are
[driøt], [firtøt], used substantively, whereas [haib] is declined.
[firtøt] 'a quarter of beef'
[øtsøt øn døx firtøt] '1 3/4 inches,
øtsøt øn haibø rægø] 1 1/2 inches of rain'
[øhaibø sîçø] 'a side of beef'
[di haibø tzi] 'half (of) the time'
[haibø tsvœlfî] '11:30 o'clock'

4.5 Pronouns may take the place of nouns or noun phrases. That is,
they substitute syntactically for subjects, for complements in verb
phrases and for objects of prepositions. The main types discussed
below are: (1) personal, (2) reflexive, (3) possessive, (4) demonstrative, (5) interrogative, (6) relative and (7) indefinite pronouns.

4.51 Personal pronouns. Noun phrases may be replaced by personal pronouns. In the first and second persons, the antecedent or referent will be a proper noun, the name of the object/speaker, or of the person(s) addressed. In the third person singular, where the referent may be a third person, an animal or an inanimate object, the gender of the head noun of the antecedent phrase determines the choice of a masculine, feminine or neuter pronoun.

Instead of a common case, the personal pronouns still distinguish subject and direct object forms. Only in this form class are the older case distinctions still preserved which separate direct and indirect object and the traditional declensional labels—nominative, dative and accusative—are useful only with reference to these personal pronouns.

The variety of forms for any given pronoun is a function of stress within the phrase. Stressed vowels are lengthened and unstressed vowels are reduced. The reduction of vowels is primarily quantitative but also involves a change in quality tending toward [ə] and ultimately toward [ø]. The three or four nominative forms given here are somewhat arbitrarily chosen points representative of a much finer gradation of reduction which can be observed in the spoken language.
Table 6.
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. person</th>
<th>2. person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. sg.</td>
<td>ig ig i: i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. sg.</td>
<td>mi: my mi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat. sg.</td>
<td>mir mir mer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl.</td>
<td>mir mir mer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. pl.</td>
<td>ys ys is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat. pl.</td>
<td>ys ys is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. person

| nom. sg. | ær ær er | æ:s æ:s æ:s e | si: si se |
| acc. sg. | in in en | æ:s e | si: se |
| dat. sg. | im im en | im im en | i:re i:re (e) |

3. person

| nom. pl. | si: si se |
| acc. pl. | si: se |
| dat. pl. | i:n en en an(?) |
4.511 The accusative form sometimes appears in place of the nominative, especially following the finite verb.

Ex.: [1$ das mo] 'is that me?' (in response to hearing a
     [s 1$ mi ksi] 'it was me' recording of one's voice)

Compare: AEng.(coll.): it's me

NHG.: ich bin es

Of the two, the colloquial American English phrase is structurally more similar to the SwdtA. [s 1$ mi], but before the latter is prematurely classified as a recent loan-translation, a further comparison, this time with "Züritüütsch", will necessarily introduce a note of caution. Note the following question-and-answer exchange in the dialect of the Canton of Zürich:

Zt. Bisch es? Ja, s isch mi. 2 'Is it you?' 'Yes, it's me'

It is safe to say that the current SwdtA. substitution of the accusative for the nominative in this construction is of Alemannic provenience, with reinforcement coming through the influence of American English.

The confusion of subject and object pronouns in the compound subject or compound object in American English is, however, very probably the source of the SwdtA. variation:

[1g un frouw]~ [m1g un frouw] 'my wife and I'(nominative)

Compare: AEng. me and my wife (coll.)

2Albert Weber, Zürichdeutsche Grammatik, p. 238
The wife, in her turn, normally refers to her husband in the third person in SwdtA. as \( \text{[æər]} \), in contrast to the much more infrequently heard phrase which is analogous to the NHG. \( \text{mein Mann} \). Ex.:

\( \text{[æər \ ɪŋ \ ɪg \ gəː: \ nəx \ ʃɪkəɡoː]} \) 'my husband and I are going to Chicago'

4.512 The 2. person singular and plural personal pronouns of address are used in SwdtA. in all social settings, irrespective of the person addressed. The descriptivist will be content to note the uniform pronoun of address without indulging in sociologically oriented speculation concerning the democratic or egalitarian views of SwdtA. speakers. But recent Swiss immigrants testify that for them, at least, the so-called polite form or honorific pronoun of formal address is conspicuous in its absence in SwdtA. Conspicuous, that is, in contrast to the Alemannic dialects in Europe which form the basis for their comparative observations. One such informant, a native of Appenzell, recalls her consternation at the "forwardness" of a certain Sonnenberg native who (politely) hurried to open a door for her as she left the local grocery for the first time, and with both arms full of packages. His familiar

\( \text{[vərt \ i \ ˈduː \ dɪr \ ˈhæʊfə]} \) 'wait, I'll help you'

struck her as a little too familiar at the time, but after more than a decade of residence in the community she can look back on the incident in good humor. When visiting in Europe, she adds, she must now take care to remember the polite form so as not to offend in the same way.
4.52 Among the reflexive pronouns, the only unique form is /zi/, used for the 3. person, singular and plural. For all other reflexive objects, the personal pronouns are used. Ex.:

[čr ḥet si kʰunʔa] 'he hanged himself'
[i psin: mi no: guʔ] 'I still remember well'
[i xa: məɾ guʔ dəŋkə] 'I can well imagine'

4.53 In the absence of a true genitive form of the personal pronoun, the possessive adjective is substituted to indicate the genitive of possession or personal relation. Although closely related in function to the pronouns, it is adjectival in form, bearing inflected endings which agree in gender and case with the noun modified. Infrequently, the possessive adjective becomes a quasi-substantive when modifying the implied noun, or zero anaphora. Ex.:

[miːn bəmə zǐ fʁuː ʃœːnir as əm dɾiːnː siːnir]

'my flowers are much prettier than Trina's (flowers)'

Apart from such substantival use, the possessive precedes a noun as does any other attributive adjective. Ex.:

[si xapə rə:t] 'his cap is red'
[i ha miːr rypə bɾoːxːa] 'I broke my rib'
[das rə yəzːis huːs] 'that is our house'
4.531 /mi/ /mi:n-/ 'my'
/di/ /di:n-/ 'your'(sg.)
/zi/ /zi:n-/ 'his, its'

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& m. & n. & f. & pl. \\
\hline
\text{com.} & mi & mi:z & mi,mi:z & mi:ni, mi:ni:er \\
\hline
\text{dat.} & mi:m & mi:yor & mi:yor & mi:yor & mi:yor \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

4.54 The demonstrative pronouns carry a heavy stress and frequently point directly to an object or person with the help of an adverb of location. Ex.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[i daem land da:] 'in this country'} \\
\text{[daer dæ:t i nxd trouwə] 'I wouldn't trust her'} \\
\text{[dæ: væg dæ:t] 'that way', 'this way'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& m. & n. & f. & pl. \\
\hline
\text{com.} & dæ & dæ:z & dæ: & dæ: \\
\hline
\text{dat.} & dæm & dæ:o & dæ:o & dæ:o \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

4.55 The interrogative pronoun is declined much like the demonstrative singular. In the common case, there are forms with heavy stress
and medium stress. The genitive form (NHG. wessen) is rendered in
SwdtA. by a dative paraphrase, cf. #4.22.

\[
\text{[væm si hæt rə das]} \quad \text{'whose hat is that?'}
\]
\[
\text{[mit və:s həs das gməxt]} \quad \text{'with what did you do it?'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{m., f., n.} & \text{væ:(r)} & \text{vələ}\\
\hline
\text{com.} & \text{væm} & \text{væm} \\
\text{dat.} & \text{væm} & \text{væm}
\end{array}
\]

4.551 Closely related to the demonstrative pronoun and the interrogative
pronoun (in their respective denotations) are two adjectives: the
interrogative \([væi-]\) 'which, which one' and the demonstrative of reply
\([səi-]\) 'that(one)'. They are declined as adjectives of the second de-
cension (except neut. sg. com. /-ə/ ~ /θ/, but they may also be used
substantively, cf. \([əs]\), #4.5. Ex.:

\[
\text{[væiə man mənəs]} \quad \text{'which man do you mean?'}
\]
\[
\text{[səiə man də:t]} \quad \text{'that man there'}
\]
\[
\text{[səi rə oępis noęs tsə mər]} \quad \text{'that is something new for, to me'}
\]

4.552 The interrogative phrase \([vəs fyr ən-]\) 'what kind of' inflects
like the numeral \([ən-]\) in the singular. Before mass nouns and plural
nouns, the \([ən-]\) is dropped.

A parallel interrogative phrase used especially with mass nouns
and plural nouns is \([vəs sərtə]\) 'what kind(sort) of'. It is invariable.
Ex.:

[vas fyr nos byexh he's de:i] 'what kind of booklet have you there?'

[vas he's fyr byexh de:i] 'what kind of books have you there?'

[vas sorte fruxt x's das] 'what kind of grain is that?'

4.56 The relative pronouns which correspond to a multiplicity of NHG. forms (der, die, das, welch-, was, etc.) are the simple and invariable /vaz/, /vo(n)/ for all genders and all cases. Ex.:

[da x's ne famiijt vas §lxhaf:re du:st] 'there is a family which is going for a sleigh ride'

[as mætli vo jaet x's basir as xys vo baet] 'a girl who weeds is worth more than one who prays'

4.57 Indefinite pronouns:

4.571 With full inflections:

/ξina/ 'somebody/', varies according to case and gender, cf. #4.53

/ktn(n)/ 'nobody, no(ne)' is also inflected, following the 2. person adjective declension, cf. #4.32

4.572 With partial inflection:

/ai:/, pl. /ai:ti/ 'all, every'

/ai:s/, dat. /ai:om ai:er/ 'all, everything'

/jdø(n)/, dat. /jdøm jder/ 'each, every'

/mæŋz/, pl. mæŋi/ 'many, many a'

/zøetigz/, p. /zøetigo/ 'such, such a'
Ex. :

[di manː hex jed ene frouw] 'each man has a wife'
[d tyt si auwi durʃtig] 'the people are all thirsty'
[mxt auwɪr maxt en gvaʊt] 'with might and main'

4.573 Normally without inflection:

/əe̯pər/ 'somebody' /əe̯pəs/ 'something'
/niəmər/ 'nobody' /njyt/ 'nothing'
/fiː:/ 'a lot, much, many'
/ə xe̯iː:/ 'a little, some'
/deːt/ 'some, a few'
/zəm(ɪg)/ 'some'

Ex. :

[gib mər ə xe̯iː ts æe̯θə] 'give me a little something to eat'
[frouw arbit] 'a lot of work'
[s iʃ oepiɾ da ksi] 'somebody was here'
[deːt tyt sae̯ɡəʊə: n] 'some people say it this way and
[ənʃiɾi sae̯ɡəʊə:] some say it that way'
[zi hɛx som sox deːt] 'they have some pigs there'

4.574 The impersonal pronoun /mə/ 'one' (cf. NHG. man) appears
with the 3. person singular form of the verb and has the irregular in-
flected forms: dative /ɛm/ and accusative /ɛn/ ~ /ɛm/.

Ex. :

[əs dyːxt ɛm] 'it seems to one'
4.6 Verb forms.

The following form classes may be regarded as the potential conjugational framework for the SwdtA. verb: infinitive*, imperative*, past participle*; indicative present, present perfect and past perfect; subjunctive present and past; and the passive. Excepting the forms marked (*), verbs inflect in agreement with subjects (three persons, singular and plural).

In actual usage, however, this potential is fully exploited only in the case of a few high-frequency verbs which serve as primary auxiliaries. Thus, in the overwhelming majority of instances, the important inflectional cues denoting verb mood and voice and subject-agreement are borne by the auxiliary, which is modified by the infinitive or the past participle of the main, or lexical verb. Ex.:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{(AUX.)} & \text{(LEX.)} & \text{Example} \\
\hline
[\text{si}] & \text{dy:ɔ} & \text{im xɔrn} & \text{ะ sañ} & \text{they work in the corn'} \\
[\text{er}] & \text{rš} & \text{jɛtʃ} & \text{am ะ sañ} & \text{he's working (right)now'} \\
[\text{mir}] & \text{hɛɔ} & \text{hɛrt} & \text{kšat} & \text{we worked hard'} \\
[\text{si}] & \text{væt} & \text{mo:n} & \text{ะ sañ} & \text{she will work tomorrow'} \\
\end{array}
\]

Similarly, the lexical verb may be supplemented by a modal auxiliary:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{Example} & \text{(LEX.)} & \text{(AUX.)} & \text{Example} \\
\hline
\text{one has to do some work'} & \text{ะ sañ} & \text{mæ} & \text{muːs} & \text{ɔpɪs} \\
\text{do you want to work?'} & \text{ะ sañ} & \text{væt} & \text{dʊ} \\
\end{array}
\]

The result is a great economy of inflected forms. The lexical verb of average frequency can be manipulated throughout its entire functional
range with the use of only two forms, the infinitive and the past participle, and the help of the auxiliaries: [duːə], [vaːrdo], [si] and [haː].

By reason of this tendency toward analytic verb construction, i.e. (AUX + LEX), it is virtually impossible to elicit, for any one verb, a full conjugational paradigm to exemplify all the form classes listed above.

One anecdote will serve to illustrate how this tendency sometimes thwarted the process of data collection. Certain paradigms of particular interest were elicited directly by the author, who, unlike his informants, naturally visualized the related verb forms in neat, abstract patterns. The past participle [draːt] 'carried', with vocalization of the [-g-] of the infinitive [draːɡə] 'to carry', suggested the possibility of a similar vocalization in the present tense, 2. and 3. person of the singular (MHG. treist, treit). When pressed, the informant responded with and insisted upon the analytic forms:

[du bɾː am draːɡə] 'you are carrying'
[ɛr ɪʃ am draːɡə] 'he is carrying'

thus neatly circumventing the point in question. Since NHG. brechen is also irregular in these present tense forms (NHG. du brichst, erbright), the investigator followed a hunch and asked for the present forms of: [i ha z ɾɔxːə] 'I broke it'
[du heː s ɾɔxːə] 'you broke it'
[ɛɾ heːt s ɾɔxːə] 'he broke it'
Following the logic and habits of his colloquial SwdtA., the informant offered:

\[ \text{[i ha z just jets gra:d bro:x:ə]} \] 'I just now broke it', etc., which, with its compounded adverbs of "nowness", is as "current" or "present" as one could ask for, in his opinion!

With the exception of an important, but limited group of monosyllabic verbs, cf. #4.69, the SwdtA. infinitive normally consists of a root + the stem formant /-ə/.

4.61 Two main verb types (corresponding in general to NHG. "strong" and "weak", respectively) are distinguished by the formation of their past participle forms.

Type A: root(with vowel change) + /-ə(n)/ ending

Type B: root + /-(ə)t/ ending

The past participle is also marked by a prefixed /g-/ except

(1) in the case of infinitive stems already bearing a prefixed /g-/, /b-/, /vər-/, /ent-/ and /er-/ and

(2) infinitive roots with initial /b d g/ or initial clusters

\[ [pf] \text{ or } [ts] \]

Ex.: (1) \[ [kfaː:ə] : [kfaː] \] \[ [fərdəɾə] : [fərdəɾə] \]
\[ [dʊːə] : [dəː] \]


4.611 Verbs of Types A1 through A8 are distinguished by the alternation between the root vowel and the vowel of the past participle. Sub-class A9, the former reduplicating verbs, is now made up of verbs with the same vowel in the infinitive and the past participle. The so-called "strong" or irregular verbs of MHG. and NHG. belong to Type A. The following vowel-alternation sub-classes are distinguished:

A1: \((i : ɪ)\) MHG. class I

\(\text{šribē} \quad \text{to write} \quad : \quad \text{kšribē}\)
\(\text{šnide} \quad \text{to cut} \quad : \quad \text{kšnide}\)
\(\text{btībe} \quad \text{to stay} \quad : \quad \text{btībe}\)

A2: \((\mathbf{u} : \mathbf{u})\) MHG. class I

\(\text{šrējē} \quad \text{to cry} \quad : \quad \text{kšrēuwe}\)

A3: \((i(:i) : ə)\) MHG. class II

\(\text{tsi:ə} \quad \text{to pull} \quad : \quad \text{tsəgə}\)
\(\text{bi:əgə} \quad \text{to bend} \quad : \quad \text{bəgə}\)
\(\text{frīre} \quad \text{to freeze} \quad : \quad \text{kfrēre}\)

A4: \((y : ə)\) MHG. class II

\(\text{fly:ə} \quad \text{to fly} \quad : \quad \text{kfləgə}\)

A5: \((u : ə)\) MHG. class II

\(\text{su:fe} \quad \text{to drink} \quad : \quad \text{ksofe}\)
\(\text{su:ge} \quad \text{to suck} \quad : \quad \text{ksoge}\)
A6: (ᵲ,ᵱ→nasal : ,uint) MHG. class III

fiŋːə 'to find': kʃʊŋːə

gliŋːə 'to succeed': ɣliŋːə

briŋːə 'to bind, tie': bəŋːə

A7: (æ :  ogl) MHG. class IIIb, class IV

haetfə 'to help': kʰaetfə

kʃtaerbe 'to die': kʃtorbe

dræfə 'to meet': drəfə

A8: (ᵲ : æ) MHG. class V

ɪŋɡːə 'to lie': ɣiæɡːə

sɪtse 'to sit': ksæsə

A9: Infinitive vowel and participle vowel identical

fa:rə 'to drive': kʃa:rə

fa:kə 'to fall': kʃakə

æsə 'to eat': gæsə

hʃæsə 'to be called': kʰæsə

4.612 Type B verbs are subdivided according to the endings /-t/ or /-ət/ of the past participle. Although the present subdivision reflects some mixing of the so-called "weak" verbs, class B1 is comprised, in general, of the OHG. -en verbs, including the causative (Gmc. -jan) verbs, whereas class B2 is made up mainly of the OHG. -on and -en verbs.
Class B1 is the productive sub-class into which new and loan verbs are assimilated. The infinitives ending in /-i:ə/ also belong here and contrary to NHG. usage, their past participles are prefixed by /g-/:

\[\text{tsæm:ə gramizi:rt} \] 'got, gathered together'. Loan words from American English are also adapted to the pattern of B1:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ket\text{\aa}]} & \quad \text{'to catch'} & \quad : & \quad \text{[ket\text{\textbar{e}]}} \\
\text{[vat\text{\aa}]} & \quad \text{'to watch'} & \quad : & \quad \text{[gvat\text{\textbar{e}]}} \\
\text{B1: [fu\text{\textbar{e}g\text{\aa}]]} & \quad \text{'to look'} & \quad : & \quad \text{[glu\text{\textbar{e}k\text{\textbar{e}]}}}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[førbræn:ə]} & \quad \text{'to burn'} & \quad : & \quad \text{[førbræn:t]} \sim [førbroen:t] \\
\text{[bru:x\text{\aa}]} & \quad \text{'to use'} & \quad : & \quad \text{[bru:x\text{\textbar{e}]}}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{B2: [vart\text{\aa}]} & \quad \text{'to wait'} & \quad : & \quad \text{[gvar\text{\textbar{e}t\text{\textbar{e}]}}}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[xox:ə]} & \quad \text{'to cook'} & \quad : & \quad \text{[xox:\text{\textbar{e}t\text{\textbar{e}]}}}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[xøpf\text{\aa}]} & \quad \text{'to knock'} & \quad : & \quad \text{[xøpf\text{\textbar{e}t\text{\textbar{e}]}}}
\end{align*}
\]

4.62 The present tense, indicative endings.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{sg.} & \neg \eta(n) & \neg \eta \varsigma & \neg \eta t \\
\hline
\text{pl.} & \neg \eta & \neg \eta t & \neg \eta \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

1. sg.: /n/ is inserted in prevocalic position.

2. sg.: /\hat{o}/ in all verbs with root-final sibilant and verbs of class B2.

3. sg.: /\hat{o}/ in verbs of class B2, verbs with root in [\text{-t}]
4.63 The two compound past tenses combine a form of one of the two auxiliaries [ha:] and [si] with the past participle of the verb. The present perfect is formally like the compound past of NHG., but functionally it also substitutes for the NHG. simple past tense. With most intransitive verbs of motion, the auxiliary si is used; all transitive verbs have as their auxiliary [ha:]. Ex.:

[mir zi ksæsə] 'we sat'
[ɪr ɪs d hæma bɪba] 'he stayed at home'
[si hə ys i:ɡlædə] 'they invited us'
[i ha daŋkət] 'I thought'

Infrequently, the perfect of the auxiliary may combine with the past participle to form the past perfect.

[mir zi duse ɡvɔːnt ksi] 'we had lived out there'

But the action completed prior to some point in the past may also be rendered by the present perfect, or compound past.

The future time is usually indicated by the present verb in conjunction with an adverbial of time, but the auxiliaries [værda] and [vɛlə] may also combine with the infinitive of the verb to indicate the future. Ex.:

[i dæːx i fɔrgæs niə] 'I think I'll never forget'
[du vɪ:s niə ʃiaːʃ] 'you'll never (be able to) sleep'
[si vot mə:n ʃaːʃ] 'she will work tomorrow'
4.64 Only a few SwdtA. verbs have a special form for the subjunctive:

[si] 'to be' : [sig] [vaer-]
[ha:] 'to have' [haet-]
[du:] 'to do' [daet-]
[værdr] 'to become' [vyrdr-]

Apart from these auxiliaries, whose past subjunctive forms are used in the conditional construction, only fragments of a former subjunctive mood are still current:

[xoen:] [xoen:t] [wen i rum xoen:t] 'if I could get around'
[xo:] [xoem:o] [zaet i xrib mir xoen:o] 'shall I write (that) we're coming?'
[ga:] [gæ:b] [wen z naeepis gæ:b] 'if there were anything else'
[bru:] [brysto] [nyt vas mir brysto] 'nothing we would need'
[ga:] [giem] [i wës nd oeb er giem] 'I don't know if he went (would go)'
[max:] [my:x(o)] [vas di xur nas kxxt myx] 'what a face she would make'

But much more common than these subjunctive forms in everyday usage is the periphrastic conditional. Compare:

[s my:xo mi gants boe:z] ~ 'it would make me
[s dae:t mi gants boe:z max:] very angry'

Further examples of the periphrastic conditional, using the auxiliary [daet-]:

[daet:x du mir mi:ni mæjø vaesirø] 'would you water my flowers?'
[i bi fro: wen du daet:] 'I'd be glad if you would'
4.65 The imperative form of the verb is similar to NHG. usage.

In the singular, the stem of the verb normally stands alone and the plural is identical with the 2. person plural indicative form.

\[\text{sg.: } [\text{iuω}(g)] \quad \text{pl.: } [\text{iuωε}] \quad \text{'look!'\}]

The 1. person plural may denote strong suggestion bordering on the imperative:

\[\text{[mir sægə] } \text{'let's say...'}\]
\[\text{[sɪŋːə mir] } \text{'let's sing'}\]
\[\text{[mir vɔə bryxtə] } \text{'let's talk'}\]

4.66 The passive in SwdtA. also parallels the NHG. construction, using the auxiliary \[\text{[værədə]}\]:

\[\text{present } [\text{di værədə nɪmːə bruːxt}] \text{ 'they are no longer used'}\]
\[\text{past } [\text{vɔ t fɔtɔɡrafı: gnoː vɔrden rɪ}] \text{ 'when the photograph was taken'}\]

The following sentences show the logical, step-by-step progression from the root meaning of \[\text{[værədə]}\] 'to become, grow' to its use as the auxiliary for the passive. The intermediate stage in parenthesis is sometimes called a quasi-passive.

\[\text{[s vɪːd dʌŋkət] } \text{'it's getting, growing dark'}\]
\[\text{[si værədə nɔː zɔnːəfəɐɾbɾɔnːt] } \text{'they will get sunburned'}\]
\[\text{([si si ərdət dʌŋkət fɔrˈbruːnːt]) } \text{'they are rather deeply tanned'}\]
\[\text{[s vɪːd frʊw gnaɛt un əː bryxtə] } \text{'there is a lot of talking and sewing done'}\]
4.67 Details of infinitive usage.

4.671 The infinitive particle [ts] is used following the verbs [max:ø]
and [bru:xø], unlike the NHG. standard. Ex.:

\[ cr \text{ maxt mi ts tax:ø} \] 'he makes me laugh'

\[ das \text{ maxt \text{ eim guet ts fy:ø} } \] 'that makes you feel good(coll.),
gives one a good feeling'

\[ i \text{ ha das nie bru:xø ts max:ø} \] 'I never had to do that'

On the other hand, SwdtA. sometimes omits the particle where it
is mandatory in NHG. Ex.:

\[ es \text{ hœ:rt gti: uf ñu:xø} \] 'it will soon stop snowing'

\[ vøn d sitir a:fa:t xox:ø \] 'when the cider begins to boil'

In most cases, however, the particle is used just as in NHG.:

\[ vøn du: œpis tsægø heø \] 'if you have anything to say'

\[ i \text{ ha nœd fæu w tsæø kha} \] 'I didn't have much to eat'

4.672 The line of distinction between the infinitive phrase and the
substantival use of the infinitive is obscured in the latter example
above, [tsæø], cf. [æø]: [gæø] 'to eat, eaten'. To further complicate matters, the substantivized infinitive is treated as a neuter singular,
requiring the definite article /(d)z/ in the common case.

Thus, in the phrase [gib mir tsaæø], the verb complement might
be interpreted either as a substantive or as an infinitive phrase. The
substantival use of [tsæø] in further references to meals reveals an
interesting semantic complex of nouns with agglutinated [ts-].
[øs vundirbars tsæsø] 'a wonderful dish, meal'
[s droæx:øtsæsø] 'threshers' dinner'
[tsæsøxìbuw] 'dinner pail'
*[fy r tsmîda:gaæsø] 'for dinner (lunch)'
*[fy r tsmørge] 'for breakfast'
*[øs guets snaxt] 'a good supper'

*Initial [ts-], now an integral part of these nouns, likely derives from the preposition [tsu]v[ts] in phrases analogous to NHG. zu Mittag essen. Thus, by analogy, [tsmørge] and even [tsnaxt].

Other substantivized infinitive phrases:

[i vıuw øépís rìh guets ha: fyr tsæsø] 'I want to have something really good to eat'

[d lyt si gaæø vëhin fyr øépís ts maxø] 'people are always willing to do something'

[bix redì fyr ts ga:] 'are you ready to go?'

But when the infinitive is tacitly comprised:

[redì fyr inø] 'ready to go (take) in'

[biats fyr næbødyre] 'room to pass by alongside'

The infinitive phrase may function syntactically as a subject or as a prepositional object:

[ts høeø fórsvmejø ìs mîr fôrløydø] 'I got sick and tired of mowing away hay'
[du: mîd di:m xææxbîs starx fa:re] 'you and your (obscene) fast driving'
[das vøiz i zofom høe:resægeø] 'I know it only from hear-say'
[s ìs faø nîd tsum u:shatø] 'it's almost unbearable'
4.673 The progressive verb makes extensive use of the construction \([\text{am}] + (\text{INF.})\):

- **present**: \([\text{dɛː} \ x\underline{y} \ o \ z\ i \ \text{am} \ \text{aŋ} \ \underline{x} \ q \ \text{am} \ \text{ruw} \ \underline{z} \ o]\)
  
  'some of the cows are lying down, resting'

- **past**: \([\text{zi} \ \text{zi} \ \text{am} \ \text{græs} \ \text{fræʊə} \ \text{kxi}]\)
  
  'they were grazing, eating grass'

The progressive permits easy adaptation of borrowed verbs without the complexity of inflected forms. Thus, many everyday activities are currently described in SwdtA. with the aid of infinitives adapted from American English stems.

- \([\text{si} \ \underline{r} \ \text{am} \ \text{palɪʃə}]\) 'she's polishing (the floor)'
- \([\text{si} \ \underline{r} \ \text{am} \ kænːə]\) 'she's canning (fruits, vegetables)'
- \([\text{t} \ \underline{r} \ \text{am} \ \text{tɛdɪrə} \ \text{kxi}]\) 'he was tedding (the hay)'

The contraction \([\text{am}]\) may precede both the infinitive and its complement:

- \([\text{si} \ \underline{r} \ \text{am} \ \text{fliŋ} \ \text{am} \ \text{maːtə}]\) 'she's grinding meat'
- \([\text{si} \ \underline{z} \ \text{zi} \ \text{am} \ \text{bɛtʃər} \ \text{tsæmːə} \ \text{am} \ \text{raɛsːə}]\) 'they are raking leaves together'

4.68 The modal auxiliaries constitute a special closed class of six verbs which are similar in function and in form. They usually do not stand alone, but serve to amplify another complementary verb in a specific modal aspect. This complementary infinitive is linked to the modal without the particle \([ts]\). In form, all six lack the /-(ə)t/
ending which normally marks the 3. person singular of the present.

Further, the 1. and 3. person singular are identical in form, as are
the 1. and 3. plural.

The irregular verb [vøē] has been appended to the table of modals
because it shares these same formal characteristics, although its
function and distribution are quite unlike those of the true modals.

Table 7.

MODAL AUXILIARIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inf.</th>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Condit.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular 1., 3. 2.</td>
<td>Plural 1., 3. 2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xøen:ə</td>
<td>xøn(:) xøn $</td>
<td>xøn$ + $</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vøt:ə</td>
<td>vøt vøtš</td>
<td>vøt - + $</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>søt:ə</td>
<td>søt søts</td>
<td>søt - +</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myøśə</td>
<td>myøś myøš</td>
<td>myøś + -</td>
<td>-(i)t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyrēə</td>
<td>dyrē dyrēš</td>
<td>dyrē - +</td>
<td>-(i)t</td>
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<tr>
<td>moēgə</td>
<td>--- ---</td>
<td>--- ---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vøēə</td>
<td>vøē vøēš</td>
<td>vøē - +</td>
<td>-(i)t</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.681 Special forms of the modals and variants.

[vøt:ə]: 1. and 3. sg. pres. ind. /vøt/ appears in set formulae,
particularly in denoting future action: [i vøt luəgə]

: 1. and 3. sg. pres. subjunctive /vøt/, used in indirect
discourse: [kø heł kfra:kt øeb i vøu i. . . .]

: Conditional stem /vøt-~/vøet-/
[søeː]: 1. and 3. sg. pres. subjunctive /søː/, used in indirect discourse: [er hæt ksøːt i sœuw . . .]

: Plural stem pres. ind. /søː−/ ~ /søːt−/

: Conditional stem /søːt−/ ~ /sæt−/

dyrː]: Plural stem pres. ind. /dyːr−/ /dœːr−/

[mœːgə]: Full paradigm not attested. Apart from infrequent use of the conditional, this verb is usually replaced by: [i vɔːt], [i hæt gærn], [i xaː], etc.

4.682 Past indicative of modals. The past participle of the modal is identical with the infinitive and combines with the auxiliary [hæː] to form the present perfect. Only when the complementary is clearly implied can the modal stand alone in the compound tense. Normally, it is prefixed to the complementary infinitive, forming a so-called "double infinitive". Note that, by way of comparison, the NHG. form of the "double infinitive" is inverted in sequence. Compare the NHG. er hæt... werden wollen with:

[er hæt nœː o buːr vœː:vœːrde] 'he didn't want to become a farmer'

[ven er nœː hæt mœːgə] 'if he didn't want to, he wouldn't

hæt er oː kæː guaː o gmaxː] 'have made a good one, either'

Further examples of the past indicative:

[er hæt s nœː xoæː o fœːr] 'he couldn't find it`

[mir hæ miyœː o luodal] 'we had to go on foot'
[\textit{vas i ha vətə sægə}] 'what I meant to say...'

but:  [\textit{fə hət nəd guat æŋliʃ kənə}] 'he couldn't speak English well'

[\textit{ma hət niənə kənə dərə gaː}] 'one couldn't get through anywhere'

4.69 There are about a dozen irregular verbs of high frequency in a closed class, including the auxiliaries [\textit{haː}, [\textit{si}], [\textit{duə}] for their subjunctive forms, cf. #4.64). In contrast to regular verbs, all have monosyllabic infinitive forms, most of them because of stem-final consonant loss and subsequent coalescence of stem and ending, but two of them, [\textit{gaː}] and [\textit{staː}], were monosyllables already in OHG. and MHG. These verbs are also highly irregular in the present indicative. Table 8., which follows, lists eleven such monosyllabic verbs in the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>1. 2. 3. Person Singular</th>
<th>1. 2. 3. Person Plural</th>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Table 8.
MONOSYLLABIC VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'to have'</th>
<th>ha:</th>
<th>kha:</th>
<th>ha:</th>
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<th>he:</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>'to be'</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ksi</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>sit</td>
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<td>bix</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>si</td>
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<td>'to do'</td>
<td>due</td>
<td>da:</td>
<td>due</td>
<td>dyo</td>
<td>dyet</td>
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<td>dui</td>
<td>dyo</td>
<td>dyo</td>
<td>dyo</td>
<td>dyo</td>
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<tr>
<td>'to stand'</td>
<td>sta:</td>
<td>ksta:</td>
<td>sta</td>
<td>sto:</td>
<td>sto:</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>'to go'</td>
<td>ga:</td>
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<td>ga:</td>
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<td>gae</td>
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<td>go:</td>
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<td>'to catch'</td>
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<td>'to let'</td>
<td>la:</td>
<td>gta:</td>
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<td>toe:</td>
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<td>la:</td>
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<td>'to give'</td>
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<td>gae</td>
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<tr>
<td>'to take'</td>
<td>nae</td>
<td>gna:</td>
<td>ksm</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ksm</td>
<td>nae:</td>
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<tr>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>kse:</td>
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<td>'to see'</td>
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4.691  Peculiarities in inversion. As with regular verbs, the epenthetic [-n] follows the 1. sg. pres. ind. verb in prevocalic position, notably when subject and verb are inverted. Ex.:

\[ \text{[i kst: das]} : \text{[das kst:ni]} \] 'I (can) see that'

\[ \text{[i ha:z fargae\=a]} : \text{[vas ha:ni fargae\=a]} \] 'what did I forget?'

Inversion can also result in fusions, through the assimilation of verb-final and subject-initial elements. Ex.:

\[ \text{[dir he\=st]} : \text{[he\=st dir]} \] 'have you?'

\[ \text{[dor xnaext kst:]} : \text{[da he\=d:or xnaext kst:]} \] 'then the hired man said'

cf. \[ \text{[gimir]} < \text{[gib mir]} \] 'give me'

4.692  A formula for expressing a wish or desire uses the conditional of the verb \[ \text{[ha:]} \] :

\[ \text{[i ha\=et gaern]} \] 'I would like to have...'

By an accident of near-rhyme, the conditional of the verb \[ \text{[vet:\=e]} \] combines with \[ \text{i}\] to form \[ \text{[i vet i ha\=et]} \], a wishful or even wistful cliché which easily evinces amusement from an eminently practical, down-to-earth people with a keen sense of humor.

The compound past of \[ \text{[ha:]} \] is used with a limited group of /g-/ prefix verbs: \[ \text{[khoe:re]}, \text{[kst:]}, \text{[k\=sy:re]}, \text{etc.} \] Ex.:

\[ \text{[du he\=s khoe:rt kha:]} \] 'you heard'

4.693  The verb \[ \text{[duo]} \] is used extensively as an auxiliary to avoid uncommon or irregular verb forms. In the present indicative particularly, but also in the conditional, this results in the economy of
inflected forms already referred to in #4.6 and #4.673. The remarkable ease with which loan words from American English can be adapted to the circumlocution [duə] + (INF.) and to the progressive construction [am] + (INF.) accounts for a large segment of the AEng. admixture in SwdtA. The stem formant /-ə/ is simply suffixed to an English word, which may remain otherwise phonologically intact or, if used more frequently, gradually become assimilated through adjustment to the phonological patterns of SwdtA. A SwdtA.-speaking informant described the process of borrowing this way:

"When we can't think of a word, we just quickly substitute an English word and hang an 'a' on it."

The SwdtA. verb [duə] translates the American English to do as it is used (1) for emphasis or to convey agreement and insistence and (2) as a tag-question, or trailer, echoing the full verb construction of a "yes-no"-type question.

(1)  [i veɪs nɪd]  
     'I don't know'

     [ja duː duːə]  
     'yes, you do!'

     [daː ˈluːkt zə: həˈmætɪg]  
     'that looks so homey, familiar'

     [ja əs duːət]  
     'yes, it sure does'

(2)  [dɪr dɪət fjuːw næxjə

     dɪədɪər nɪd]  
     'you sew a lot,
     don't you?'
The standard NHG. tag-question is either nicht(wahr)? or oder?

SwdtA. offers a similar option as an alternative:

[(odir) nid] 'isn't it so', 'don't you', etc.

4.694 In some contexts, the verb [ga:] has become so attached to a complementary infinitive that it has been reduced in form to [ga] and reduced in meaning to a particle virtually empty of lexical content.

[ি ga: i ts be2 ga 8la:fe] 'I'm going to bed (to sleep)'

[di arpit i§ liؤxtir as ga bu:re] 'that work is easier than farmwork'

[mә hәt xoәnә ga ә: sitiә] 'one was able to go have cider made'

4.695 The paradigm of the verb [fa:], which appears defective in Table 8, above, and its twin [a:fa:] are sparsely represented in the corpus. The most obvious explanation to suggest itself was confirmed upon direct inquiry. [fa:] and [a:fa:] have fallen into disuse and have been replaced to a large extent by Type B verbs borrowed from American English, [ketә] and [ʃtәrтә], 'to catch' and 'to start', respectively.

4.696 As an auxiliary, the verb [ә:] has as its past participle the homomorphous [ә:] instead of [gła:]. Compare:

[зи heֹ na:gła:] 'they gave in, consented'

[di fɾowә hәt s hә:r ә: fәksә] 'the woman had her hair done, given a permanent'
The varying shades of meaning range from the root sense of 'to let, permit (something)' to 'to have something done' or 'to cause or make something happen'.

[mir vei la: gryəə]  'we want to send greetings'

[i giɡx s mid la: kaputss ga:]  'I don't like to let it be ruined, spoiled'

[me xa: z vät la: uisəga:]  'you can just let it run out'
(by actuating an automatic unloading device on wagon)

To directly 'make, cause something to happen', the verb maxt:

is sometimes used instead of the causative la:

[œr maxt das ga: mïdœ fyœs]  'he makes it go with his feet'
(of a child's pedal-car)

4.7 At this point in our analysis of SwdtA. morphology, it is significant to note that all of the form classes described thus far are subject to inflections, according to certain compulsory grammatical categories. Substantivals and their modifiers (even including some numerals) are declined according to number, gender and case. For the verb conjugation, there are contrasts in tense, voice and mood and within each paradigm, there is the person/number distinction.

If such inflectional changes in form are seen to be characteristic of the classes described thus far (nominals, adjectivals, numerals, pronominals and verbs), then it becomes clear upon examination of our enumeration of SwdtA. form classes that these latter constitute a divergent group lacking any such declensional or conjugational sets.
With the exception of some adverbs, the constituents of these classes are invariable in form. Adverbials, prepositives, particles and function words of various kinds will be identified. But the class distinctions tend to overlap within this area and reaching beyond. For instance, an adverb of direction may also function as a prepositive (the so-called "stressed adverbs", or separable prefixes). And the indefinite article, though formally declined in agreement with substantives, could, for syntactical reasons, be included here among the prepositives, since it introduces nominal phrases. It will, however, be excluded from this discussion in order to hold onto the formal definition of the entire group, which, for want of a better term, will be referred to as the uninflected modifiers. 3

4.71 Adverbials can serve as attributes of nearly all form classes, but chiefly modify adjectivals, verbals and other adverbials.

adv. + adj.: [ordətiŋ dəɡiŋə] 'rather dark'
adv. + verb.: [hərt ŋəfə] 'to work hard'
adv. + adv.: [fəs(t) nə] 'almost never'
adv. + nom.: [juʃ tjuŋ] 'just (a) dog'
adv. + pron.: [psuk'ins ıg] 'especially I'

---

3 A caveat lector should be attached to some regrettable and eminently forgettable treatments of these "parts of speech" which group together grammatical mavericks, foundlings and distant relatives under a single, catch-all rubric in an attempt to impress some semblance of order upon a disarray of miscellany.
4.711 Adjective-adverbs.

(a) [daz Ỳ søe:nz mətiti] 'that is a pretty girl'

(b) [s mətiti Ỳ søe:n] 'the girl is pretty'

(c) [s mətiti xa: søe:n zŋːə] 'the girl can sing nicely, prettily'

In introducing the adjectives in §4.3, sample sentences (a) and (b) were presented to contrast the inflected attributive adjective and the uninflected predicative adjective. In sentence (c) above, the verb [zŋːə] 'to sing' is modified by [søe:n] to specify the manner of singing. Although adverbs of time and manner may add derivational suffixes to denote comparison, they have no declensional inflection. In this respect, they resemble the predicate adjective.

[mi:s mətiti  นอกจาก søe:nir as diːs] 'my girl is prettier than yours'

[mi:s mətiti xa: søe:nir zŋːən as diːs] 'my girl can sing nicer, prettier than yours'

A model derivational paradigm for this group of adjective-adverbs might be typified by the comparison of these two, the first a regular and the second an irregular adverb:

1. [søe:n]  2. [søe:nir]  3. [am søeːnʃte]
1. [guət]  2. [bestir]  3. [am beʃte]

Thus, the stems of many descriptive adjectives can function adverbially as well, although the converse is not necessarily true. Not all adverbs of time and manner can accept declensional endings and attributive function.
Adverbs of negation.

The negative particle [nɪð]~[nɪd] corresponds to NHG. nicht and its distribution is analogous to NHG. word order involving the negation of all or part of a phrase.

The negative adverb of time has been compounded in the form [nɪmːt]~[nɪmːt] 'no longer, no more'. Another, rarer negative compound is [nœpɪs]. Asked to define and use it, an informant responded:

\[ s ð nɪd nɪt \ u n s ð nɪd nœpɪs \ldots \]
\[ s ð p r æ k t ð \ g a r nɪt ] \ 'practically nothing at all'

Intensified and doubled negatives are common with the negative pronoun [nɪt] and the negative adverb of time [nɪð] and of place [nɪnə]:

\[ s ð g a r nɪnə nɪt ] \ 'it is absolutely nothing'
\[ mær hɛʃ nɪo kəxe buːxʊtɛsɛ kha: ] 'we never did have(plant) any buckwheat'

Another illustration of the use of the negative adjective \[ kɛ(n) - \ ]:

\[ xɔn hɛʃ dɪr o : kəs kha: ] 'you didn't have any corn, either?'

Spatial adverbs, or adverbs of place.

A discussion of spatial adverbs provides a logical and structural transition from adverbials to the next form class: prepositions.
expressing spatial relationships, the SwdtA. preposition of direction or location frequently does not stand alone, but is intensified by a corresponding spatial adverb. In such a construction, the adverb carries a heavier phrasal stress than the preposition. Ex.:

\[ \text{uf der mu:r obo} \] 'up on the wall'

The symmetry of Table 9, which follows below shows the regular correspondence between prepositions and adverbs of place. The latter are somewhat more numerous, since in most cases the stressed adverb of direction (NHG. "trennbare Vorsilbe" or "separable prefix") is distinguished from the adverb of location.

To illustrate the former, along with the prepositional phrase it supports:

\[ \text{er het s home i t ny:u obo braxt} \] 'he brought the hay into the barn'

Usually, the adverb of location is also defined by another adverb or by a prepositional phrase (phrasal adverbial), but when such definition is lacking, the adverb stem is prefixed with a \[d-\]. Compare:

\[ \text{im frei obo} \] 'out in the open' (NHG. im Freien)
\[ \text{duo:} \] 'out there, over there' (NHG. draussen), n.t.
\[ \text{duo:} \] with the connotation 'over there in Switzerland':
\[ \text{er ro xo: fo do:} \] 'he came from (over in) Switzerland'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb of Direction</th>
<th>Adverb of Location</th>
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<td>'on(to)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abe</td>
<td></td>
<td>u(ː)f, dru(ː)f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axə, abe</td>
<td>ṱụːə</td>
<td>'down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ab, drab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i(ː)xə, i(ː)ne</td>
<td>inə</td>
<td>'in(to)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>u(ː)sə</td>
<td>uṣə, duṣə</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u(ː)s, dru(ː)s</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṱụː:irə</td>
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<td>ṱụː:ir, drụː:ir</td>
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<tr>
<td>anə</td>
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<td>'to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>a(ː), dran(ː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsuə(xə)</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>ts, tsu, də̂r:tsuə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first three adverbs of direction and the last-mentioned in the table above deserve special notice because of the two series of variants \[\text{uə, abə, inə, tsuə} : \text{uxə, axə, ixə, tsuəxə}\]\(^4\) With reference to the dialects of the Canton of Berne, Keller says the former

\(^4\)Walter Henzen, \textit{Deutsche Wortbildung}, p. 95 suggest a historical derivation of the second series from (preposition) + hin/her. Thus, inhin > ihi(n) > iche ; abhar > aha > acha ; ufher > utha > ucha .
are typical of "city" speech, the latter more typical of the "country". 5
Christian Lerch, on the other hand, warns against such over-simple
distinctions between urban and rural varieties of Berndeutsch. 6 The
distribution of these two series in the three SwdtA. target communities
is not sharply defined geographically, owing to intermarriage and inter-
m mingling among the communities. But there is a general consensus
that the adverbs of direction with final [-xo] are more characteristic
of "Sonnbärg".

4.72 Prepositives are introductory forms, primarily free forms
whose syntactic function is to introduce phrases or clauses. The only
inflectionally bound forms in this class are a few derivational affixes
which constitute a limited group of uniformly unstressed verbal pre-
fixes (NHG. "untrennbare Vorsilben" or "inseparable prefixes"). They
are included here because of their relationship to the stressed adverbs
just mentioned in #4.713, which are also prepositives. 7

4.721 Verbal prepositives are:

4.7211 The unstressed verbal prefixes /b(o)-/, /en(t)-/, /er-/, /g(o)-/
and /vør-/, cf. #4.71. This type of prefixation is an important process
of derivation and is further illustrated in #5.143, along with other types

5R. E. Keller, German Dialects, pp. 88 f.

6Robert B. Christ, Schweizer Dialekte, p. 152

7George O. Curme, A Grammar of the German Language, pp. 434 f.
of derivational word-formation. Ex.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[hakita]} & \quad \text{'to hold'} & \quad \text{[phaitɔ]} & \quad \text{'to keep'} \\
\text{[grisa]} & \quad \text{'torn'(p. p.)} & \quad \text{[farisə]} & \quad \text{'torn up'(p. p.)}
\end{align*}
\]

4.7212 The stressed adverb of direction (whether understood figuratively or concretely) also modifies and normally precedes the verb. But in contrast to the prefixes of #4.7211, these prepositives bear the primary stress within the phrase and their emphatic forms show vowel lengthening. To illustrate, using the same verb stems as in #4.7211 above:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ir muos si:s bet us der van u:se ri:sə]} & \quad \text{'he has to pull his bed out of the wall'} \\
& \quad \text{(murphy bed in an apartment)} \\
\text{[s ɨs fa:s nd tsem u:se haktɔ]} & \quad \text{'it's almost unbearable'}
\end{align*}
\]

The adverb is syntactically preposed before these two infinitives and their respective past participle forms \([u:se khaːtɔ] and [u:se grisa]\) in fact, it precedes all related verb forms excepting the present indicative when used in a main, or independent clause. Ex.:

\[
\text{[mor haktɔ z nd u:s]} \quad \text{'we can't(won't be able to) stand it, bear it'}
\]

4.7213 The verb with preposed adverbial complement is but one type of phrasal verb. The complement may be a preposition, as well as an adverb. Compare:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[hej ga:]} & \quad \text{'to go home'} & \quad \text{with:} \\
\text{[mit ga:]} & \quad \text{'to go along'} \\
\text{[na:ta:]} & \quad \text{'to give in, yield'}
\end{align*}
\]
The complement may also be a noun or nominal phrase. Uncertainty about how closely complement and verb are related is reflected in the orthography of the NHG, written standard. Some phrasal verb complements are written as separate words (NHG. Klavier spielen, Ski fahren) while others are prefixed and joined (NHG. stattfinden, nachtwandeln). Of course, this an orthographical curiosity of little concern to the speaker of an unwritten vernacular such as SwdtA., where the stress patterns of the spoken language clearly show that these phrasal verbs are of the same type as those with prepositional or adverbial complements. Ex.:

\[\text{[štite fa:re]}\] 'to ride in a siod, sleigh'
\[\text{[u:so ga:]}\] 'to go out, empty out'
\[\text{[mit briŋ:ə]}\] 'to bring along'

Phrasal verbs with noun complements are not very numerous in SwdtA. and these analogs of the NHG, examples above are admittedly somewhat less than elegant:

\[\text{[mu:jarpitə ñpɾi:tə]}\] 'to play the harmonica'
\[\text{[xne:xə ñpɾi:tə]}\] 'to play the bones (folk percussion)'
\[\text{[mi:tʃuə fa:re]}\] 'to ice-skate'
\[\text{[xarə fa:re]}\] 'to drive a car, automobile'\(^8\)

---

\(^8\)Curiosity about the possible influence of AEng. verb usage to drive (a vehicle) on the SwdtA. verb [drɪ:be] (NHG. treiben) led to a direct inquiry. Answer: it might be used with [bəgi] 'buggy' but not with [xarə].
The corpus contained only one phrasal verb with verb complement which is treated as a separable prefix "compound verb" in NHG. In SwdtA., by contrast, the word order is rather analogous to that of the modals. Ex.:

\[ \text{du setz\d i y t \ i e: ro \ k e n: e} \] 'you should learn to know(thes)people'

cf. NHG. : du solltest die Leute kennenlernen

4.722 Prepositions constitute a closed class of phrasally bound forms which introduce exocentric constructions of the type \((P R E P. ) + (O B J.)\), where OBJ. stands for a nominal phrase or an equivalent phrase. The SwdtA. prepositions of place (cf. Table 9, #4. 713), like the corresponding NHG. forms, distinguish between 'location' and 'motion toward' the object of the preposition. The preposition itself remains invariable, but it requires inflection of the object for the dative or the accusative/common case, respectively. Ex.:

\[ \text{di ediri si \ y o: \ im \ be t} \] 'the parents are already in bed' (dat.)
\[ \text{l gayjets i ts be t} \] 'I'm going to bed now' (com.)

Examples of frequently used prepositions in addition to the twelve spatial prepositions already listed are:

\[ \text{bi d e r d y: r} \] 'at the door'
\[ \text{on i y:s} \] 'without us'
\[ \text{m x t \ an a y} \] 'together, with one another'
\[ \text{n ax b i lo t e} \] 'to(ward) Bluffton, Oh.'
\[ \text{f o s d sax} \] 'one of the things ...'
\[ \text{v a e g o \ 'daem} \] 'about that, on that account'
'around 11:00'
'along toward evening'
'for breakfast'

Of these nine examples, only the last three require the common case object, whereas the others are followed by the dative object. The high frequency of the last-named preposition [fyr] is due in part to its flexibility. It handles the functions of NHG. für and um in the infinitive phrase um zu ...as well:

[for mi] 'for me'
[redi for ts ga:] 'ready to go'
[os kšir for mi:nj bluωμε dri: ts due] 'a bowl to put my flowers in'

The last two examples hint at another source of its frequent usage. Owing to their strong phonetic similarity, SwdtA. [fyr] has become amalgamated with AEng. for, resulting in a wider functional range for the preposition and formal variants for the unstressed preposition ranging between [fyr] and [far].

[ja for su:] 'yes, certainly' (cf. AEng. for sure)

4.7221 Table 9. also illustrates prepositions in compounds with initial /der-/ ~ /dr-/ (NHG. da(r)- compounds) when the object is an unstressed pronoun referring to an inanimate object. Compare:

[uf 'daem] 'thereupon' : [druf] (< uf oμ)
[vaegö 'daem] 'on that account' : [dir'vaegö] (< vaegö oμ)
The corresponding NHG. wo(r) -compounds have no counterpart in SwdtA., with the exception of the interrogative [varum] 'why?'. Normally, the full prepositional phrase is used, whether the preposition's object has reference to a person or to a thing. 

\[ fyr \text{ vas he}s \text{ das gmaxt } \] 'why did you do that?'

\[ mid \text{ vas he}s \text{ das gmaxt } \] 'with what did you do it?'

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
\text{na bat: Во vas di xii } & \text{ sps:a dya mit } \end{align*} 
\] 'a ball children play with'

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
\text{frw frnd wo mср aub: mit i t šu:t gaq:о si } \end{align*} 
\] 'many friends with whom we used to go to school'

4.7222 Within the prepositional phrase, a fusion of a preposition ending in a vowel and the definite or indefinite article which follows is quite common. In addition to such agglutinations found in NHG.: im ( < in + dem) and vom ( < von + dem), etc., SwdtA. has the following contractions:

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
\text{nam} < [\text{na(x) + dem}] \\
\text{in} < [i + den] \\
\text{bin:ne} \{ < [\text{bi + mәne, nire}] \\
\text{binirе} \} < \text{(NHG. einem, einer)} 
\end{align*} 
\]

4.7223 Prepositional details:

Prepositions may appear doubled within the same phrase:

\[ \text{bис am mәrgә } \] 'until morning'

Prepositions may appear in formula-like constructions:

\[ [i štat ga:] \] 'to go to town'

\[ \text{fo har: max:e} \] 'to do something by hand'
4.723 Connectors are prepositives which introduce phrases or clauses and show their relationship to a preceding phrase or clause or to a clause upon which they are dependent.

4.7231 Coordinators are like grammatical links joining together phrases or clauses without changing the syntactic order within the phrases or clauses thus joined. In a spoken language such as SwdtA. coordinators are used extensively in undeliberated speech to provide continuity from one 'thought group' to another. Ex.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(er iš hē xo: un i ha: tsuōn im ksect)} \\
'\text{he came home + and + I told him...}'
\end{align*}
\]

Other coordinators are [abir] 'but', [dax] 'but', [dēr] 'or' and [vaēgə] 'since, for' (causal):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(daēr muōs ræxt fu: si vaēgə daēr gext nd omal i t sāro)} \\
'\text{he must be very lazy + for + he doesn't even get into the shade (to rest)}'
\end{align*}
\]

4.7232 Subordinators, on the other hand, introduce subordinate clauses and have the effect of shifting the finite verb to the end of that clause. For further illustration of dependent word order and subordinate clause construction, cf. #6.34. Compare with above:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(er iš hē xo: un i ha: tsuōn im ksect)} \\
\text{[von er hē xo: iš han i tsuōn im ksect]} \\
'\text{when he came home, I said to him...}'
\end{align*}
\]

Other subordinators in addition to [vō(n)] are: (1) interrogative and relative pronouns [vær], [vas], [vō:] and interrogative adverbs [væn:], [vı:], [vō:], except when used in a direct question, and
(2) the conjunctions [vən] 'when, if', [œeb] 'if', [as] 'that' and [sid(ir)]
'since' (temporal):

[vən d xats furt gəxt zo: dantsə d myəs]
'when the cat's away, the mice do play' (proverb)

4.7233 A limited number of connectors appear in non-contiguous pairs in constructions which compare two persons or two things.

(1) Equality: (NHG. so - wie)

[zə - vi] [daer bryxtet gra:d zə grop vi mir]
'he talks just as roughly as we do'

[zə - as] [zə kšvŋŋ as əs væɨr guet əʃ]
'as soon as the weather is good...

(2) Inequality: (NHG. comparative + əis)

(COMP) + [as] [miːni švståstə zi eltír az i bi]
'my sisters are older than I am'

(COMP) + [vədər] [nyːt təʃstət bəsir vədər seʃ]
'nothing tastes better than that'

(3) Proportionality: (NHG. je - desto)

[vi - vi] [vi bɾəxtir vi bəʃir]
'the broader, the better'

[vi - iə] [ər iʃ vi təŋɪr iə bəzir vərdə]
'he got angrier, the longer (he talked)'
4.73 Expletives (NHG. Füllselwörter) are words or ossified phrases which, when inserted or added to a phrase, give it that flavor so characteristic of spoken language, described by SwdtA. informants as "expressive". Precisely how these expletives make the vernacular more expressive and exactly when they are called for are matters which lead the descriptivist from grammar into semasiology. Perhaps the best one can say concerning the distribution and function of expletives is to observe that the authentic use of them is one aspect of that elusive entity "Sprachgefühl" which comes only with prolonged exposure to and intimate knowledge of the language.

This class includes forms ranging from (1) obligatory to (2) optional to (3) tabu.

(1) Function words, or particles which have little or no lexical meaning, but which are mandatory because of their grammatical meaning, which is usually to clarify relationships between other elements in a phrase, for example:

the infinitive particle [ts]

(2) Optional additives, most of them adverbials, which lend added emphasis or enhance the prosodic flow, or rhythm of a phrase:

[aɪbə], [æbɪr], [æɛkt], [dæ:x], [dɒx],

[əmət], [æpə], [fər ʃuːr], [ga(ː)r],

[ɡæn], [hɔɪt], [ja], [juʃt], [stænts]
Ex.: 

[si mir æxt da] 'have we (really) arrived?'

[sœcta mir æϕø ga:] 'should we (perhaps) go?' (cf. NHG. etwa)

[mir ëχ gæø ætæ khaːfæ] 'we always used to help'

[du ɡiːxkʰ zi ja æ ɡuøt] 'you like them so well'

[s iʃ štænts hɛi ꠪ksi] 'it was very, very hot'

(3) Interjections, emotion-laden exclamations connoting surprise, consternation, anger or pain. The first group contains socially acceptable terms. Opinion varies concerning the second group, which ranges from the acceptable to the questionable "by-word" to the definitely tabu. (Cf. #5. 54 for more on social tabu)

[dax], [hæ:], [ɛ:], [ɡæt:], [jaːnu],

[mira:], [mat:], [vœw vœw]

Ex.: [s iʃ dax guøt ɡæt: du] 'it's good, isn't it?'

[ɔ: mira:] 'well, for all I care...'

[du tsit], [das iʃ mar ɡar ɡugːir], [ʃɛːra], [færðœt],

[ðim hundœrts], [ts duːziːɡs], [dœnːirvæːtir], [ɔ xaæib ja]

The expressive forms of these expletives probably show as clearly as any one facet of SwdtA. that it is indeed a linguistic cousin-germain of the present-day dialects of the Canton of Berne, nicknamed by non-Bernese "Kanton Gäng-gäng". 9

9Robert B. Christ, Schweizer Dialekte, p. 153
CHAPTER V

WORD FORMATION

5.0 Word formation and derivation

5.1 Transformation of native Alemannic material

5.2 Borrowed elements in SwdtA.

5.3 Neologisms

5.4 Synonymous alternate forms

5.5 Tabu and off-color speech
5.0 A study of word formation reveals the techniques by which a language marshals all of the linguistic resources at its disposal, whether native or borrowed elements, in order to extend and enrich its vocabulary range.

Some of the form classes identified in Chapter 4 were syntactically defined and thus were best illustrated within larger syntactic constructions, i.e., in phrases, clauses or whole utterances. But before entering upon an examination of the phrasal and clausal structures of SwdtA., a cursory look at word formation is in order, since the individual word precedes the phrase, at least in the structural hierarchy of increasing order of complexity, if not in the logic of language comprehension and control.

Word formation is of special interest in this description since SwdtA. is the first language of bilinguals and it is precisely in this area that the greatest impact of their second language, American English, is to be seen. The reader will recall that AEng. influence on the inflectionally bound forms of SwdtA. was described as negligible. It is rather in the adaptation of new free forms and roots from AEng. that the productive sector of contact between the two languages is to be found. So, in addition to the processes of compounding and derivation which re-shape native material, loans from AEng. will be
given special attention as a major source of linguistic renewal and innovation. The AEng. admixture in SwdtA. distinguishes this dialect from related Alemannic dialects in the homeland, to the delight of the student of "languages in contact" and to the professed despair of those native speakers of SwdtA. who regard it as an unfortunate corruption or contamination.

Declensional and conjugational inflection (form classes one to six) also represents a kind of word formation. But the result of an inflectional change is another form of the same word, not an entirely new word, as is the case with a derivational change.¹

To illustrate the difference:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inflection} & \rightarrow \text{ (init.)} & \text{(3. sg. pres. ind.)} & \text{(p.p.)} \\
\text{Derivation} & \downarrow \text{[bɪŋːə]} & \text{'to bind, tie'} & \text{[ɛr bɪŋːt]} & \text{[bʊŋːə]} \\
& \downarrow \text{[bɪŋːɪr]} & \text{'grain binder'} & \text{[baʊndɪə]} & \text{'bundle of grain'} \\
& & \text{[bandə]} & \text{'bunch, gang of persons'' (pejorative)}
\end{align*}
\]

5.1 Transformation of native Alemannic material.

Within limits, the following three processes of word formation will be helpful in categorizing the methods by which SwdtA. re-forms native linguistic material:

¹For the general outline of this discussion of SwdtA. word formation and particularly for this insight, clearly focused in a quotation from W. Wilmanns, the writer is indebted to Walter Henzen, Deutsche Wortbildung. For the Wilmanns quote, cf. Henzen, p. 32
(1) derivation by suffixation and/or stem alternation,
(2) by prefixation and
(3) by compounding.

The reader is forewarned that these categories interact and cannot be as neatly distinguished in actual application as this tripartite model would suggest.

To take the last-named first, it is problematical to define a compound as a combination of two or more recognizable free forms, for the question remains: recognizable by whom? In fact, many suffixes which are now clearly felt to be bound forms (cf. #4.01) are former free forms sufficiently altered so as to be unrecognizable for the average native speaker. An excellent case in point is the noun [nabbar] 'neighbor' (MHC, nachgebur), which will serve as a focal center for the following complex:

[bu:rapa:r] 'farmer and wife' cf. [pa:r] 'couple, pair'
[mi nekšte naxbar] 'my next-door neighbor'
[di naxburəxiŋ] 'the neighbor children' 1. [nax.] 'near'
[nebxrēlig] 'neighborly' 2. [naxir] 3. [nekšt-]

Given the nouns [bu:r] and [pa:r], the compound [bu:rapa:r] is transparent. The first and second elements are easily recognizable as free forms. But when the first element appears with reduced vowel in
the unstressed syllable of [naxbar], it is less readily recognizable. Unless special attention were drawn to the root meaning of [naxbar], it is conceivable that the native speaker who is not inclined to analyze his own speech might well overlook the relationship of [bur:] to [-bar], even given a relatively infrequent variant such as [naxburaxin]. In the phrase [mi nəksət naxbar:], it is even less likely that he would see in [nax-] the first degree of the superlative adjective [nəksət:]. But the best evidence that [-bar] is considered a bound suffix and that [naxbar], by definition, is understood to be a complex, rather than a compound noun is seen in the adjective [naxbarlig]. A further step in word formation has changed the noun to an adjective by the addition of a bound derivational suffix. And only etymological study of this productive derivational suffix [-hi]~[-lix]~[-lig] would reveal that it was itself once a free form (cf. OHG. lih 'body', Eng. child-like, man-ly).

5.11 Compound nouns and adjectives are typically formed by combining a determinative element (DET.) and a head element (HEAD).

5.111 DET, noun + HEAD noun (both unaltered free forms):

[maːgəvːə] 'stomach ache'

[mɪstgəbətə] 'pitch fork'

[mɪlɪxənə] 'milk can'

[strəhuət] 'straw hat'

[tsæsəxɪbuw] 'lunch pail, bucket'
5.112 DET. noun(pl. or gen. sg. form) + HEAD noun:

[xyəˈstət] 'cow stable'
[buːˈɾəbroːt] 'farmers' bread'
[vɪːˈbəɾfɔθkə] 'womenfolk'(collect. pl.), 'woman'(sg.)
[stəˈtʃɑθr] 'stable door'
[ɬɔːjəˈsæŋkst] 'mortal fear, terror'

5.113 DET. noun + HEAD adjective:

[heɪməˈmɑθs] 'homeless'
[xriːˈdaviiːs] 'chalk-white'

5.114 DET. adjective + HEAD noun:

[frəˈjaːr] 'spring (of the year)'
[ɡrəˈsæiəti] 'grandfather'
[suːˈdəsit] 'south side'
[ɡæːˌtrəˈbli] 'carrot(s)'

5.115 DET. adjective + HEAD adjective:

[rəˈθɛkʃəz] 'red-hot'
[hɛrtkhoˈriɡəɾ] 'hard of hearing'
[ɑltaˈʃəriɾiʃ] 'old-fashioned'
[fɾiʃˈbækniɡ] 'freshly-baked'

5.116 DET. verb + HEAD adjective:

[məˈrɪkʋərdiɡ] 'remarkable'
[bəˈdæŋkɔdiɡ] 'considerable'
5.117 DET. verb + HEAD noun:

[ŋi:nguɔg] 'lightning bug'
[ʃwupʃtuaŋ] 'walking plow'
[ktɛmxaʊvɪɾ] 'pinch bug'
[naɛʃjɑɾjɪɾ] 'sewing ring, circle'
[ri:troːs] 'riding horse' (also child's pony)

5.118 DET. numeral + HEAD adjective (derived from noun):

[isaɛʃɔfɔsɪɡ] 'ten-foot-(deep)' (snowdrifts)

[xrum:beɾiɾɪɡ] 'having crooked leg(s)'

5.119 Exocentric compounds (Bahuvrihi). HEAD noun with a metaphorical reference to another noun. All three examples given here refer pejoratively to persons and cannot be translated literally.

[ʃtɔbɪɾɡriŋ] 'stubborn, obstinate person'
[ɡvʊɲɪɾnaːz] 'nosy, prying person'

[drækəsɔu] 'dirty, rascally person'

5.12 Non-inflecting compounds. Only a few in this class are true compounds: the (ADV.) + (ADV.) compounds of §5.121 and the adverb-prepositions compounded with [da(ɾ)-] or some reduced form thereof in §5.122. The majority consists of phrasal agglutinations or adverbial-prepositional concatenates, irregularly joined elements from various form classes.
5.121 DET. adverb + HEAD adverb:

[hisˈabo] 'up here'
[deːtˈænə] 'over there'
[xbirˈabo] 'upstairs, overhead'
[daˈyŋə] 'down here, there'

5.122 Prepositions of place (NHG. da(r)-compounds), cf. #4.7221:

[darum] 'around here, in these parts'
[darˈhɪŋiɾ] 'behind it, that'
[druf] 'on(to) it, that'

5.123 Adverbial-prepositional concatenates. These are often pleonastic, as the first two examples illustrate.

[da əboˈdrubir] 'up there(overhead)'
[da ʊsa druˈrum] 'round about the outside of'
[xbirˈuːs] 'especially, exceedingly, very'
[ʊŋəˈdxə] 'through underneath'
[forhaer] 'before, earlier'
[ˈaivaeg] 'in any case'
[hxtʃə daːɡ] 'these days'
[ˈhinɔxt] 'tonight, this evening'
[graːdəsˈvaːks] 'right away'
[ɡəzmaiz] '(at) once'
[tsəbiriʃt] 'upper-most, top-most'
[sietʃtəmænd] 'finally, at last'
5.13 Compound verbs. Nouns and adjectives are much more susceptible to the process of compounding, but verbs may also acquire special connotations through a more or less intimate tie to a verbal adjunct, or complement. The separable and inseparable prefix verbs, or unstable and stable compound verbs, as they have been called in conventional grammars of NHG., are verbs whose adjuncts have become partially or wholly integrated to the verb stem.

NHG.: behalten 'to keep' < (OHG. bi + haltan) (bei halten)

NHG.: weg-kommen 'to get away' < (OHG. in weg + queman) (auf den Weg kommen)

This is an historically documented process in the development of Alemannic dialects as well. (SwdtA. has corresponding forms [phaltə] and [væṅxə].) In the diachronic view, all of these verbal adjuncts were once free forms, some of which subsequently became derivationally bound affixes. The degree to which the adjunct has become integrated is clear from a synchronic study of current stress patterns, for no inseparable prefix bears the main stress. To borrow from the

2 "Complement" of the verb is here used broadly enough to embrace objects of verbs as well as phrasal verb complements. The line of distinction between the two is often a fine line indeed. Ex.: 

[si ʃam hu:s butsə] 'she's housecleaning'

[si hat s hu:s butst] 'she cleaned the house'
terminology of the natural scientist, the inseparable prefixes are ad-
jects which have become adjuvants. They are treated in the fol-
lowing section, along with other types of prefixation.

The so-called separable prefix, on the other hand, bears the main
stress of the verb. Typically, this stressed complement is an adverb
(cf. #4.7212) which cannot be considered a true compounding element
because of its relatively loose syntactic connection to the verb stem.
To take another figure from the natural sciences, it is a secondary
body, as is the unstressed prefix, but it is a limited-orbit satellite,
whereas the latter is a firmly attached trabant. In the present work,
they have been termed verbal prepositives, rather than prefixes, and
constituents of phrasal verb constructions rather than compound verbs.

5. 14 The principal prefixation types involve: (1) nouns and adjective-
adverbs with the collective /g(ə)-/ or the negative /u(n)-/ and (2) verbs
with the perfective /g(ə)-/ or the "inseparable" prefixes: /b(ə)-/, /ɛɾ-/
/ɛɾ-/ and /ɛn(t)-/.

5. 141 Prefixed nouns.

/g(ə)-/: [gebɛy] 'building'
[kfɾæs] 'mouth' (vulg.)
[gmə:n] 'church (service, congregation)'
[kʃir] 'dishes, harness'
[kʃmiːɾ] 'spreading, jam'
[kʃvɛɾm] 'swarm(of bees)'
/u(n)/-: [u:flaːt]  Invective
[ʊŋgiːkə]  'misfortune'
[ʊnxruːt]  'weeds'(collec.)
[ʊnts ktsiːfir]  'pests, vermin'(collec.)

5.142  Prefixed adjectives.
/b(ə)/-: [bobəsæftikt]  'busy, occupied'
[psuŋːir]  'special'

/g(ə)/-: [graːd]  'direct, straight'
[kʃiːd]  'clever, wise'
[kšpaesig]  'humorous, funny'

/u(n)/-: [ʊnfərɡæstɪk]  'unforgettable'
[ʊŋɡəhyːr]  'enormous, tremendous'
[v:ʌumlɪɡ]  'unhandy, inappropriate'

5.143  Prefixed verbs.
/g(ə)/-: [kʰəʊːrə]  'to hear', 'to belong'
[kfaːlə]  'to please'
[ɡərɛɡjʊə]  'to hand, reach'
[kʃiː]  'to see'
[kʃɛː]  'to happen'
[kšpyːrə]  'to feel, perceive'

Following the verb [xəenːə]  'to be able to', the perfective /g(ə)/- may be added to otherwise unprefixed verbs.
Ex.:

[ɪ xaː z nɪmæ kʃtændə] 'I can't stand it any longer'

cf. AEng. to stand, SwdtA. [ʃtændə] 'to stand, bear, endure'

Compare Zdt.: i mag schier nůme gșțaa 'I can't stand any longer'\(^3\)

/ð(ə)-/: [pʰaktə] 'to keep, remember'
[brʌktə] 'to talk, converse'
[psinə] 'to recall, remember'(reflex.)
[psuəxə] 'to visit'
[pʃlaː] 'to shoe(a horse)'

/en(t)-/: [ɛnʃkℓeə] 'to decide, determine'

/ər-/: [erfaːrə] 'to experience'
[ɛrvaxə] 'to awaken'(intrans.)

/vər-/: [ʃərdraχə] 'to twist'
[ʃərfeːtə] 'to miss (out on)'
[ʃərgaeʃə] 'to forget'
[ʃərmɛːɾə] 'to increase in number'(reflex.)
[ʃərzuəxə] 'to try, sample'

Verbs with /vər-/ prefix are very numerous, owing in part to the fact that the prefix represents a coalescence of several forms {OHG. fur(i)-, for-, far-, fer-, cf. Lat. por-, pro, per). This subclass is also productive in forming new verbs and has been expanded by imaginative use of native roots and through the influence of American English.
Ex.:

[ʃərdʁaɛkə] 'to soil, get something dirty', a transitive verb which was recorded with reference to cooking utensils, likely reflects the NHG. verbs beschmutzen and beflecken, 'to soil' (cf. SwdtA. [ʃərdʁaɛkə], reinforced by the speaker's own use of the AEng. phrase 'to dirty all the dishes'.

[ʃɪ duæt s kʰir aɪs ʃərdʁaɛkə] 'she's dirtying all the dishes'

The past participles of these /vər-/ verbs also appear quite frequently as adjectives:

[ʃəɾʃɪdən] 'various'

[ʃəɾvʌkt] 'crazy' figuratively and derogatorily

[ʃəɾhæpəit] 'fractured' used derogatorily in the phrase:

[ʃəɾhæpətəs ʤɪtʃ] 'SwdtA. with a heavy AEng. admixture'

Also with considerable emotional load:

[ʃəɾjæŋkɪt] 'yankeesied, affecting yankee, i.e. non-Swiss customs or speech'

[ʃərdɔɪt] 'mad, crazy' nearly tabu by-word

5.15 Grimm's term innere Ableitung, 'internal derivation', refers to another important process of word formation which SwdtA. shares with historically related Germanic dialects. The stem vowel undergoes a change to form a derivative stem by (1) Ablaut, a regular alternation of vowels, or by (2) Umlaut, a vowel mutation conditioned, in the cases below, by a suffix.
5.151  **Ablaut**, or stem vowel alternation in a series of morphologically related forms is the basis for the inflection of the Type A irregular verbs (cf. #4.611), but it embraces other form classes as well. An example of a verb with **Ablaut**-related nouns is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[bɪŋə]} & \quad \text{'to bind, tie'} : \quad \text{[bændə]} & \quad \text{'bunch, gang'} \\
\text{[bʌndə]} & \quad \text{'bundle(of grain)'}
\end{align*}
\]

Other verb-noun complexes which might at first appear to be examples of **Ablaut** are actually the result of **Umlaut**, which is further illustrated in the following section, #5.152.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[maːtə]} & \quad \text{'to grind'} : \quad \text{[maːuə]} & \quad \text{'meal (ground product)'} \\
\text{[məkɪ]} & \quad \text{'mill, grinder'}
\end{align*}
\]

5.1511  **Ablaut** also figures in the formation of these nouns with stems derived from Type A verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[šniːdə]} & \quad \text{'to cut'} : \quad \text{[šnɪt]} & \quad \text{'slice(of bread)'} \\
\text{[šnɪts]} & \quad \text{'sliced apples'} \\
\text{[tɕiː]} & \quad \text{'to pull, draw'} : \quad \text{[tɕuŋ]} & \quad \text{'train'}
\end{align*}
\]

Nouns with the same stem vowel as the related Type A verb, but with divergent final consonant(s):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[aːfəː]} & \quad \text{'to begin'} : \quad \text{[aːfaŋ]} & \quad \text{'the beginning'} \\
\text{[xɔː]} & \quad \text{'to come'} : \quad \text{[təsæmːakɔmːf]} & \quad \text{'meeting, get-together'}
\end{align*}
\]

5.152  The alternation of vowels in etymologically related forms above is a synchronic phenomenon. The variants in a given vowel
gradation series do not represent different stages in an historical sound change. Rather, they exist simultaneously and one can find examples of Ablaut in the oldest recorded Germanic languages as well as in the most modern ones.

Vowel mutation, or Umlaut, on the other hand, is a diachronic process by which a vowel may be phonologically conditioned by its environment. The agents of this environmental conditioning and the end results of it are many and varied, but of particular relevance for this study of SwdtA. derivation is the partial assimilation of stem vowels in anticipation of an [i/j]-element in a suffix.

The causal relationship is not always obvious in the current form, since suffixes are, with few exceptions, unstressed. Through coalescence or erosion of the unstressed ending, some mutative agents have fallen away, leaving only the mutated stem vowel as witness to their former potency. Ex.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[bɛ:t]} & \quad \text{'bed'} & \text{cf. : OHG. betti, *Gmc. bad-ja} \\
\text{[gɛxtɛr]} & \quad \text{'storm'} & \text{: OHG. gewitiri, cf.:} \\
\text{[ɔɛxtɛr]} & \quad \text{'weather'} & \text{: OHG. wetar}
\end{align*}
\]

5.1521 The first example [bɛ:t] is illustrative of a class of OHG. -ja neuter nouns. Some other SwdtA. nouns from this class show vowel mutation plus a vestige of the former -ja ending:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[bɛ:ri]} & \quad \text{'berry'} & \text{: OHG. beri, Goth. basi} \\
\text{[æntɛ]} & \quad \text{'duck'} & \text{: OHG. enti < enita, anata}
\end{align*}
\]
5.1522 The second example above [g̚y̚t̚ir] is representative of a considerable group of Swd:A. collective nouns with /gə/- prefix (cf. #5.141) and mutated stem vowel, but without the ending which earlier effected the mutation. Ex.:

[gəboɡ̚] 'building' : [bəuwe] 'to build'
[k̚sæft̚] 'business' : [ʃaʃo] 'to work'
[ksɪxt̚] 'face' : [kəʃə:] 'to see'

5.1523 Nouns formed by addition of the agentive suffix /-or/ also have stem vowel mutation, the effect of an [i]-element which had affected the preceding vowel before it disappeared from the suffix. The OHG. agentive suffix -ari became MHG. -er, a relatively late mutation called "Sekundärumlaut" to distinguish it from the primary mutation in OHG. betti, *Gmc. bad-ja. Compare:

[lo̞y̞t̚ir] '(sled)runner' : [lo̞uʃə] 'to walk, run'
[hɔə dræ:ɡir] 'suspenders' : [dræ:ɡə] 'to bear, carry'
[ʃærbiɾ] 'painter' : [ʃəɾb] 'color, paint'

5.1524 The last example [ʃærbiɾ] could as well be interpreted as an agentive noun derived from the verb [ʃærbə] 'to paint', whose stem vowel in turn reflects the influence of the former [i]-element in the suffix which marked causative and factitive verbs (OHG. -jan verbs). Compare:

[dɾɔɛxnə] 'to dry out' : [dɾɔx̚] 'dry'(adj.)
[ʃəɾpfə] 'to sharpen' : [ʃarpf̚] 'sharp'(adj.)
5.1525 The diminutive suffix [-i:] (cf. OHG. -(i)ltn, NHG. -lein) is still another agent of stem vowel mutation:

\[\text{[foegoi]} \quad \text{'little bird'} : \quad \text{[fogoi]} \quad \text{'bird'}\]

Here, the \([i]\)-element which effects the change is still evident and since the diminutive \([-i^\text{H}\)] is an extremely productive suffix, nouns of this type will be treated in the following section on suffixation.

5.16 This survey of derivational suffixes concludes the discussion of the transfiguration of linguistic material of native Alemannic provenience. Some of the same affixes are attached to borrowed elements in the SwdtA. vocabulary, as will be seen in the latter part of this chapter.

Changes in the stem brought about by the addition of a suffix have been discussed in #5.15. In the present section, sub-classes will be grouped according to the current suffixation types, without regard for diachronic considerations, i.e. whether a particular form is a 'charter member' of its sub-class or a recent initiate by way of analogy.

Sub-classes of the following major form classes are distinguished by their suffixes: nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs.

5.161 Nouns

\(/-(\ddot{o})\ddot{n}/: \quad \text{neut. (NHG. -lein)}\)

\[\text{[xaeviri]} \quad \text{'little bug'}\]
\[\text{[li\acute{e}xtli]} \quad \text{'little light'}\]
\[\text{[vaegli]} \quad \text{'narrow path, passage'}\]
with Umlaut:

[ɛ̃tii] 'twig, small branch'
[byəxii] 'booklet'
[ɡaenzii] 'gosling'
[ɜ̃̃tii] 'puppy'
[mezii] 'girl, daughter'
[pilıyagii] 'plow shares (on cultivator)'
[ʃtətii] 'village'

hypocoristic:

[seapeut] NHG. Seppl first names
[bæːbɛtii] NHG. Bärbel

/-ɛ/: neut.

[ɡitsi] 'kid(goat)'
[xæmi] 'chimney'
[xae̞ʃii] 'kettle'
[xyʃii] 'pillow, cushion'
[muni] 'beef calf'

hypocoristic:

[aetii] 'daddy'
[myɔ̃ʃii] 'mommy'
[væetii] NHG. Wälti first names
[æntii] NHG. Anni
/-ə/ neut. (NHG. -el)

[ɨxəuw] 'hill/top'
[ɨxəuw] 'bucket, pail'

hypocoristic:

[xɤɨguw] NHG. Christl first name

/-ə/ masc., /-(ə)ə/: fem. (NHG. -el)

[ɨoɛfuw] 'spoon'
[rɨguw] 'rail'
[ɨlɛguw] 'driver, maul'
[ɨɨsɛə] 'key'

[bʊndə] 'bundle'
[gabəə] 'fork'
[ɨsɪə] 'bowl, pan'
[ɨniə] 'diaper'

/-ər/: masc. (NHG. -er)

[ərbəətɪr] 'worker'
[drəxtɪr] 'funnel'
[hoɛxɡʊmpɪr] 'grass-hopper'
[xæɛwɪr] 'cellar'
[ɨpɪɛxɪr] 'attic, storage'
[ɨvɨʃɪr] 'cleaner'
occupational:

\[fæəβɜr\] 'painter'
\[kæzɜr\] 'cheese-maker'
\[ʃri:nir\] 'cabinet-maker'
\[vəɡəməksɜr\] 'wainwright, cartwright'

SwdtA. surnames related to occupations:

\[gæəβɜr\] AEng. Gerber
\[gəizɜr\] AEng. Geiser

national or local origin:

\[baernir\] 'native of Berne'
\[pətnamir\] 'native of Putnam Co., Oh. area'
\[ʃviːtsir\] 'native of Switzerland, SwdtA. speaker'

SwdtA. surnames related to place of origin:

\[hæbkər\] AEng. Habegger
\[tsɜrxir\] AEng. Zuercher

/-əri/: fem. (NHG. -erin)

\[ʃuːfərəri\] 'school teacher, schoolmistress'
\[ʃviːtsər\] 'native of Switzerland, SwdtA. speaker'

/-in/: fem. (NHG. -in)

\[frəndin\] 'girl friend'

/-i/: fem. (NHG. -ie)

\[fətroɡəfɪ\] 'photograph'
/-i/: fem. (NHG. -e)

[brext̚] 'breadth'
[hoext̚] 'height'
[laenji] 'length'

[luni̯] '(hay)mow, stage'
[deksi] '(bed)cover'
[dri:i] 'ceiling'
[xux:i] 'kitchen'
[mov̚i] 'mill'
[saeri] 'scissors'
[sməri] 'grease'

/-d/: fem. (NHG. -de)

[fron̚xt̚] 'joy, happiness'

/-ət(ə)/: neut. (NHG. -at, -od, -ut, et al. cf. Heimat, Kleinod, Armut)

[drejxat̚] 'drink(ing)'
[hejmət̚] 'home(area)'
[hoexjat̚] 'haying, hay-making'
[koax:at̚] 'cooking'

/-d/: fem., neut. (NHG. -t, -d)

[godu̯d̚] 'patience'
[kszxt̚] 'face': [ksz̚:] 
[kșxxt̚] 'story, history': [kșz̚:]
[kɔ̃ʃtʃ] 'art(of doing something)': [kœnːə]
[iːfɔːtʃ] 'entrance, driveway': [fəːrə]
[iaʃt] 'load, burden': [ladə]
[maʃt] 'might, power': [mœɡə]

but: (NHG. -kunft): [tsæmːkɔmf] 'meeting, get-together': [xaː]

/-ɛj/: fem. (NHG. -ei)
[buːrɛʃ] 'farm'
[xæsːiztʃ] 'cheese factory'
[xɪndɪʃ] 'childish prank'
[pfluəɡɪʃ] 'extensive plowing'

/-ɛt(:)d/: fem., neut. (NHG. -heit)
[ɡleɡəhɛt] 'opportunity'
[ksondheːt] 'health'
[xranikɔt] 'illness, disease'

/-ʃavd/: fem. (NHG. -schaft)
[fərvantʃ] 'relatives, extended family'
[naʃbərʃ] 'neighborhood'
[vɪrəʃ] 'business'

/-ɪɡ/: fem. (NHG. -ung)
[fœrsamlɪŋ] 'meeting, gathering'
[alːɪr gatɪŋ] 'all kinds of'
[raexnɪŋ] 'account, bill'
5.1611 Substantivized infinitives:

/-ə/: neut. (NHG. -en)

The regular infinitive ending of the verb is used when the infinitive substitutes for a nominal (either as a subject or object, cf. #r. 672). Substantivized infinitives are considered to be neuter singular and all modifiers in the nominal phrase inflect accordingly.

[diːs ʃtriːxə baːʈət dir ʃnːt] 'your smoothing down(your hair) doesn't do any good, help any'

/-əz/: A few relics of the genitive form of the substantivized infinitive may be found, notably in the phrase [ʃuːw] + (genitive-partitive) and in analogical formations.

[s ñɔɔxas] 'cooking', by analogy with constructions such as:

[s hɛt ʃuːw ʃvitsəs ʊn əː ʃuːw draɛlʃraɛsəs gæː] 'there was a lot of perspiring and inhaling of dust (involved in old-fashioned grain threshing)'

5.1612 Monosyllable nouns without suffix:

/-ə/: masc., fem. (NHG. -ø, -e)

Most nouns of this sub-class are masculine in gender and identical in form with the stem of a corresponding verb, usually of Type B. An alternative explanation would derive some Type B verbs from uninflected monosyllabic nouns by adding the -ə infinitive suffix. In the last example of the preceding section, [ʃvitsəs] is
somewhat problematical. Is it the genitive-partitive form of the noun or of the substantivized infinitive?

Functionally, either interpretation is satisfactory.

Compare:

\[ \text{[svits]} \quad '\text{perspiration}' \quad : \quad \text{[svits\d]} \quad '\text{to perspire}' \]

Further examples:

\[ \text{[bu:r]} \quad '\text{farmer}' \quad : \quad \text{[bu:r\d]} \quad '\text{to farm}' \]
\[ \text{[xe:z]} \quad '\text{cheese'} \quad : \quad \text{[xe:z\d]} \quad '\text{to make cheese'} \]
\[ \text{[knoev\d]} \quad '\text{knee'} \quad : \quad \text{[knoev\d\a]} \quad '\text{to kneel'} \]
\[ \text{[sxvants\d]} \quad '\text{tail'} \quad : \quad \text{[sxvants\d\a]} \quad '\text{to switch with the tail'} \]

A few nouns in this class are feminine:

\[ \text{[kxe:r]} \quad '\text{turn, curve'} \quad : \quad \text{[kxe:r\d]} \quad '\text{to turn'} \]

Long after the general acceptance of noun final -e in Luther's NHG. Bible translation (Ex.: NHG. Hilfe), Upper German dialects in general, regardless of religious persuasion, persisted in the -Ø form. An originally regional usage took on partisan religious connotations during the Reformation, but reformed Swiss communities also continued to use the older form without ending which became identified with Catholic Bavaria and Austria.³

³Adolf Bach, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, p. 261
/-Ø/: nominalizing suffix for feminine abstracts:

[\(\text{hxic}\)] 'help' (NHG. Hilfe) : [\(\text{hacte}\)] 'to help' (Type A)

/-Ø/: plural suffix for monosyllabic nouns:

[\(\text{fjas}\)] 'feet' : [\(\text{fues}\)] 'foot' (sg.)

5.162 Adjectives.

/-æg/: (NHG. -ig)

The most frequent and productive adjective-forming suffix, /-æg/ is adaptable to stems from almost all form classes.

From abstract nouns, denoting quality:

[\(\text{fli:sig}\)] 'industrious'
[\(\text{iu:stig}\)] 'joyous, humorous'
[\(\text{noetig}\)] 'necessary'

From concrete nouns, denoting composition:

[\(\text{gizzig}\)] 'made of glass'
[\(\text{houtsig}\)] 'wooden'
[\(\text{li:nig}\)] 'made of cotton or linen'
[\(\text{vul:ig}\)] 'woolen'

From other adjectives:

[\(\text{daplig}\)] 'double(d)'
[\(\text{nadrig}\)] 'low(er)'

From adverbs:

[\(\text{xbirig}\)] 'remnant, left-over'
From verbs:

\[ \text{[fertig]} \quad \text{'ready, done'} \]
\[ \text{[gæ:nig]} \quad \text{'nice, pleasant'} \]
\[ \text{[hærmtæurizig]} \quad \text{'hard-milking'} \]
\[ \text{[lænig]} \quad \text{'living, alive'} \]

\[-\text{ig}:/ = [\text{-ig}]~[\text{-ix}]~[-\text{i}] \quad \text{(NHG. -lich)}
\]
\[ \text{[fruntlig]} \quad \text{'friendly'} \]
\[ \text{[kær̝lig]} \quad \text{'dangerous'} \]
\[ \text{[næxbo̝rlig]} \quad \text{'neighborly'} \]

\[-\text{i}z/: \quad \text{(NHG. -(i)sch)}
\]
\[ \text{[a:ißt̝æririξ]} \quad \text{'old-fashioned, antiquated'} \]
\[ \text{[mistræ̝vjiς]} \quad \text{'distrustful'} \]

\[ \text{[vaːt̝]-} \quad \text{(MHG. wälhisch, NHG. welsch)} \]
\[ \text{appears only in compound nouns:} \]
\[ \text{[vaːt̝ huen]} \quad \text{'turkey-hen'} \]
\[ \text{[vaːt̝ hən]} \quad \text{'turkey-tom'} \]

\[-\text{bar}:/ \quad \text{(NHG. -bar)}
\]
\[ \text{[vund̝ərbar]} \quad \text{'wonderful'} \]

\[-\text{havd}:/ \quad \text{(NHG. -haft)}
\]
\[ \text{[læpʃaft]} \quad \text{'lively, animated'} \]

\[-\text{zam}:/ \quad \text{(NHG. -sam)}
\]
\[ \text{[læpzm]} \quad \text{'slow'} \]
\[ \text{[ʃpærzM]} \quad \text{'thrifty, frugal'} \]
5.163 Adverbs.

/-z/: \(\text{NHC. -s}\)

Relics of former genitive case forms:

\[ \text{psug:i\text{rs}} \] 'especially'

\[ \text{for\var{\text{a}}\text{r}}\text{ts} \] 'forward'

\[ \text{in\var{\text{k}}\text{s}} \] 'to the left'

\[ \text{ræ\text{ext}}\text{s} \] 'to the right'

/-\(\text{ə}\)li/: \(\text{NHC. -lich}\)

Although related to the adjectives with /-li\(\text{g}\)/ suffix, these forms are used only adverbially:

\[ \text{gry:z\var{\text{e}}\text{li}} \] 'awfully, very'

\[ \text{hvp\var{\text{e}}\text{li}} \] 'nicely'

\[ \text{ord\var{\text{e}}\text{li}} \] 'rather (a lot)'

5.164 Verbs.

Most of the Type B verbs are derived from nouns and adjectives by the addition of the infinitive suffixes /-ə/, /-\(\text{ə}\)li/, /-\(\text{ər}\)ə/, plus vowel mutation for a limited number of causative and factitive verbs derived from Type A verbs or adjectives. The moot question of priority in verb:noun pairs has been touched on in §5.1612 above.

/-ə, -\(\text{ə}\)/: \(\text{NHC. -en}\)

From nouns (cf. §5.1612):

\[ \text{bu:re}\text{ə} \] 'to farm'

\[ \text{gæ\text{e}}\text{i\text{a}} \] 'to fork'
'to smoke (tobacco or cured meat)'
'[siqipə]' 'to drag'

From adjectives:
'[fliqə]' 'to grow, get fat'
'[magirə]' 'to grow lean'
'[švi:tsərə]' 'to speak SwdtA.'

/-ə/ with Umlaut: (cf. #5.1524)
'[dʁœnxə]' 'to dry out'
'[sœvgə]' 'to suckle'
'[vurmo]' 'to warm (up)'

/-(ə)ə/: (NHG. -eln)

Verbs in this sub-class tend toward fanciful forms with subtle emotional undertones. Semantic areas represented here run from (1) diminutive, e.g. dainty hand-work, children's play, to (2) playful, tedious or repetitious actions to (3) activities which reveal a lack of social grace or involve a slight breach of decorum or (4) which invite outright reproach or criticism.

(1) '[hækəsə]' 'to crochet'
'[sərfaenzəsə]' 'to fray, tatter'
'[ʃlitə]' 'to go sledding'

(2) '[ʃxtiə]' 'to shiver, shake(thoughly)'
'[ufzəksəsə]' 'to put into sacks'
'[vaʃəsə]' 'to wobble, waggle'
(3) [gørpske] 'to belch'
    [gramziə] 'to rumble'(stomach)
    [snarxiə] 'to snore'

(4) [farestirte] 'to go window-tapping' (euphemism for a former clandestine courtship practice in which overtures were made by tapping on the window)

/-ərə/: (NHG. -ern)

Typically, verbs in this sub-class refer to periodic or rapidly repeated action. In this respect, they are closely related to verbs in the second group of examples in the foregoing paragraph. In fact, one: [tsɛtɛte] 'to shred and spread(manure)' has an [-r-] variant in [fərtestíre] 'to spread manure(by hand)'

Further examples:

[hapirə] 'to bounce, bump about'
[snakxərə] 'to crawl'(as baby's movements)
[stoipərə] 'to stumble'
[glitsirə] 'to glitter, shine'
[ṣimərə] 'to shimmer'
[tsvitsgirə] 'to glisten, glitter'

Also indicating fluttering, flapping motion (as component of a noun):

[flædir mʊs] 'bat' (NHG. Fledermaus)
[flydirə] 'butterfly'
/iːʁ/: (NHG. -ieren)

Although the corresponding class in NHG. is an open, productive class, there are only a few SwdtA. verbs with the suffix [-iːʁ] and they constitute a closed class.

[ɔpɔriːʁ] 'to operate(a mechanism)'

[prɔbiːʁ] 'to sample, try'

[ramiziːʁ] 'to gather together'

[ʃtudiːʁ] 'to study'

Verbs stems in related nouns:

[kuriːʁ] 'cure, prescription'

[raziːʁ maesɪɾ] 'straight razor'

The historical linguist may wish to challenge the inclusion of the [-iːʁ] verbs under the general heading of §5.1. For it is a well-documented fact that this suffix and the nominalizing suffix [-ɛʁ](5.161) are modifications on forms borrowed from the French by Alemannic and other High German dialects during the twelfth century.\(^4\) With what justification, then, are they included here along with "native Alemannic" linguistic stock? In order to answer that question and to clarify the balance of this discussion of the vocabulary of SwdtA., it is well to define "native", as opposed to "alien" or borrowed elements, and to say in what sense "native" is being used in this discussion.

\(^4\)Adolf Bach, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, p. 193
5.2 Borrowed elements in SwdtA.

Once having disabused oneself of the notion that there is any such thing as a "pure" language, one can see in any given language the direct and indirect effects of other languages with which it has been in contact. SwdtA. likewise developed out of an Alemannic stock which has been exposed to neighboring linguistic groups and its vocabulary is a historical-cultural museum in miniature.

In many cases, it is possible to identify the source of linguistic "loans" in SwdtA. and in some cases, even the approximate date of borrowing can be ascertained. But with other words, even some which the philologically unsophisticated native speaker would label as "alien", one must be content for the moment to make an educated guess and to file them tentatively under "unfinished business".

The principal sources of non-Alemannic material in SwdtA. are French and American English and the periods during which SwdtA. was influenced by each in turn parallel the history of migration of the SwdtA. speaking people. Beginning with the current state of SwdtA., we can distinguish three periods of vocabulary formation through borrowing, seen retrospectively, or in inverted chronological order: (1) the one hundred fifty years of settlement and residence in America, (2) the preceding three centuries in Europe leading up to the emigration and (3) the Alemannic main-stream and its tributaries in the pre-Reformation era.
The second quarter of the sixteenth century saw the emergence of the "Brethren", as they called themselves, or "Täufer", as they were nicknamed, from the radical left wing of the Reformation in Switzerland. At that time, of course, the forebears of the present SwdtA. group differed from their neighbors ideologically, but not linguistically. The linguistic heritage they held in common with others of Alemannic descent was already by that time a product of various cultural influences, notably French and Roman, in addition to their Germanic background. Old High German dialects antedating the Reformation by seven hundred years had adopted Roman cultural items and their Latin names. Ex.:

SwdtA. [zəuwər] 'cellar': OHG. kellāri (< Lat. cellārium)
[xuxi] 'kitchen': OHG. kuchina (< Lat. coquina)
[muːr] 'wall': OHG. mūra (< Lat. mūrus)
[vii] 'wine': OHG. wīn (< Lat. vīnum)

The [-ir] and [-ir] suffixes (#5.164) are just two relics of the cultural impact of French on Middle High German. MHG. vocabulary items borrowed at the zenith of courtly culture include:

SwdtA. [dantsə] 'to dance': MHG. tanzen (< OFr. danser)
[firn] 'refined': MHG. fin (< OFr. fins)

---

\[ {\text{[\text{hr(t)\textv{}}}]} \text{ 'quickly' : MHG. hurte (\text{< OFr. hurter})} \]

\[ {\text{[\text{d\ae uv\textv{}}}]} \text{ 'plate' : MHG. deller (\text{< OFr. taillecor})} \]

These pre-Reformation loans have been a part of the High German dialects for such a long time that they have become fully "naturalized" and are now as much "at home" in SwdtA. as are the corresponding NHG. forms (Keller, Küche, Mauer, etc.) in the literary standard. In the present work, then, they are subsumed under the general rubric "native" primarily because of the extent to which they have been adapted to the phonological structure of the recipient language and because of the fact that the loan word is not in competition with an Alemannic counterpart of the same meaning, but secondarily because they are not normally perceived to be "alien" by the native SwdtA. speaker.

By contrast, many loan words in the sections #5.22 and #5.23 below are only incompletely assimilated and, although in constant daily use, they do not have full parity. Owing to certain misconceptions regarding the relationship of written to spoken language and concerning the dynamics by means of which language is renewed and enriched, negative connotations are attached to the use of loan words. They are felt to be "alien" or borrowed forms by SwdtA. speakers, who generally regard them as a transactionally necessary evil for which one must nonetheless apologize.

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6 Adolf Bach, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, p. 196
5.22 During the three hundred years following the Reformation and prior to the migration to America, the "Täufer" in the Canton of Berne withdrew into the rural highlands and eventually into the Jura mountain range to the west to escape religious persecution. Surrounded by a predominantly French-speaking majority in the Jura, small pockets of Bernese emigrees were united by the bonds of brotherhood and a common language, prefiguring the latter-day SwdtA. communities on the American frontier.

A limited sector of the SwdtA. vocabulary is made up of words borrowed from the French in this period and SwdtA. speakers currently regard this as an admixture to their dialect. But one cannot distinguish with certainty any vocabulary items which were borrowed specifically because of the insular location of Bernese in the Jura, as opposed to other French words which found general currency in the Swiss German dialects. In fact, the last two forms below, although of French provenance, were also current in the speech of other settlers in America and may have been borrowed here after 1820. Note the imposition of stress patterns tending toward the Germanic initial stress.

SwdtA. \( [\text{a} \text{d} \text{i} \text{a}] \) 'goodbye' : Fr. adieu
\( [\text{a} \text{t} \text{z}] \) 'go (on)' as in : Fr. allez
the command \( [\text{a} \text{t} \text{z} \text{mar} \text{s}] \) 'get going!'
[breiˈtɪzi] 'exact(ly) : Fr. précis(e)

[ˈnuːzɪ] ~ [ˈnuːzɪ] 'to retire, go to bed' : Fr. se coucher

[ˈfaendʒuː] '(auction)sale' : Fr. vendue

[ˈʃærivəri] 'mock serenade of newly-weds' : Fr. charivari

Compare:

Penn. Dt. 'fendju

AEng. shivree

In the same period, a small group of words denoting the products of the New World and the Orient were added to the vocabulary of the European languages by the explorers who returned with exotic fruits and their equally exotic names. Indirectly, the words below also came to the land-locked Alemannic highlands, but again it is difficult to determine to what extent the current forms reflect a seventeenth or eighteenth century loan word, or, on the other hand, the almost continuous contact with AEng. since the middle of the nineteenth century.

[ɪˈtʃi] ~ [ɪˈʃi] 'tea' cf. NHG. Tee

[ˈtɒˌmatɪs] 'tomatoes' NHG. Tomaten

[ˈduˈbaːkə] 'tobacco' NHG. Tabak

[ˈɡafə] 'coffee' NHG. Kaffee

Occasionally, a case of mistaken identity results when a loan word resembles both the English and French forms which derive from the
same etymon. A SwdtA. speaker volunteered the following comment on his own use of [ɔŋkɔ:] and [tanto]: "That's English, I guess, isn't it?" In fact, NHG. Onkel and Tante are representative seventeenth century borrowings from the French oncle and tante, a part of that "a la mode Wesen" cultural complex which was so enormously admired and openly imitated in neighboring countries, including German-speaking lands. Thus, although the AEng. uncle likely bears on the current pronunciation, SwdtA. [ɔŋkɔ:] surely goes back to the pre-emigration era.

5.23 The most recent period in the formation of the SwdtA. vocabulary begins with arrival of the first Bernese Swiss settlers in the new lands of Ohio shortly before 1820. Linguistic contact with related dialects in Switzerland and indirectly with French was maintained to a limited degree over the first fifty years by new arrivals, but gradually the flow of migration slowed to a trickle. After one hundred years in America, the SwdtA. communities were virtually cut off from the homeland and even the incidental normative influence of the NHG. liturgical language had been drastically reduced. During this growing isolation, contact with American English increased in inverse proportion and this last period is marked by a great influx of loans and loan translations from English. The pattern is much the same as for other immigrant languages. If there is anything remarkable in the development of the
SwdtA. dialect, it must lie in the vigor with which it has been maintained throughout a third half-century of residence in America.

If SwdtA. loan formations of AEng. derivation are surveyed with a view toward determining which sector of the vocabulary was most affected, one invention—the iron horse—and one date—1825—may serve as guideposts. The Sonnenberg community was already six years old when first the NHC. compound Eisenbahn was applied to rail transportation by steam locomotive.\(^7\) By the time the railroad came to the hinterlands west of the Alleghenies, loan translations of the English railway had found acceptance among German-language immigrants in the East. The closest direct influence on the SwdtA. compound [\textit{riguwaeg}] may well have been the Pennsylvania German [\textit{rigolweg}].\(^8\)

The Industrial Revolution came late to the German-speaking part of Europe, after the first waves of Bernese Anabaptist emigration. As a result, all of the many mixed blessings of the Machine Age, the mechanized tools, implements and gadgets and the electric appliances which are so much a part of contemporary life received their SwdtA. names in America. Some were neologisms based on native elements, but more frequently the AEng. term was adopted with modification.

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\(^7\)F. Kluge, \textit{Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache}, p. 161

In the following overview of loan formations, four types are distinguished:

(1) loan word: SwdtA. phonemes are regularly substituted for sound segments of the AEng. model.

(2) loan translation: SwdtA. equivalents translate piecemeal the constituent elements of the AEng. model compound word or phrase.

(3) loan blend: SwdtA. and AEng. elements are combined in a complex or compound word or phrase.

(4) loan shift: because of its similarity to the AEng. model, a SwdtA. form undergoes a semantic shift, acquiring a new connotation or range of meaning more similar to that of the model.

5.231 Loan words.

Unique to the American scene were:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[bogi (ənɪ tɑːp)]} & \quad \text{'(open) buggy'} \\
\text{[dauwɪr]} & \quad \text{'dollar, U.S.'} \\
\text{[drɛn]} & \quad \text{'train'} \\
\text{[faents]} & \quad \text{'fence'} \\
\text{[грёкірс]} & \quad \text{'crackers'} \\
\text{[səliː] } & \quad \text{'silo'} \\
\text{[ˌsetl'mænt]} & \quad \text{'settlement, community'}
\end{align*}
\]
Farming implements already known included [p'kueg] and [e:xtə], 'plow' and 'harrow', respectively. But the following were new:

\[
\begin{align*}
&[bə'ndər] \quad \text{'grain binder'} \\
&[dəsk] \quad \text{'disk (harrow)'} \\
&[trəktər] \quad \text{'tractor'} \\
&[driət]:r \quad \text{'drill (planter)'}
\end{align*}
\]

Some names of implements and appliances were paired with neologisms of native derivation:

\[
\begin{align*}
&[bən:jər] \text{ competes with } [bə'ndər] \\
&[trak:kr] \quad : \quad [\text{'trəktər}] \\
&[vɪskər] \quad : \quad [svi:pər] \quad \text{'carpet sweeper'}
\end{align*}
\]

The loan words in the right column are more frequent in the speech of younger speakers of SwdtA.

For older objects and attributes, the loan word competes with a native form or replaces it entirely, as [pætə] in the phrase:

\[
[pætədrufduə] \quad \text{'to put a patch on it'},
\]

an analytic replacement for the SwdtA. verbs [blætsə], [fi:kə], both meaning 'to patch, mend'.

\[
\begin{align*}
&[kændə] \quad : \quad [səəʃi] \quad \text{'candy'} \\
&[kri:k] \quad : \quad [bəx] \quad \text{'creek'} \\
&[lən] \quad : \quad [iəln] \quad \text{'line'} \\
&[səəd] \quad : \quad [iəts] \quad \text{'solid, firm'} \\
&[ʃtəp] \quad : \quad [ʃtətsig] \quad \text{'steep'}
\end{align*}
\]
High frequency loan word particles include:

Adverbs:

- [blaendo] 'plenty'
- [nedihau] 'anyhow'
- [redi] 'ready'
- [vei] 'well'
- [rili] 'really'

5.232 Loan translations.

Compound nouns:

- [hoek'stu:z] 'high chair'
- [houts bılaxir] 'woodpecker'
- [xoa lex] 'coal oil, kerosene'
- [mu:harfpə] 'mouth harp, harmonica'
- [sakx gæelt] 'pocket money'

Noun phrases:

- [war kis dgv] 'for one thing...'
- [ə guast :sit ha:] 'to have a good time'
- [vas :sit i's os] 'what time is it?'

Pronoun phrase:

- [s i's miksi] 'it was me' (cf. #4.511)

Prepositional phrases:

- [ə da:ɡ ap ha:] 'to have a day off (from work)'
- [xur štug læyg] 'for hours' (cf. [da:ɡeiən])
- [ja:ra tsrulx] 'years ago'
Verbal phrases:

\[ \text{[hæm maxə]} \text{ as in \[ hɛʃ aʃ hæm gməxt\]} \text{'did you make it home, reach home safely?'} \]

\[ \text{[land šəfə]} \text{ as in \[ vaer šəft diʃ land\]} \text{'who's working your land, farming your place?'} \]

5.233 Loan blends.

Loan blends can be subdivided into (1) complex words, which combine a free form and a bound form, and (2) compound nouns and phrases which combine two or more free forms.

(1) Complex words are typically composed of an AEng. root and a SwdtA. inflection.

Nouns:

\[ \text{[bærki]} \text{ 'keg, barrel'} \]
\[ \text{[ʃəruːpsə]} \text{ 'croup'} \]
\[ \text{[ɡəpti]} \text{ 'cup'} \]
\[ \text{[bʊtʃiːɾəs]} \text{ 'butchering' (cf. #5.1611)} \]
\[ \text{[pɾɡəli]} \text{ 'piggy'} \]

Adjectives:

\[ \text{[ʃoɾjaŋkit]} \text{ 'yankeefied' (cf. #5.143)} \]
\[ \text{[hændiɡ]} \text{ 'handy, adept, convenient'} \]

Verbs:

Loan blends of this type are a prime source of sub-class B1 (#5.1641).

\[ \text{[uːʃfɪɡəɾə]} \text{ 'to figure out'} \]
\[ \text{[ʃɪksə]} \text{ 'to fix (meals, glasses, one's hair)'} \]
\[ \text{[æs jaŋktiːɾə]} \text{ 'it's becoming yankeefied'} \]
\[ \text{[uːʃkətə]} \text{ 'to call up, to telephone'} \]
[kɛtʃə] 'to catch'
[əlɛstə] 'to last, endure'
[raʃə] 'to raise (crops, cattle, children)'
[ʃɛ:və] 'to shave (oneself)'
[ʃmɑ:ktə] 'to smoke (tobacco, cured meat)'
[ʃərta] 'to start, begin'
[ʃtəpə] 'to stop, cease'
[ʃu:s vɛrə] 'to wear out'

(2) Compound nouns:

[bræt baks] 'breadbox'
[bru:dər əvə] 'brooder stove'
[æpflə dæmplə] 'apple dumpling'
[gæbələ hændliə] 'fork handle'
[heɪbɛt] 'hotbed'
[heɪk kɪkər] 'hay tedder'
[hɪkər həuts] 'hickory wood'
[jæŋki pæks] 'yankee crowd, outsiders'
[kærpat kəpər] 'carpet beater'
[kɜəɾəpər] 'cherry pie'
[kəkəs ʃtək] 'kitchen sink'
[mɛəbəu bəm] 'maple tree'
[sɔɛx pen] 'pig-pen'
[ʃtər væg] 'blacktop, macadam road'
Verbal phrases:

[mir vəx šapo ga:] 'we want to go shopping'
[mir heɾ myəsə dreyn ɐɣndə] 'we had to change trains'
[du muːs d ʃuə balxe] 'you must polish your shoes'
[ðaɾ dʊət ɾuːm eyktrəsite wɨʃtə] 'that just wastes electricity'

5.234 Loan shifts.

It is but a step from the verbal phrase based on a loan blend verb such as [dreyn ɐɣndə] to the phrasal verb with a native stem, but with a special connotation which points to the AEng. model verb form behind it. Ex.:

[paɾ maxə] : [ʃə ɾə am paɾ maxə] 'she's making, baking pies'
[uf maxə] : [daɾ maxə du ʃəs uf] 'you're just making that up, inventing that'

Like the second example, the following simple and phrasal verbs have no alien formal elements, but semantically they have shifted to a connotation or range of meaning not attached to their native constituent elements prior to the impact of AEng. on SwdtA.

[u:s fiŋə] : [i ha u:s kfunə]
'I discovered, learned by experience'

[haebə] : [daɾ set əɾ ʃə rə xaebə]
'that should hold you, suffice for you'

[iuəɡə] : [əɾ luəkt tsu mir əɾ]
'it looks, appears to me as though...'
[uf'rye\d\v\e] : [si hyl y:s uf grye\d\v\e]
'they called us up, telephoned us'

[n\ae:] : [das n\xmt fluw biats]
'that takes up, requires a lot of space'

[das n\xmt baut \b\i\d\i\b\i\b\i\g\v\e] 
'that takes, requires about an hour'

[\ts hat s br\i\d\i\b\i\g\v\e:] 
'he took, snapped the picture( photo)'

[\e gro:s\e tump n\ae:] 
'to take, make a big jump'

[\d \c\c\v\e n\ae: \vun \d sa:me i:z\v\v\e] 
'to take the harrow and cover the seed'

[gl\i\x\v\e] : [di \v\e d fr\v\e glei\x\v\e so\v\e \z\i\ b\u\t\v\e]
'those who like fish should clean them'

The vowel nucleus of the stem contrasts with the lengthened monophthong of the adjective-adverb [gli:x]'(a)like' and the intransitive verb [gli:x\v\e] 'to resemble', a reliable indication that this transitive verb has been borrowed from another immigrant German dialect, most likely from Penna. Dt., in which the verb gleix 'to like, be fond of' is clearly such a loan shift derived from the adjective gleix '(a)like', with the semantic range modeled after the verbal use of AEng. like.

Ex.:

Penna. Dt. gleix\v\e du sel 'do you like that?'
Contrast:

SwdtA. [Kr gi:xt das nid] 'he doesn't like that'
[Os xi] gli:xt sim fa:ir] 'the child favors, resembles his father'

Two loan shift nouns which have completely different connotations for SwdtA. speakers than for their cousins in the Canton of Berne are:

[xara] 'car, automobile'
[xorn] 'maize, corn'

The older meaning of [xara] 'cart' is still alive in America, but carts are on the way out and cars are very much in, so the term is used without much danger of being misunderstood. The American [xara] is not burdened with the derisive slang connotations of the Swiss equivalent, approximately equal to 'old jalopy, junker' when applied to an automobile.

The second example [xorn] illustrates semantic narrowing to mean specifically 'maize', an American variety not widely known in the Swiss homeland. For the general term 'grain', SwdtA. substitutes [fruxt] for MHG., NHG. Korn, Getreide. If stay-at-home Swiss cousins look askance at this American "perversion", then the new compound based on loan translation and shift [syos xorn] 'sweet corn', for the table-grade variety, is seen as an outright aberration.

An illustration of semantic widening may be seen in the current flexibility of the SwdtA. adjective-adverb [kart], corresponding to
the semantic range of the AEng. adjective-adverb **hard**. Ex.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ós hěrt s bɛt]} & \quad \text{'a hard, firm bed'} \\
\text{[i ha hěrt kʃaːt]} & \quad \text{'I worked hard, strenuously'} \\
\text{[dəs tʃ mər hět]} & \quad \text{'that is hard, difficult for me'}
\end{align*}
\]

5.235 Loan blend verbs are typically conjugated as Type B verbs (cf. #5.1641), whereas loan shift verbs normally conform to the conjugational type of the verbs from which they are formally derived.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[sɛ:vo]} & \quad \text{Type B2} \\
\text{[i sɛ:vo]} & \quad \text{'I shave'} \\
\text{[du sɛ:viʃ]} & \quad \text{'you shave'} \\
\text{[cr hět kʃɛ:vd]} & \quad \text{'he shaved'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[u:s fʰinə]} & \quad \text{Type A6} \\
\text{[i ha u:s kʰiʃə]} & \quad \text{'I learned, found out'}
\end{align*}
\]

Some verbs fluctuate in usage between Type A and Type B, as is the case in colloquial American English and sub-standard German.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ɡ̥ɛ:kə]} & \quad \text{'did you like it?'} \\
\text{[i ha z ɡ̥ɛ:kət]} & \quad \text{'I liked it'}
\end{align*}
\]

Analogical pressure exerted by the **Abiaut** series (i - a - u) in verb Type A6 is responsible for the fluctuation in the past form of the verb 'to bring':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[brʊŋə]} & \quad \text{'he brought it'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

alongside

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[cr hět s brʊŋə]} & \quad \text{'he brought it'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(cf. AEng. **he brought**, colloquial **he brung**)
The "irregular" NHG. verb *bringen*, *brachte*, 'to bring, brought' is really irregular only in the divergent reflexes of the stem-final nasal + velar consonant cluster and the "weak" suffix *-te*. The stem vowel alternation (I - a) is "regular", or normal for the "strong" verb sub-class III, to which this verb belongs historically.

By analogy with the same vowel gradation series, the loan shift verb *[ʃɪŋːə] 'to ring, peal', not to be confused with the homophonous MHG., NHG. *ringen* 'to wrestle, struggle', has vowel alternation in the past form:

\[
[ə hɛt ɡrɪŋːə vi nə bɛːə] \quad \text{'it rang like a bell (the hammer on the anvil')}
\]

Compare:

\[
[ʃɪŋːə] : [ksvɪŋːə] \quad \text{'to sing, sung'}
\]

5.236 The AEng. compounds *soy(a) bean* and *spring-wagon* provided the models for two new loan blend compounds in SwdtA.:

\[
[ʃɔv bɔːnə] : \quad \text{cf. SwdtA.} [sɑn] 'pig', [ʃɔv] 'pigs'
\]

\[
[ʃprɪŋ vɑːɡə] : \quad \text{SwdtA.} [ʃprɪŋːə] 'to jump, bound'
\]

By coincidence, the first elements of the model compounds in the donor language were nearly homophonous with the SwdtA. stems *[ʃɔv]* and *[ʃprɪŋ]*. The NHG. *Saubohne*, in Swiss German *səubohne*, 'broad-bean, horse-bean' referred to a species (*Vicia faba*) no longer planted in America. The temporarily idle term was re-activated by SwdtA.
speakers and applied to a new cash crop they learned to cultivate in America, soy(a) beans (Glycine soja). The continued parallel use of so as a general term for 'pigs' exerts a semantic pressure on the new compound which is akin to "folk etymology", although the two are etymologically unrelated. (Cf. AEng. sparrow grass for asparagus)

The case of [spring va:go] is slightly different. Although they derive from the same etymon, AEng. spring (SwdtA. [faediəə] and SwdtA. [springə] (AEng. to jump, bound) have diverged semantically. So when the spring-wagon was introduced, SwdtA. formed a blend with a [spring] initial element because of the strong phonetic similarity to AEng. spring, not out of consideration for the new remote etymological relationship between AEng. spring and SwdtA. [springə].

Compare:

[spring ɛ:xə] 'spring-tooth harrow', another post-migration invention

5.3 Had the SwdtA. dialect been hermetically sealed off from new word formations in historically related High German dialects, it would have provided ideal conditions for the study of the native processes by which new terms are created to label technological-cultural innovations. Such was not the case, of course, and SwdtA. neologisms reflect some of the same tendencies and methods of vocabulary innovation found in other immigrant German dialects and in modern High German. "New" compounds with [maʃi:na], for example, cannot be considered wholly
spontaneous, although it may be difficult to isolate a primary source for:

[droes masa:na] 'threshing machine'
[ma:za masa:na] 'hay, grass mower'
[nazi masa:na] 'sewing machine'

A predominant NHG. influence is indicated by the stress patterns in:

[ma:si:nor] 'machinery'
[fotografi] 'photograph'
[termometir] 'thermometer'

It is less clear to what extent the following are truly SwdcE. innovations:

[bre Dag hurs] 'church building'
[kfri:rir] 'freezer, deep freeze'
[xri:de buex] 'child's coloring book'

Probably both the NHG. Blechwagen and the AE. in Lizzie contributed to the formation [blæx væ:goit], an epithet for the lowly, but indestructible Model T Ford car.

A compound of very recent coinage [hæw $tapar] 'hay baler', illustrates a tendency toward the creation of neologisms by compounding, a trend observed by Bach to be on the increase in rustic and dialect
speech on the continent as well as in the NHG. literary language, while derivation is in decline. 9

5.31 Rapidly increasing exchange visits with relatives and with co-religionists in Europe over the past twenty years have introduced continental neologisms previously unknown to SwdtA. speakers in America. One such innovation is the compound [ʃˈtoup zuːɡiːr] 'vacuum cleaner', after the model NHG. Staubsauger. Imported directly from Switzerland to Ohio by very recent immigrants, [ʃˈtoup zuːɡiːr] still has only limited currency in the SwdtA. communities. However, it is an immediately transparent compound and seems to the SwdtA. speaker to be a logical or even ingenious construction, since it is composed of familiar stems. But apparently it had never occurred to anyone to combine the native [ʃˈtoub] 'dust' and [zuːɡə] 'to suck, draw' in just that way before. The native [vˈrɔːɨr] and the loan formation [ʃˈviːpir] (cf. AEng. sweeper) had already become well established and will undoubtedly resist the diffusion of the newer compound, except in the speech of those individuals who consciously affect an "authentic"SwdtA., that is, who avoid loan formations as much as possible.

By sheer good fortune, the writer happened to be present when a SwdtA.-speaking electrical appliance dealer very naturally introduced

9Adolf Bach, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, p. 403
the new term to his wife, who professed never to have heard it before.

The exchange went as follows:


B: [вээ: du vi ma das hьэээduet] B: Do you know what that's called?
That's a vacuum cleaner (literally: "dust sucker").

das ы ээ о ыэээup zu:гir]

A: [ovy ы da:s vas ээ ыээ] A: Oh, is that what it is? Well, it can suck dust, anyhow!

vээ о xa: оэ ыэээup zu:гэ ээээiaу]

Other "new" compounds of European coinage which SwdtA. speakers have limited cognizance of include:

[haээээtarxi:] 'teeny-boppers, juvenile delinquents'

[xэээээраяпэ] 'refrigeration, refrigerator'

[vуюээээrэээатээ] 'sky-scraper' (borrowed back from NHG. Wolkenkratzer, itself a loan formation on the model Eng. sky-scraper)

Although these particular neologisms may never become more than novelties, they at least indicate something of the interpenetration of a formerly isolated immigrant sub-culture by the surrounding technological, consumer-oriented mass culture. Dyed-in-the-wool adherents of ruralism, who may despair at [haээээtarxi:] or [vуюээээrэээatээ] will be relieved to learn that all is not lost. SwdtA. has not yet borrowed, nor indeed had occasion to borrow other NHG. "culture concepts" such as boxen, фээчж, Filmstar, Smoking, or streiken.
5.4 Thus far in this descriptive work, a basic, underlying assumption has been that the speech of all SwdtA. speakers in the three target communities can be viewed as a more or less uniform dialect. But an accurate, balanced description must allow that SwdtA. itself, denoting a dialect, is an abstraction or generalization. So without abandoning the necessary and useful fiction "uniform dialect", we turn briefly to the modifying "more or less".

Dialect implies community; and speech conventions are established and maintained by community acceptance. This means that all departures from the norm, whether by an individual or by an entire group, are subject to control by community approbation or sanction. Only the individual can initiate linguistic change, of course, an important function indeed to counter the continuous "wear and tear" on old speech forms and expressions. But only the individual invested with considerable prestige or authority can hope to see his innovation find wider acceptance and eventually become a conventional form. Such a person's prestige and authority are, in turn, endowed by society and only the community can grant full validity or 'conventionality' to a given speech form. In the interest of unambiguous communication, it is the function of community to exercise certain restraints on the individual in order to assure consistency and predictability.

Thus, although SwdtA. has been described as a uniform dialect, there are forms which noticeably depart from the norm in the usage
of some individuals, within some family groups and, through diffusion beyond the limits of family and clan, in certain neighborhoods and communities, but not all such divergent forms are equally viable or likely to survive.

5.41 The neologisms presented in #5.3 offer an excellent illustrative case in point. The individual who first introduced [ʃtaup zuːɡit] spoke with the authority of a new arrival from Switzerland and enjoyed a certain prestige among those who regard the AEng. admixture in their dialect with disdain. Others who had grown attached to [ʃviːpɪt] or to another conventional SwdtA. form were reluctant to change and found the new compound "funny"—perhaps meaning both strange and humorous.

Divergent usage which is not authenticated by a direct tie to the homeland but springs, rather, from some idiosyncrasy, perhaps even from some physical impediment, may also be regarded as "funny". Although history records instances of linguistic change which allegedly resulted from community acceptance and affectation of the lisp or distinctive idiophone of a sufficiently prestigious person, such instances are, in the nature of things, extremely rare. More normally, a social stigma marks the one who stutters or lisps as the butt of the community's jokes at worst or the object of pity at best. To illustrate, one case of sound substitution in SwdtA. resulted in an intentional pun,
which was then preserved in a twice-told tale. According to the narrator, the subject, who was evidently forced to substitute [t-] for [§-], asked a hardware dealer for a [fy:rty:fei] 'little fire devil' instead of the [fy:ry:fei] 'coal scoop' he had come to buy. In another case, the regular substitution of [d-] for [g-] generated [dabœ] for [gaœ] 'fork' and the substitution of [d-] for [§-] rendered absurd the threat issued by the irate unfortunate toward one of his tormentors:

[i fendxiœ di vi du no nie fœndvilet bxi ksi]

'I'll shake you like you've never been shaken before!' ([fœndvilet])

Because of the social implications, the probabilities that such a lisp or mispronunciation will find wide acceptance are infinitesimal.

5.42 However, such a substitution may well acquire limited currency beyond the individual's own usage. The critical point in diffusion is the effective influence of the individual as a linguistic model. Within a family, for instance, children may be so influenced by the speech of a parent-model during the formative years that they preserve for life a form which was learned in the parental home but which deviated from norm outside that primary social group.

One housewife volunteered an illustration which turns on the same [-d-] for [-g-] substitution shown by the last example in #5.41 above. She always said [⁴tægo] for 'stairs', as do the majority of SwdtA.
speakers in that community, but she observed that her husband and his immediate family always said \( [\text{taed}] \). In another community, the occurrence of a puzzling expression was immediately clarified, at least to the satisfaction of a second informant, when the individual who used it was identified as a member, through maternal relationship, of a "clan" or extended family which was well-known for such unusual expressions.

5.43 Just as some speech forms are considered to be typical of one individual, or of one family group, so there are forms which are felt to be typical of one SwdtA. community or of another. The two major sources of local differences are (1) the diffusion of idiolect forms described in #5.41 and #5.42 and (2) dialect differences which antedate the migration to America. The local differences range from minimal pronunciation variants to the substitution of synonyms. The examples offered below are necessarily generalizations and would not be used uniformly by all speakers in the community where they are considered to be "at home":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bärn} & \quad [\text{fauw}] \quad : \quad \text{Potnam} \quad [\text{fak}] \quad \text{'to fall'} \\
\text{Brn.} & \quad [\text{moa ort}] \quad : \quad \text{Pn.} \quad [\text{noym}] \quad \text{'somewhere'}
\end{align*}
\]

Geographical boundaries separating local usage are blurred by intervisitation and intermarriage, but it is precisely in such contacts between people of differing speech habits that the native speaker is
made aware of local differences. Judging from the testimony of those who moved from their home communities, social pressure to conform to a new standard and personal desire to gain approval, or conversely, to avoid criticism and ridicule, were factors which outweighed even the considerable and deep-set influence of the home background.

Apparently the pressure was felt most keenly by the new bride who sought to adjust to the norms in her husband's home community. One middle-aged housewife still recalls vividly her chagrin upon failing to understand a common household term, [blʊndɪr] 'laundry, linens', for which either [tʃyːɹ] or [vʊɛʃ] had been used in her parental home. Another young woman overcame such vocabulary obstacles and learned to substitute [mæʃʒə] for her native [bluəʊmə] 'flowers', but still she found herself in something of a dilemma. Her efforts to talk like her husband as much as possible only incurred the firm displeasure of her father. But noticeable differences between the three communities do not necessarily engender conflict of loyalty or negative emotions. Often enough a variant form or expression strikes a spark of humor which does not appear to be intrinsic to it and leads to good-natured bantering or enables the "offender" to have a good laugh at his own expense.

It is misleading to list equivalent pairs or words or phrases as if they were truly identical synonyms. One variant may appear to co-exist peacefully with its counterpart or to substitute freely for it. But in fact,
there are often subtle social meanings which attach to its use.

In addition to indicating "place of origin", for example, a given form may also bear connotations of style and taste. A "Sonnebärg" native observed that certain expressions used in "Bärn" would verge on profanity in his own community. Comparing all three linguistic communities, the same informant sized up the situation this way:

"One of the differences is that we don't talk as coarse ([groß]) as they do in "Bärn"... in "Potnam" they talk even more refined ([finir]) than we do, so I'd say that "Sonnebärg" is sort of in between the other two..."

(translation)

Residents of "Potnam" and "Bärn" agreed with this judgment in general, but several natives of "Bärn" took exception to the inference that swearing was permitted there. "But he may be right that we're a little rougher or cruder..."

Profanity is a serious offense in a religious community where the injunction of the Second Commandment is scrupulously observed, but before surveying the area of tabu and euphemisms, let us look at some "equivalents" with a more neutral emotive value. They are, in the SwdtA. idiom:

[so vörtir vo mir aŋi:s sægə un mæna ts gi:xe]  
'Words which we say differently and mean the same thing.'
In the following sets, "Sonnebärg" seems to be phonetically closer to "Bärn":

'to milk' Brn. [mæuə] Snb. [mæuə] Ptn. [maɪə]
'cabbage' Brn. [xaebis] Snb. [xabis] Ptn. [xruːt]

To emphasize the differences across the board, only the polar contrasts, "Bärn" and "Potnam", are offered in the following display:

Sub-phonemic or non-significant phoneme alternation:

'child's ball' Brn. [bauuə] Ptn. [baɪə]
'to hang' Brn. [naɛxə] Ptn. [naɛgka]
'(l) think' Brn. [daex] Ptn. [daegix]
'to mow' Brn. [majjo] Ptn. [maɛjo]
'to sew' Brn. [najjo] Ptn. [naɛjo]
'moustache' Brn. [snuːts] Ptn. [snuuts]
'up(on)' Brn. [uxa] Ptn. [uʃə] (cf. #4.712)

Synonym substitution:

'swarm of bees' Brn. [bɛxjɪkʃvɛrm] Ptn. [ɪmp(ʃvɛrm)]
'bucket, pail' Brn. [ɛmɪr] Ptn. [xəbat]
'fly (insect)' Brn. [fəʊxə] Ptn. [muɪxə]
'attic' Brn. [gibəlænd] Ptn. [ʃpiæxiː]
'bug, insect' Brn. [gʊəɡ] Ptn. [xaevɪr]

5.5 Concerning the fine line of distinction between decent or permissible speech and indecency or the proscribed, there is no unanimity, as
was seen above. Even within such a limited universe, standards vary from "Potnam" to "Sonnebärg" to "Bärn" and within each community. If the latter-named community seems relatively more permissive, the prevailing attitude there is certainly not a wholly permissive **honi soit qui mal y pense.** Nevertheless, to paraphrase that now classic paraphrase to the effect that pornography is in the groin of the beholder, there may be some truth in the contention that profanity exists only in the ear of the listener.

5. 51. One area of vocabulary bordering on the offensive to downright indecent range involves an interesting set of terms relating to body parts and bodily functions of human beings and of animals, respectively (cf. NHG. **essen/fressen, trinken/sauen,** etc.). To interchange the two may sound humorous, uncomplimentary, abusive or obscene, depending on your point view. "Sonnebärg" speaks again:

"We don't use [grin] for [kopf] when referring to a person's head and when somebody falls down, we say 'he's fallen' [axékfauf] or [abékfauf], but out there in "Bärn" they say [abékkekt] and for us that's almost like swearing."

"Potnam" responds with a chuckle:

"If a father says to his crying child: 'did you get a knock on the head?' [nɛs du ɛs tsum grin grikt], that's pretty rough talk, but I wouldn't exactly call that swearing."

(both opinions translated from the SwdtA.)
Further pairs of human/animal referents:

'leg'  (hum.) [bɛɔ]  (anm.) [əɛiβx]
'nose' [naːz(o)] [θnuːrə]
'to eat' [æʃə] [ʃraːə]
'to drink' [drɛϊʃə] [ʃuːfə]
'to die' [ʃtærβə] [dɔt gaː], [ʃar:ɛiβə]
'to sit' [sɪtsə] [nɔikə]

One man's profanity may be another man's persiflage, but there is general agreement that the following phrases are indeed coarse when applied to fellow human beings:

[halt diːς kfræs] roughly equivalent to 'shut your trap', cf. NHG halt's Maul. (In the absence of a form corresponding to NHG. Mund, the SwdtA. [muːw]→[muːi] is applied without negative connotations to the human mouth.)

5.52 Further examples of uncomplimentary epithets drawn from the animal world and applied to humans (at least in the speech of men) are:

[aʃ] literally 'ape, monkey'
[lzuw] 'donkey, jackass'
[ʃkaβ] 'calf'

Others are like the bahuvṛtḥi compounds of #5.119 and designate human beings, but derive from the inanimate or lower animal world.

[gabɔiɛstiːuw] literally 'fork handle'
[draeɪkɔsɔu] affectionate-scurrilous 'rascal'
applied to a cheese-loving tramp

'obstinate person', cf. AEng. bullheaded

5.53 The research for this study of SwdtA. vocabulary could barely scratch the surface of linguistic prohibitions, and for obvious reasons. The majority of the interviews were conducted in the home, in mixed company and in an atmosphere of hospitality and cordiality befitting a visit by an "outsider"--but clearly not a setting conducive to the suspension of social restrictions on language, even in the interest of furthering science. But there were enough indications that, given a hammered thumb and a freer ambience, the sufferer would not remain mute, but would find in SwdtA. adequate resources to express his anguish, even without direct divine intervention or inspiration (with my apologies to Goethe and Tasso).

In addition to distinctive terms for animal parts and functions, other areas which are sensitive to tabu are, predictably, "intimate" parts of the human body:

Ex.: [rantse] for the somewhat more acceptable

[bu:x] 'belly, abdomen'

as well as mental derangement:

Ex.: [fɔrdɔt] a "very strong" epithet, cf.

[daːt] 'crazed, insane'
Inexplicably, one informant reported the term [guyß] to be tabu in her parental home, although the local preacher regularly used the corresponding NHG, gewiss 'certain(ly)' in his sermons with impunity. But then, emotional values are, by definition, not subject to logic or logical analysis.

5.54 An external-internal restraint compounded of religious discipline and personal piety prohibits the vain use of the name of the deity, even in moments of stress when

"the urge arises to use language as a safety valve for one's feelings" 10

But SwdtA., like many languages, supplies euphemisms for those apparently universal "emotional explosions", when nothing less than a crackling blue interjection will fully express the depth of anger, pain or frustration felt. Ex.:

[(bo)ts du:zigs] the first element is a thinly-veiled genitive
[goß] (NHG. Gottes-), cf. archaic Eng. zounds(< God's wounds)
[jë:ra] a mild oath spun out on the first syllable of Jesus,

cf. AEng. gee whiz

5.55 Euphemisms help to express the inexpressible. If couched in a properly euphemistic circumlocution, even the unmentionable can be

10R. Estrich and H. Sperber, Three Keys to Language, p. 39
mentioned in a socially acceptable manner. One such phrase:

\[ \text{vi der ait mzdum svants} \] means 'devilish', but it was
used not with reference to Satan himself, but in a trans-
ferred sense to describe an untrustworthy character.

The following were all spoken in jest:

\[ \text{i vls vo d xats im hoy lit} \] 'I know what's what, I
know what the score is'

\[ \text{das lò hafa un nzd ø xoхафа} \] 'that's a pot and I don't
mean a cooking utensil'

(Identifying a 'potty', or 'chamber-pot')

Reluctance to refer directly to the posterior applies to animals as
well as to humans, even to roast chicken on the table:

\[ \text{der bxts vo tsitst vbir d fants gxt} \] echoes humorous
AEng. euphemisms for 'tail', such as "the north end of a
chicken flying south" or, as here, "the part that goes over
the fence last".

Such expressions are not prosaically utilitarian, but rather pro-
vide an outlet for wit and imagination. Seen in this perspective, in-
ventiveness in the creation of new euphemisms and circumlocutions
is a surgent source of vocabulary replenishment, but it is also a
practical necessity, for in terms of life expectancy in the vocabulary,
euphemisms are relatively fugitive, or short-lived.

"The result of wearing out euphemisms is a constant demand for new substitutes and a considerable word-coining activity. A limited number of word prohibitions may give rise to almost innumerable substitutes and, thereby, to a considerable enrichment of the vocabulary."\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\)R. Estrich & H. Sperber, *Three Keys to Language*, p. 29
CHAPTER VI

PHRASE STRUCTURE AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE

6.0 Introductory
6.1 Formal marks of phrase and clause
6.2 Classification of phrase structure
6.3 Classification of clause structure
6.4 Details on word order with modals
6.5 Syntactic Americanisms in SwdtA.
6.6 SwdtA. carryover into American English

and conclusion
The ordering of elements within phrases, clauses and complete utterances has long posed a vexatious problem for the analyst of grammatical structures. The descriptivists, with their basically binary immediate constituent (IC) analysis, have really only added the latest refinement to centuries of sentence parsing and diagramming. Approaching the problem from a new angle, the proponents of generative grammar have faulted IC analysis for its inadequacy to describe (for instance, the essential nature of the passive construction with reference to the active), to say nothing of explaining how well-formed sentences are generated, or formulated. In a similar vein, one scholar has suggested that the discussion of sentences should be excluded from analytic grammars such as this description of SwdtA. And one is sorely tempted to follow that suggestion, for practical reasons as much as out of theoretical considerations. For whether traditional, descriptiive or generative, the various attempts to portray graphically the internal complexities of the sentence have clearly outgrown the confines of the Gutenberg linear format; witness the current popularity of grammatical gatefolds embellished with elaborate sentence diagrams, two- or three-dimensional tagmemic matrices and luxuriantly branching "trees".

\[1\] J. Ries as quoted in Hans Glinz, Der deutsche Satz, p. 74
In the descriptive model, with its hierarchy of increasing order of complexity, the analysis of words in terms of their constituent elements has typically preceded the analysis of word groups. So, too, in this descriptive work, the discussion of larger syntactic structures follows on the outline of SwdtA. word formation in Chapter 5. Thus to proceed from the structure and formation of words to the incorporation and interrelation of words in larger constructions without first having defined what is meant by "word" may invite criticism from some quarters. Indeed, in one rather extreme opinion, the definition of sentence and word ought to be precisely determined as the "indispensable first stage of each and every grammatical study". And in the economy of the descriptive model of language, the definition of "word" takes on a central significance; in the most rigorous interpretations of that model, it becomes a pre-requisite to the discussion of word formation or word relations.

In IC analysis, the ultimate constituents of the sentences are words, which are in turn subject to analysis in terms of their constituents. This latter level of analysis, called morphology, has been defined so as to include all constructions in which one IC is less than a word, in contra-distinction to syntax, more narrowly defined. Recently,

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2Hans Glinz, Der deutsche Satz, p. 82

3Charles Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics, p. 178
however, generative grammar has found it productive to regard complete utterances as "strings" of morphemes and has largely disregarded the descriptivist's distinction between morphology and syntax. For both levels of the descriptive model treat of syntagmic relations between elements of grammatical structures. But if morphology is understood as an inventory of segmental morphemes and the ways in which they may be combined to form words, then syntax is restricted to the relations between words and to suprasegmental morphemes within the utterance. Like every model, the descriptive model is useful within certain limits, but its shortcomings in the area of syntagmic relations are particularly noticeable in the analysis of compound words, phrasal verbs and dependent clause construction.

The dependent clause in SwdtA., for instance, has certain identifying characteristics (it is introduced by a prepositional, has verb-last word order) which an "item-and-order" description duly records. But beyond that, another dimension comes into focus when the dependent clause is seen either from the historical point of view or in the "item-and-process" perspective of generative grammar. That structural dimension, which is neglected in the IC analysis, involves the process by which an independent clause has become incorporated or embedded into another independent clause to form a new, complex sentence.
6.1 What can be said, then, to identify the SwdtA. sentence, or word or other intermediate constructions? First, it should be noted that the transcription of all SwdtA. forms cited thus far has been in terms of linear segments, with a few exceptions where word stress was superscribed as an item of special interest. By using diacritics, it is not difficult to convey at least an impression of word stress, but the nuances of phrase stress, relative pitch variation and suprasegmental contours of intonation are much less amenable to transcription. Yet it is precisely in such formal clues, particularly stress and intonation, that the sentence emerges from the larger discourse as a linguistic entity.

6.11 Important as they are for the definition of the SwdtA. sentence, intonational contours could not be treated here as they deserve. The mechanical problems of transcription were only a secondary deterrent, for moderately successful attempts at graphic symbolization of these formal markers have gained acceptance among structural linguists; they were omitted primarily for lack of time to complete a thorough study of their functional role in SwdtA. Intonational patterns are illustrated by the material in the attached sampler tape, of course, and for the textual transcription, the writer relied heavily on that elusive factor, the native speaker's sentence sense. Exactly how that sense enables the native speaker to recognize a well-formed novum sentence
remains an unresolved question. But there are indications that the answer may lie within the province of a science ancillary to linguistics proper. Postulating an "internal" form to complement the "external" formal markers which distinguish the sentence, Walter Porzig has borrowed from the jargon of the psychology of perception to coin a suggestive phrase: "Das Nacheinander, das als Nebeneinander empfunden wird". 4 Which is to say that on the perceptual level, sentence elements are necessarily realized and perceived in a specific order or chronological sequence, whereas on the level of consciousness, that segmental sequence is integrated into a simultaneous whole. Thus, in the mind of the hearer, and within the limits of his capacity to absorb with comprehension, chronological time is suspended for the duration of the sentence, which he perceives in its entirety as a simultaneous phenomenon.

6.12 Terminal pitch contours are somewhat more tangible than are perceptual integers and are more readily accepted as evidence by the empirically oriented linguist, since they are subject to verification by repetition and cross-checking, as are other observable formal criteria. Normally, SwdtA. sentences end with pitch patterns very much like those of NHG.: interrogative sentences end on a rising pitch 2-3↑ or 3-3↑, whereas declarative statements and commands have a falling pitch 3-1↓ or 2-1↓.

4Walter Porzig, Das Wunder der Sprache, p. 78
The terminal pitch pattern may signal "end of the sentence" at the conclusion of a lengthy group of words or, on the other hand, it may be imposed upon a one-word or two-word utterance. \([ja]\) 2-1 ↓ 'yes' could be a complete sentence within the context of a dialog, where it would be a reply to a preceding "yes-no" question. \([g\text{u}st\text{on}a:b\text{o}]\) 3-1 ↓ 'good evening' is also a sentence, inasmuch as it satisfies the requirement of the "sentence sense" definition that it express a "complete thought", albeit in elliptical form which is taken to mean 'I wish you a good evening'.

Further illustrations of these two minor sentence types are:

**Expletives:**
\[\text{vart}]\ 2-1 ↓ 'wait' \[\text{i}u\text{u}(g)]\ 2-1 ↓ 'look, listen'
\[\text{gæk:}\] 3-1 ↓ 'isn't it so?', used rhetorically to encourage one's conversational partner, cf. NHG. gel\text{t} = \text{nicht wahr}

**Ellipses:**
\[\text{kæ \ vun\text{gir}}\] 2-1 ↓ 'no wonder' = 'now it's clear why'
\[\text{p\text{h}\text{\text{u}t\text{\text{a\text{g}}}]}\] 3-1 ↓ 'goodbye' = 'may God protect you'
\[\text{h\text{\text{
\text{y}t \text{f\text{\text{e}r \text{\text{u\text{ng\text{u\text{\text{a\text{t}}}}}]}\]}}}}\] 3-1 ↓ 'goodbye' = 'may nothing untoward have been said' (following a visit)

6.13 Only a limited number of one-word utterances can be considered sentences, and then only within certain specific contexts which provide additional information. Clearly, not all groups of two or more
words qualify as sentences, either. The simplest level of word juxtaposition is represented by the enumeration of separate items without any connecting elements, such as:

\[
[\text{œp} \text{fuw} \quad \text{bir} \text{e} \quad \text{drybuw}] \quad \text{'apple, pear, grape, etc.'}
\]

The items in this series are semantically related in the sense that they all belong to the same general category, names of 'fruit', but no grammatical meaning relates them one to another.

Other universal combination types connect parallel forms:

\[
[r\text{y} \text{xer} \quad \text{un} \quad r\text{y} \text{xer} \quad \text{un} \quad n\text{e} \quad m\text{e}: \quad r\text{y} \text{xer}] \quad \text{'stir and stir and stir some more'}
\]

or combine alternative forms without a connective:

\[
[s\text{æ} \text{ks} \quad s\text{ib} \text{e} \quad j\text{a} : r] \quad \text{'six (or) seven years'}
\]

6.14 More typically, a group of two or more words coheres as a phrase because one of the words serves as center, or head of the phrase. For example, \([\text{man}]\) is the head word in the phrase 'the good old man' \([\text{der gus} \text{t a} \text{it man}]\) and the remaining three words modify it. Such a phrase is further defined as an endocentric construction, since the entire phrase could fulfill the same function in a sentence as one of its elements, namely the head word. But this phrase is not a sentence.

Nor can such phrases as \([\text{nyt gvakt}]\) or \([\text{nyt gvo} \text{n} : \text{o}]\) stand alone as sentences, but if joined by the copula \([\text{r}]\), they form together an
independent clause and a complete, meaningful sentence:

\[[\text{nyt gva}\k\text{t} \text{\text{(s)}} \text{nyt gvo\text{\text{3}}}]\] 'nothing ventured, nothing gained'

Here the verb \[\text{\text{(s)}}\] really functions as a grammatical equal sign and just as in the English version, the SwdtA. proverb would be understood perfectly well without it. So, although most SwdtA. sentences do contain a predicate, the presence or absence of the verb alone does not make the phrase a sentence. In the absence of a verb, the coherence of the non-predicative sentence is still preserved by the unique intonation contour 1-3-2-1↓.

6.2 If the phrase is defined as any group of two or more words which are grammatically related, then several sub-types can be identified. 5 A quick comparison with Kufner's classification of NHG. phrase types reveals how closely SwdtA. resembles the literary standard in simple phrase structure. One or two SwdtA. examples must suffice for each sub-type, for the points of syntactical congruity with NHG. are many, although perhaps of less interest to the student of languages in contact than the proportionately few cases of divergence, where SwdtA. goes its own way and/or reflects the influence of AEng. phrase structure.

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5 For the basis of this definition and the definition of the clause, the writer is indebted to H. L. Kufner, *The Grammatical Structures of English and German*. The outline of his discussion of NHG. clause and phrase structure provided a foil for the SwdtA. forms cited here.
6.21 Endocentric constructions include:

6.211 Subordinate phrases, such as the example cited in #6.13, [dər guat alt man]. Only one component, the head word or center, is the syntactic equivalent of the phrase. This type may be diagrammed as (MOD.) + (HEAD) and a typical sentence may comprise two or more such phrases:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[dər alt man šaft deh게ime]} \\
\text{(MOD MOD HEAD) (HEAD MOD)}
\end{array}
\]

'works at home'

6.212 Coordinate phrases with two centers (1) in apposition or (2) joined by a coordinator (cf. #4.7231). Either center could syntactically replace the phrase.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(1) [mi bruοdιr menu:] 'my brother Menno']}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(2) [mi bruοdιr un si frοuw] 'my brother and his wife']}
\end{array}
\]

6.22 An exocentric construction, by negative definition, is not syntactically equivalent to one of its components. The basic irreducible (SUBJECT + PREDICATE) sentences are of this type:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[dər man hat kšaft]} \\
\text{(SUBJ) (PRED)}
\end{array}
\]

'the man worked'

This is the generativist's kernel sentence NP + VP, which can be spun out in infinite variety by substituting more complex structures for the noun phrase and the verb phrase.

Prepositional phrases are also exocentric:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[na: mxtirmnxt]} \\
\text{(PREP) (OBJ)}
\end{array}
\]

'after midnight'

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[fyr mi]} \\
\text{for me'}
\end{array}
\]
A third common type of exocentric phrase is introduced by a sub-
ordinator (cf. 4, 7322):

\[ \text{von er he} \text{g xo: xé} \]  'when he came home'
(SUB) (SUB CLAUSE)

Just as in NHG., the SwdtA. subordinator affects the word order in
the subordinate clause which follows. Since these clauses can never
stand alone, but always depend upon another clause to complete their
meaning, they are also called "dependent" clauses. Because of the
word order which is unique to dependent clauses, they are discussed
among the major clause types in the following section.

6.3 Kufner suggests that the clause be defined as a "potential sen-
tence".\(^6\) As was seen in 6.14, it is not absolutely essential that the
sentence contain an explicit predicate. However, the overwhelming
majority of "potential sentences" are of the (SUBJECT) + (PREDICATE)
type. By the definition of 6.22, the following examples are (SUBJ) +
(PRED) exocentric phrases, and they are at the same time clauses
whose potential to become well-formed sentences will be realized if
they are spoken with the intonation contour 2-2-3-1↓.

\[ \text{er xé he} \text{g xo:} \]  'he came home'
\[ \text{I haz um ke} \text{g it} \]  'I told him (of it)'

\(^6\)H. L. Kufner, Grammatical Structures of English and German,
p. 8
However, if they are joined as components of a larger construction, such as a compound sentence, they still remain clauses, although each gives up its identity as an independent sentence. Ex.:

\[
[\text{\varepsilon \ i\ h} \ \text{\varepsilon \ xo} : \ \text{\nu \ i \ haz \ im \ ksej}t] \quad \text{'he came home and I told him (of it)'}
\]

In the oral narrative style, it is not at all uncommon to find a long series of such clauses linked together by means of coordinators, thus forming a multi-compound so extensive that it stretches or even surpasses the listener's ability to integrate perceptually. In such a case, it is a moot question whether the entire construction should be regarded as one compound or as an aggregate of sentences interconnected by verbal transactional signals roughly equivalent in meaning to:

"Don't interrupt; there's more to come."

6.31 Again, SwdtA. is similar to NHG. in that the same three basic major clause types may be distinguished. The syntactic key to this three-way distinction is the position of the finite verb, which is the center of every predicate. The finite verb is understood as the verb form which varies according to person in agreement with the grammatical subject, whether that subject is explicit or implicit. To illustrate something of the syntactic flexibility of SwdtA. word order, the finite verb (FV) \([\varepsilon \ i\] appears below in first position within the clause in number 1., in second position in numbers 2. and 3., and in last position in number 4.
1. [iS or næxti hej xo:]
2. [er iS næxti hej xo:]
3. [næxti iS or hej xo:]
4. [er næxti hej xo: iS]

Numbers 2. and 3. are declarative statements, 'he came home last night', 'last night he came home', with the FV in second position. This FV-2 clause is the most frequently seen clause type. In number 2., the so-called "normal" word order for the independent declarative clause is illustrated: SUBJ - FV - COMPlement. In number 3., the SUBJ - FV sequence is reversed, since the first position is occupied by the complement, in this case, an adverbial. The same inversion occurs when any element other than the subject appears in first position. "Inverted" word order is common in declarative statements which are introduced by an element which is to be emphasized. Ex.:

[das kse:ni] 'I can see that'
[xorn hej dir kes kha:] 'you didn't have any corn'
[čeios værdo si gar dek] 'they'll go mad with jealousy'

6. 32 Another type of independent clause with the inversion FV-SUBJ is seen in number 1., but in this case, the FV is in first position. The FV-1 clause, sometimes called the "order question" clause, is the model for "yes-no" questions marked by inversion and a rising 2-3↑
terminal pitch pattern, in contrast to the falling (3)2-1↓ of the declarative statement, number 2. The relation of number 1. to number 2. can be described as a process, with the order question derived from the declarative statement by a single-step transformation (inversion) plus a change in the terminal pitch pattern.

\[ \text{is er næxti hæx xo:] } \text{'did he come home last night?'} \]

A second type of question is introduced by an interrogative pronoun or interrogative adverb, following which all the other clause elements appear in exactly the same order as in the order question above. This FV-2 type will be referred to as the "interrogative word" question or the "?"-word" question to distinguish between the two.

\[ \text{varum is er næxti hæx xo:] } \text{'why did he come home last night?'} \]

6.33 The last type of independent clause to be discussed here is also introduced by an FV, but with this type, the subject is more elusive, often not even explicitly stated when it is a 2. person pronoun. Clauses of this type include commands and formula-like expressions of wishes.

\[ \text{hri? ys got} \] \text{'(may) God help us!'}
\[ \text{saæg du das nd} \] \text{'don't say that!'}
\[ \text{gæg mær us am vaæg} \] \text{'get out of my way'}

6.34 Unlike clauses 1., 2. and 3., which are all sentence patterns and capable of standing alone as independent clauses, number 4. is a subordinate, or dependent clause. It is usually related to another clause
the main clause of the sentence, by a subordinator which precedes it. The combination of the "potential" sentence and its introductory subordinator is called a sub-pattern, indicating that it does not possess grammatical parity with a sentence pattern and is always subordinate to another, independent clause.

Here again, SwdtA. syntactic structure parallels that of NHG., but there are some interesting differences which reveal the exposure to AEng. Each of the four main sub-types is marked by the kind of subordinator which introduces it, but the finite verb in last position (FV-L) is a characteristic common to all four types. These dependent clauses are best understood if they are seen to be transforms of the independent clauses numbers 1., 2. and 3. The process by which they become inserted or imbedded in another construction re-orders the elements within the clause, resulting in the FV-L configuration which is the hallmark of the "dependent" word order.

6.341 The indirect question is a transform of the order question (FV-1) and is introduced by the subordinator [œb]:

\[ [\text{si het kfra:kt œb er næxti hez xo: } 1\$] \]

'she asked if he came home last night'

\[ [i vëjs nxd œb er næxti hez xo: 1\$] \]

6.342 A "?-word" introduces the transform of the FV-2 "?-word" question:

\[ [i vëjs nxd verum er næxti hez xo: 1\$] \]

'I don't know why he came home last night'
6.343 A subordinating conjunction may introduce the transform of a FV-2 declarative statement:

\[
[i \text{veis das \text{er}} \text{naexti hei xo: i}s]
\]

'I know that he came home last night'

\[
[von \text{er} \text{naexti hei xo: i}s \text{hani z im kei}t]
\]

'when he came home last night, I told him (of it)'

6.344 The subordinator \([v\sigma(n)]\) is used in the last example above with temporal reference. Although they are identical in form, the subordinators in the sentence fragments below (1) signal spatial deixis and (2) function as a relative pronoun, respectively:

(1) \([\text{daer biats von i gbor\sigma bi}]\)

'the place where I was born'

(2) \([\text{di von i is gleis\sigma}]\)

'those who like fish'

The relative pronoun is a subordinator which refers back to an antecedent outside the clause and which also introduces the transform of a FV-2 declarative statement:

\[
[mi \text{bruodir von naexti hei xo: i}s \text{von ti baern}]
\]

'my brother who came home last night lives in Berne'

From the generative view of things, this complex sentence is derived from two FV-2 declarative statements. The second becomes syntactically dependent upon the first and undergoes a re-ordering
of its elements in the embedding transformation:

matrix sentence:  [mi bruːdir voːnt i bærn]
insert sentence:  [zr iʃ näxti hər xoː]

'my brother lives in Berne' + 'he came home last night' =

'my brother who came home last night lives in Berne'

When the relative is the object of a preposition, the NHG. literary language allows it to become incorporated in a wo(r)-compound, except when the antecedent is a person. But SwdtA. uses the full form of the prepositional phrase, regardless of the antecedent, since it lacks corresponding compound forms (cf. #4.7221). The first example below could be regarded as nothing more than an unpremeditated colloquial form, such as might be found in any one of a number of related High German dialects. For there is something informal and uncalculated about most colloquial speech, even in NHG., which contrasts with the syntactic intricacies of complex sentences in the more formal usage of the literary standard. SwdtA. is adequate to express the full range of experience of its speakers without the dubious benefits of the multi-layered Klammersätze (parenthesis sentences with encapsulated relative clauses) or the niceties of rhetorical figures patterned after Classical Latin models.

It is particularly in the second and third examples, where the relative serves both as object of a preposition and as a clause introducer
that SwdtA. departs from the prescriptive rules for dependent word order in NHG. The second sentence illustrates how thought patterns underlying the spoken word are patched together more or less extemporaneously and in the third sentence, the thought pattern is clearly more influenced by AEng. clause structure.

\[ \text{[fyr vas hæg das gmaxt]} \] 'why did you do that?'

\[ \text{cf. coll. AEng. 'what for': 'what did you do that for?'} \]

\[ \text{[si hæg xhini baeskI vo zi da: hoeg $tcepfe dyø vsvaændig]} \]

'they have hay-ricks on the outside of which they stuff the hay (to dry)'

\[ \text{[das i$ ne bakø vas di xhø $pri:ø dyø maï]} \]

'that's a ball which the children play with'

6.345 The dependent clause occurs infrequently without a subordinator to introduce it. The example below is patterned directly after the NHG. FV-1 clause which is identified as a dependent clause only by the so or dann connecting it to the following main clause.

\[ \text{[haet$ du: ne xent: dena: vaers ajiers xo:].} \]

'if you had only known him, (then) things would have turned out differently'

\[ \text{cf. Wenker sentence no. 18:} \]

"Hättest Du ihn gekannt! dann wäre es anders gekommen..."

SwdtA. dependent clauses without clause introducers are much more common in so-called "indirect discourse". In the first two
examples, the subjunctive clearly signals that the second clause is not a declarative statement, although the word order is FV-2. All three lack the subordinator [das], just as in colloquial AEng. the that is frequently omitted.

[si het kaeit si sigi nxd dehæm ksil]
'she said (that) they weren't at home'

[zol i 3ri:bœ mir xoem:o]
'shall I write (that) we're coming?'

[i ha khoft du: luæk$ nxd]
'I was hoping (that) you wouldn't look'

6. 346 The first sentence illustrating a dependent clause without a clause introducer in #6. 345 is a common type in NHG. and related dialects as well--the so-called "contrary-to-fact" sentence. The dependent clause sets up the condition and the causally connected main clause provides the conclusion. The condition clause, whether first or last in the sentence, is normally introduced by the subordinator [ven], cf. NHG. wenn.

[ven mir dæ:t i baern vo:nø i dæ:t i d xæuwir axø ga:] 'if we (still) lived in Berne, I would go down into the cellar (during a wind storm)'

The subjunctive forms of the auxiliary [dæ:t] indicate that "unreal" or "contrary-to-fact" conditions are involved, as in NHG., but the
SwdtA. word order is something else again. Compare the following:

SwdtA.: S SUBJ - FV (PREP) INF SUBJ - FV (PREP) INF

NHG.: S SUBJ (PREP) FV FV - SUBJ (PREP) INF
Wenn wir in Bern wohnen, würde ich in den Keller (wohnen täten) heruntergehen.

The NHG. wenn-clause has FV-L dependent word order, while the main clause has FV-2 inverted word order (the dependent clause fills the first syntactic slot in this sentence). The SwdtA. sentence, on the other hand, has "normal" SUBJ - FV order in both clauses, with the subordinator [ven] pre-posed, as it were, to the dependent clause.

Not all wenn-clauses point to "unreal" conditions. Where there is a real possibility that the condition will lead to the conclusion, the FV forms expressing the possibility are indicative, rather than subjunctive. Ex.:

\[
\text{[ven d xfr xon:t zt mues me draejte]}
\]

'when the curve (in the road) comes, one has to turn'
The word order here conforms to NHG. prescriptions:

\[
S \text{ SUBJ FV-L FV-2 SUBJ INF}
\]

6.4 SwdtA. word order sometimes also contrasts with NHG. word order where modal auxiliaries are concerned. Specifically, this is true of dependent as well as independent clauses in the perfect tense (cf. #4.682) and of dependent clauses in the present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IND.</th>
<th>DEP.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRES.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PRES. DEP.: \[\text{das } \text{xibru:s guot van i saet\text{"}ir mues saege}\]

'that's very good, if I have to say so myself!'

cf. NHG.: \text{wenn ich es auch selber sagen muss}

PERF. IND.: \[\text{si het be\text{"}ir xo\text{\-}en: o ga: ved\text{"}ir mir}\]

'she could walk better than we could'

cf. NHG.: \text{sie hat besser gehen k"onnen} ... 

PERF. DEP.: \[\text{der vaeq } \text{zo: tsue\text{"}k\text{"}ing\text{"}t ksi: das mo niene het xo\text{\-}en: o dxe ga:}\]

'the road was snowed shut so that you couldn't get through anywhere'

cf. NHG.: \text{dass man nirgends hat durchkommen k"onnen (h"atte)}

6.5 Two main sources can be identified to account for SwdtA. departures from the syntactic norms of NHG.: (1) varying dialect forms which antedate the migration to America and (2) the subsequent contact with American English. Just as phonetic change and vocabulary change have resulted from exposure to and daily use of AEng., so the structure of phrases and clauses is also changing, notably in the speech of the younger generation and among those who no longer regularly speak SwdtA. and are, by their own admission, \[\text{hxd g\text{"}ar dy:ts}\].

To the inchoate substitution of Midwestern AEng. \[r\] for the still predominant SwdtA. apical trill and to diction which permits the substitution of \[\text{\text{"}sti:p}\] for \[\text{\text{"}tutsig}\], then, must be added structural items
subject to change, such as the emphatic use of the verb [duθ]:

\[i \text{ ve}s \text{ nrid}\]  'I don't know'
\[ja \text{ d}u \text{ du:Ω}s\]  'yes, you do!' (cf. #4.693)

and other constructions which are more or less transparently modeled after the AEng. idiom:

\[i \text{ be}sir \text{ æsεo das nrid}\]  'I better not eat that'
\[i \text{ be}sir \text{ xomi:o heim}\]  'I better come(go) home'

\[me θyεit zo guεt de:t i dεnε baεrgε\]  
'you feel so good (up) there in the mountains'

\[mιr si sordε de:fo vεεk xo: θ\]  
'we've sort of gotten away from (left off doing) that'

\[i s hui:s i θε gants kαtekαt fo: fo byεxεir\]  
'the house is all stuffed full of books'

\[irε xιnε her ais xouεts myεεo ha: θ\]  
'her children had to have everything store-boughten'

\[si hεt nrid gar fiuw fyr xεεθεir an:e\]
\[fyr zo xεεt vi s rε duθε\]  
'she doesn't have much for(many) clothes on'

for as cold as it is outside'

Admittedly, the AEng. translation of the last two sentences would be judged sub-standard by many, even in quite informal colloquial use.

But in fact, that level of style, however it may be appraised, is not all
that far removed from the everyday AEng. usage of speakers in these communities, including the educated, who have had formal training in English.

The phrase [nìd gar fìw fyr xìfìdir] could well be the response to a query [vas fyr xìfìdir] 'what kind of clothes?'. But the AEng. variant 'what for clothes?' is also heard, even in the speech of those who consider SwdtA. to be a marginal and nearly extinct linguistic enigma. And why should it be surprising that the SwdtA. speaker who says of an ornamental vase: [dàs jìst fyr sìxn] would say in AEng.: that's just for pretty rather than: that's purely decorative?

6.6 AEng. dialect phrases such as 'just for pretty' and 'what for clothes' are not unique to the SwdtA.-speaking communities, of course. They are a part of the larger American scene and are generally at home in Midwestern and East-central states where the language of German, Swiss and Alsatian immigrants enriched the vocabulary of the new homeland, particularly in a belt of states reaching westward from Pennsylvania. Since SwdtA. speakers are bi-linguals, it is not unexpected that the two languages in contact in the the speech of the individual and of his community should have a reciprocal effect on each other. But it is a topic which would require another chapter to note how the AEng. of SwdtA. speakers has been influenced in pronunciation, vocabulary and
syntax by their first, native language. That is hardly justified within the framework of a study whose topic is the description of that first language, "Schwyzerdütsch".

But as a concluding gesture of love to the kind people "without whom this book could not have been written", as the cliche has it, let us note a few of their AEng. speech mannerisms. Not the least among the endearing attributes of my erstwhile informants, but now and future friends, are the ways in which their second language, American English, has been re-shaped and re-molded to fit old habits, not unlike a pair of well broken-in and comfortable shoes.

The regular substitution of SwdtA. phonemes adds an accent to the AEng. speech of the oldest members of the communities. As a result, they are sometimes mistaken for immigrants by outsiders, although they were born here, often of native American-born parents and in some cases tracing their family lines to American-born grandparents. The middle generation and the generation under thirty years of age have not imitated and preserved that accent, but they do find that some SwdtA. words are so appropriate that they seem almost indispensable, even in English speech. Some SwdtA.-speaking parents have tried to keep secrets or pithy by-words from their monolingual children, only to rediscover the old truism that the unknown attracts. One teenager who refused to utter a sentence in the dialect of his parents still had
to concede that a word such as [dæpɪɡ] 'awkward, gauche' is a mighty handy term and "really hard to translate right". The untranslatable meanings lie, naturally, in the range of connotations which relate this particular term [dæpɪɡ] to the context of his parental home and to the home-town environment. Natives of SwdtA.-speaking communities who have returned after a long absence testify that some of the deepest and most pleasurable associations with the community are founded in the native language.

Some express the opinion that the mixture of Alemannic and American English that is SwdtA. came about by the simple process of "using English words and just giving them a Swiss accent."

Another informant, an American-born man of middle age, put it this way, shifting from "broken" English to "good" SwdtA. in the middle of his explanation:

[daɛts sɔm'tiŋ ju: nɔ: ʤiŋ ʤiŋ nɔ: bɔt tu sej den triː wi ə hɪr in diʃ kɑntɾiː... un nɔ hɛt mə hɛlt mjuːsə zæɡə vəs si tɛm kɛʃt həʃ vəs əz tʃə kɛʃɪ]"

"That's something, you know, they didn't know what to say then (for a native American concept) until we were here in this country... and then a person just had to say what they (native AEng. speakers) told you it was, you see?"
Perhaps the most beautiful example of syntactic carry-over from SwdtA. to AEng. came in a wholly spontaneous and unsolicited, not to say unexpected question put by a young man, perhaps in his early thirties:

"Do you notice on our English anything, that we talk another language?"

After a stall and a (hopefully) diplomatic evasion by the interviewer, who after all should remain detached, the man went on to say that while shopping outside his home community, he was asked by a clerk, "Why, you speak German, don't you?" Somewhat taken aback, he replied, "Oh, we just talk kind of Swiss-like." Whereupon the clerk answered (as reported in the words of the informant), "Well, I could tell on your English that you speak something else."

Yes indeed, "Schwyzerdütsch" is something else again:

\[ \text{ja: ts ūvitsir̥d:ts iʃ xo xiː apis aŋiːrs} \]
APPENDIXES

A. Augmented Keller key-word list
B. Elicitation manual illustrations
C. Sample texts in transcription
D. Sampler tape recording
E. SwdtA. - English vocabulary
F. Explanation of abbreviations
APPENDIX A

The following pairs of High German and English cues were included in the augmented Keller key-word list used in the direct elicitation described in #2.413. Each cue card carried a pair of cues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>danke</td>
<td>1. thanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etwas</td>
<td>2. something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kartoffel</td>
<td>3. potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruder u</td>
<td>4. brother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bub-en</td>
<td>5. boy(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blau</td>
<td>6. blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jung</td>
<td>7. young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nein</td>
<td>8. no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wir gehen</td>
<td>9. we go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trinken</td>
<td>10. to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auf, ab</td>
<td>11. up, down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augen</td>
<td>12. eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frau</td>
<td>13. wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glauben</td>
<td>14. to believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heuen</td>
<td>15. to make hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niemand</td>
<td>16. nobody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etwer</td>
<td>17. somebody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hühner</td>
<td>18. chickens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grün</td>
<td>19. green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sau üe</td>
<td>20. sow(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abend</td>
<td>21. evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lüpfen</td>
<td>22. lift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerutscht</td>
<td>23. slid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schlüssel</td>
<td>24. key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Äpfel</td>
<td>25. apples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwester</td>
<td>26. sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rippe</td>
<td>27. rib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milch</td>
<td>28. milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brille</td>
<td>29. glasses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Käse</td>
<td>30. cheese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
spät-er 31. late(r)   wir geben 47. we give
wir nehmen 32. we take  Küch-e 48. kitchen
sie mähen 33. they mow   Stein-e 49. stone(s)
Hand 34. hand   tief 50. deep
Kind 35. child   Fliege 51. fly
klein 36. little   Knie 52. knee
heute 37. today   Eis 53. ice
alt 38. old   heiß 54. hot
einmal 39. once   Weizen 55. wheat
er geht 40. he goes   fünf 56. five
Spiel 41. game   finster 57. dark
Ei-er 42. egg(s)   schneien 58. snow
Haus'-er 43. house(s)   er steht 59. he stands
_____ ist rot 44. _____ is red   Mädch-en 60. girl
wir können 45. we can   bauen 61. build
Baum'-e 46. tree(s)   neu 62. new

Schweizerdeutsch 63. Swiss German
APPENDIX E

The plates on this page and on the following page are illustrations of the line drawings contained in the elicitation manual used in the collection of the data, cf. #2.42.
APPENDIX C

The following sample texts from informants are of two basic types:
(1) the proverbial saying and jingles, of which SwdtA. has many, and
which are by nature "fossilized" language (cf. #2. 425), and (2) more
extensive free discourse, transcribed from spontaneous conversational
or dialog contexts.

1. Proverbial sayings:

\[
\text{[me ɾupfu əgans vo faedire het] } \quad \text{'you pluck the goose with feathers' (you can't get blood from a turnip)}
\]

\[
\text{[əs mɛtθi vo jæstæ tʰ bɛsær as ɡis vo bæstæ]} \quad \text{'a girl who weeds is worth more than one who prays'}
\]

\[
\text{[auwi ja:r ə xaːz g上前 t ɾiːw xaːz:z} \quad \text{'just one cheese a year and you'll never have much cheese; but one}
\text{abir aʊwi jaːr ə xiŋ g上前 t gliː;} \quad \text{child a year and you'll soon have a lot of children'}
\text{fɜːw xiŋ]}
\]

\[
\text{[yen si d xats ʃæxət zə g上前 t psuæx]} \quad \text{'when the cat licks itself, company is coming'}
\]

\[
\text{[əs guəts ho:s hɛt ne guətə ʃæntɛ]} \quad \text{'a good house has a good chimney' (metaphorical consolation for the}
\text{unfortunate who has a large nose)}
\]

\[
\text{[vaer ɬim niːt tɾaut ɬæm ɾə}
\text{nɪd tə tɾuwə]} \quad \text{'the distrustful soul is not to be trusted, either'}
\]

\[
\text{[bærniɾ ʃæːdət si hɛt]} \quad \text{'Bernese Swiss are hard-headed'}
\]
2. Rhymes and jingles:

\[
\text{[rītā rītā rēsht]}
\]
\[
\text{as bāzēt rē sēshtī}
\]
\[
\text{as bārn rē dūbōhūs}
\]
\[
\text{da: tūɡat ati jʊnfrī u:s]}
\]

'rider, ride a pony,
Basel is a fortress,
Berne is a dove-cote,
with maids at every window.'
(a child's knee-riding song)

\[
\text{[līrī tārī šēfūwētī:t]}
\]
\[
\text{vaør dās nd xā:}
\]
\[
\text{dər xā: nd fjuwt]}
\]

'liri, lara, ladie,
if you can't do that,
you're not so able =
you can't do much'

\[
\text{[līrī tārī šēfūwētī:t]}
\]
\[
\text{dātī vībīr æsē fjuwt}
\]
\[
\text{djʊnī nd gār vēnt}
\]
\[
\text{psuŋːirz ɣːsːs vrent]}
\]

'liri, lara, ladle,
the old women eat a lot,
the young ones not a little,
especially our Vreni(Veronika)'
(teasing rhyme for a fat girl)

\[
\text{[mysē fāx dām buːb tśiːgir}
\]
\[
\text{f̥iːxt lʊːnːt ər v̥id̥ir]}
\]

'mother, make cottage cheese for
that young man, maybe he'll come
again another time''
(teasing the daughter who brings
her boy friend home to dinner
for the first time)

\[
\text{[fjuwt gɪxt k̥ʊnːsːæɡ əν də v̥īɡəæɡə]}
\]

'much happiness, God's blessing,
heavenly joy and eternal life'
(a farewell benediction)

\[
\text{[hənsɪʃəki am bax}
\]
\[
\text{hēt lʊːtɪr guətī səx}
\]
\[
\text{hēt f̥iːʃəl t̥s məɾfə}
\]
\[
\text{ʊn xraɛp̥əl tən̥kt]}
\]

'Hans Jakob lives by the creek,
and has lots of good things to eat:
fish for breakfast
and crabs(crayfish) for supper.'

\[
\text{[h̥t r̥s fɹiːt̥ig}
\]
\[
\text{v̥en məɾ nyːt g̥ːs}
\]
\[
\text{b̥r̥s g̥l̥t̥ig]}
\]

'today is Friday; if you don't give
me anything, you're stingy'

\[
\text{[hɔpːir hɔːli hænzis hɛk̥ːə h̥uːfə}
\]
\[
\text{hæn i hʊndəɾt hæːzə hɔːɾə hǔːstə]}
\]

'behind Hans Hilty's hedgerow I
heard a hundred hares coughing'
(a tongue-twister)
3. Monolog: a native of "Sonnebärg" offers a sample of his speech and compares with the "Bärn" and "Potnam".

]

'We're going to talk a little Swiss now the way we do in "Sonnebärg"!

One of the things that's entirely different in "Sonnebärg" from in "Bärn" is that we don't talk so coarse; and then in "Potnam" they talk almost even more refined than we do in "Sonnebärg".

Now, I say that in "Sonnebärg" it is almost...sort of in between.

We don't use 'grin' for a human head and we don't use other similar words which would seem to be like swearing.'

4. Monolog: a native of "Bärn" observes concerning old people in his own community:


'The old people think that they can't do anything anymore because of their age. They can't jump and they can't walk fast and then they don't want to walk with a cane—they think that would show a bit that they are so old.'

5. Monolog: the same informant speaks about his grand-son's plans:

[im herp:st gayt æer i d ëui: te gayt dirna: ga studi:ro i vëg

and vas as æer vot lae:re abir er vot oepis gar fœxtir:ix studi:ro]

'He's going to school in the fall.

He's going (there) to study. I don't know what he wants to study, but he wants very badly to study something.'
6. Monolog: an informant from "Potnam" comments on an illustration depicting the work of spreading manure in the field.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in this picture they have hauled manure, unloaded it with a hook, put it on piles and then they went along and spread it out afterwards. Now it's entirely different.}
\end{align*}
\]

7. Dialog: a couple from "Bärn" extemporize an imaginary exchange between a husband caught in the act of raiding the refrigerator and the irate wife.

A: [\text{da han i di këst\!}]  
B: [\text{ja va\! st i bi hakt orde\! st hungry vorde \$ ja matirnaxt i ha o: nid f\! ruw ts na\! xt kha:}]
A: [saeg du: da:s nid më\! r he\! ti nos guet\! s na\! xt kha:]
B: [ja abir du he\$ nid di be\$t\$ sup\$ kha: na\$xt\$ un \$ es het mi dy\$\$t i zu\$w ce\$s ri\$\$t\$ guert\$s ha: f\$r\$ ts æ\$\$ø jet\$]
A: [\text{on i ha gm\$\$æ\$\$nt das du ru\$\$ig ha\$\$ di gants\$\$ na\$\$xt}]

A: [\text{Now I've caught you!}]
B: [\text{Yes, yes, well, I just got quite hungry. After all, it's midnight. I didn't have much for supper.}]
A: [\text{Don't you say that! We had a good supper!}]
B: [\text{Yes, but you didn't have the best soup this evening and I thought I wanted to have something really good to eat now.}]
A: [\text{And I thought that you would be quiet all night long.}]

B: 'Well, that's the only way you can go back to sleep, if you have something to eat. Sleeping on an empty stomach is no business. I see that there's a pretty good piece of meat in there.'

A: 'Yes, but that's for tomorrow noon.'

B: 'Well, then I'll just eat a little less tomorrow. And anyhow we ought to sample it in case company should come and then we know if it's any good or not.'

A: 'Yes, take some meat and cheese and a little lettuce on it and of course you've got some pickles there, too. You'll never be able to sleep on that!'

B: 'Oh, I think I could.'

A: 'And why do you have this open up here, anyhow? That just wastes electricity!'

B: 'Well, I have to see what's there. And maybe we'll have to have something to drink, see, in those cans there.'

A: 'I am going back to bed. You can stay there as long as you like!'

B: 'Well, I'll see to it, all right. I can help myself.'
APPENDIX D

SAMPLER TAPE

A more precise acoustic impression of SwdtA. may be gained by listening to the attached sampler tape recording. The English lead-ins for the six recorded excerpts are as follows:

1. Speaker 3 describes the pictures of the grain harvest and threshing, which remind him of a visit in 1948 to the home of a first cousin who lives on the Sonnenberg in the Swiss Jura.

2. Speakers 4 and 5 discuss the same pictures of the grain harvest. Speaker 5 is the grandson of Speaker 4.

3. Speaker 6 speaks with his wife (Speaker 7) about plants and seeds and getting ready to plant the garden.

4. This very lively couple (Speakers 6 and 7) seemed to enjoy especially describing the pictures (in the elicitation manual). (Here they are talking about the cow stable.)

5. Speaker 6 also seems to enjoy his reputation as a story-teller in the community and when I asked him if he could tell a story in SwdtA.,
he promptly gave me these two. The first is a joke about a somewhat
simple-minded handy-man, who got a call to come and install eaves-
troughs and downspoutings on a local birdhouse. And the second is a
story about the speaker's own uncle, who was tongue-tied and as a re-
sult, had difficulty in making himself understood.

6. Speaker 4 told me some of his experiences as a boy and a young
man, growing up in Berne, Indiana, and Kidron, Ohio, and he told
me about his dear old mother who was born on the Sonnenberg in the
Swiss Jura, and about the songs she used to sing. I asked him if he
would sing a song for me and he said he'd be glad to do so. The first
song that he sings is a so-called "Geissbueblied", a goat-herd's song.
APPENDIX E

SWDTA. VOCABULARY

The following SwdtA. vocabulary items were selected from manual and mechanical transcriptions of native speech and are offered here as a sample in phonetic transcription, along with their AEng. equivalents.

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{abə}], [\text{axə}] & \quad \text{'off, down'} & [\text{anjəxi}] & \quad \text{'fear'} \\
[\text{aːbə}] & \quad \text{'evening'} & [\text{apotəki}] & \quad \text{'drugstore'} \\
[\text{ablə:də}] & \quad \text{'to unload'} & [\text{arbət}] & \quad \text{'work, job'} \\
[\text{af}] & \quad \text{'monkey, ape'} & [\text{arbətir}] & \quad \text{'worker'} \\
[\text{akər}] & \quad \text{'field, acre'} & [\text{aːspanə}] & \quad \text{'to hitch up'} \\
[\text{aːbənə][aubə}] & \quad \text{'always'} & [\text{aioː}] & \quad \text{'car, auto'} \\
[\text{aːləgo}] & \quad \text{'put on (clothes, harness)} & [\text{ax(s)}] & \quad \text{'axe'} \\
[\text{auws}, [\text{auwi}] & \quad \text{'all, every'} & [\text{æːdbəri}] & \quad \text{'strawberry'} \\
[\text{auwədərənt}] & \quad \text{'all kinds of'} & [\text{ænd}] & \quad \text{'end'} \\
[\text{aут}, [\text{cutir}] & \quad \text{'old, older'} & [\text{aentə}] & \quad \text{'duck'} \\
[\text{aɪtəfərətir}] & \quad \text{'old-fashioned'} & [\text{æəʃə}] & \quad \text{'to eat'(of humans)} \\
[\text{əmbəɾət}] & \quad \text{'umbrella'} & [\text{baːdə}] & \quad \text{'to bathe, to swim'} \\
[\text{anəɾləgo}] & \quad \text{'to lie down'} & [\text{bajnəɾi}] & \quad [\text{bəɾi}] & \quad \text{'grain binder'} \\
[\text{əɾi}] & \quad \text{'other'}
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[bɑːl]</td>
<td>'soon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɑːlə], [bauwə]</td>
<td>'ball'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɑŋkə]</td>
<td>'bench'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[baʃt]</td>
<td>'husk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[baeə]</td>
<td>'bear, teddy-bear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bæczə]</td>
<td>'broom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bæcˈtər]</td>
<td>'beggar, tramp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[brj]</td>
<td>'leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[brjə]</td>
<td>'bee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɔt]</td>
<td>'bed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɔeɡə]</td>
<td>'to iron'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɔez]</td>
<td>'angry'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[biːʃə]</td>
<td>'to bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[briːd], [bruːd]</td>
<td>'picture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bits]</td>
<td>'piece, fragment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[biː]</td>
<td>'by, beside, near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bruːwɪɡ]</td>
<td>'cheap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bryndə]</td>
<td>'bundle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bxrʃtə]</td>
<td>'brush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bла:zə]</td>
<td>'to blow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[błaːzə]</td>
<td>'to blow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bлаu]</td>
<td>'blue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bliːbə]</td>
<td>'to stay, remain'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[bliːbə]</td>
<td>'to stay, remain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[blyːəjə]</td>
<td>'to bloom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[blɪtʃə]</td>
<td>'to make lightning'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[bluəmo]</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[blʊndər]</td>
<td>'laundry, linens'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bodə]</td>
<td>'floor, ground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɔgi]</td>
<td>'buggy, carriage'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[bɔstman]</td>
<td>'mailman, postman'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[bɔstɪr]</td>
<td>'pasture, grazing land'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɔum]</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[brɪdɪɡ]</td>
<td>'sermon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[brɛt]</td>
<td>'wide, broad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[briːs]</td>
<td>'price'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[brɪŋə]</td>
<td>'to bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bryxtə]</td>
<td>'to talk, speak'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[bʁɔːt]</td>
<td>'bread'</td>
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<td>[bʁɔː:t]</td>
<td>'bread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bʁɔbiːrə]</td>
<td>'to try, test'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bruːn]</td>
<td>'brown'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bruːxə]</td>
<td>'to need, use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[psuəxə]</td>
<td>'visit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bʊəb]</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bʊəx]</td>
<td>'book'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[buːx] 'abdomen'
[baːs] 'woods, bush'
[botse] 'to clean, polish'

dag] 'day'

dantsə] 'to dance'

danj₁kxe] 'thanks'

daːrum] 'around here'

dax] 'roof'

daŋ₂kxe] 'to think'

dɛːt] 'there'

diːf] 'deep'

dyːtʃ] 'German'

dilx] 'thick, fat'

diʃ] 'table'

dɔːki] 'doll'

dɔxdir] 'daughter'

draːɡə] 'to carry, wear'

draːlɛ] 'dirt'

droːsːə] 'to thresh grain'

droːxnə] 'to dry out'

driːbə] 'to drive'

drɔːɡ] 'trough'

drʊbəi] 'trouble'

dʊŋkət] 'dark'

dvrʃt] 'thirst'

ɛrmir] 'pail, bucket'

cʃːə] 'corner, edge'

czuw] 'donkey, mule'

cʃːig] 'vinegar'

cxːtə] 'harrow'

ɔːyʃ] 'you all'(2. pl.)

ɔepir] 'somebody'

ɔepis] 'something'

ɔepfuw] 'apple'

fətːə], [fauwə] 'to fall'

farb] 'color'

fəːrə] 'to drive (vehicle)'

fædɪɾə] 'feather, pen'

fæld] 'field'

fænts] 'fence'

fɛʃt] 'firm, solid'
fat, overweight
'twist, turn'
'to forget'
'to sell'
'to try, test, sample'
'to understand'
'fine, refined'
damp, wet'
'fire'
'to fix, repair, prepare'
much, a lot'
'to find'
bottle'
'meat'
'fly'
'industrious'
to fly'
'from, of'
bird'
frightfully, very'
to eat'(animals)
'free, outside'
'spring-time'
'early'
happy, glad'
'wife, woman'
lazy'
'foot'
goose'
'entirely, very'
toward, against'
money'
'always'
goat'
'building'
'fiddle'
glass'
to like, to resemble'
same, similar', 'immediately'
cup'
'green'
'head'(of animal)
large, big
[ksɛ:] 'to see'
[kšɛ:] 'to happen'
[kšir] 'dishes, harness'
[kšir] 'soon, quickly'
[guot] 'good', cf.:
[be sĩr] 'better'
[γvɔtir] 'storm'

[halto], [hauto] 'to keep, hold'
[ha] 'hand'
[ha:z] 'rabbit, hare'
[haebə] 'to grasp, hold'
[haeiəxɛ] 'to hang (up)'
[haεufə] 'to help'
[haerd əɛfju] 'potato'

[heγ(m)] 'home'
[heγs] 'hot'
[heγsə] 'to be called'
[hekə] 'hedge'
[hemd] 'shirt'
[herpʃt] 'autumn, fall'
[herτ] 'hard, difficult'

[həx] 'hay'
[hoe:rə] 'to hear'
[høx] 'high'
[hi:r] 'here'
[hy:r] 'this year'
[hyrə:tə] 'to marry'
[hInaxt] 'this evening, night'
[huŋır] 'behind'
[hɔt] 'today'
[hauts] 'wood'
[huen] 'chicken, hen'
[hu:s] 'house'
[huət] 'hat'
[huŋ] 'dog'

[iɡ] 'I'
[inə], [iŋə] 'in, into'
[intʂig] 'sole, only'
[i:zə] 'iron, steel'
[i:ʃ] 'ice'
[y:ɔ] 'us, our'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[im:ə]</td>
<td>'bee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ybir]</td>
<td>'over, above'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ybiru:s]</td>
<td>'exceedingly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ja:r]</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jaŋlo]</td>
<td>'Yankee, non-Swiss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jets(o)]</td>
<td>'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jvŋ]</td>
<td>'young'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[juʃt]</td>
<td>'just, barely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xaðis]</td>
<td>'cabbage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xalt], [xaut]</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ixaŋ:(ə)]</td>
<td>'can'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xaŋə]</td>
<td>'cap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xarə]</td>
<td>'car, auto'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xa(r)ʃt]</td>
<td>'hook, rake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xats]</td>
<td>'cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xaŋəb]</td>
<td>'scoundrel, rascal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xaŋuəwir]</td>
<td>'cellar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xaŋz]</td>
<td>'cheese'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xaŋvir]</td>
<td>'bug, insect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xe:r]</td>
<td>'turn, curve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xeʃi]</td>
<td>'kettle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ketə]</td>
<td>'to catch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kikə]</td>
<td>'to kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xiŋu]</td>
<td>'pail, bucket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xiŋ]</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xiŋzi]</td>
<td>'cherry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xiŋto]</td>
<td>'box'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xiŋpsə]</td>
<td>'pumpkin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xiŋi]</td>
<td>'pillow, cushion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xɛm:xaŋvir]</td>
<td>'pinch-bug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xəni]</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xəŋpə]</td>
<td>'to knock, beat, rap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xnaext]</td>
<td>'hired man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xnoŋ]</td>
<td>'knee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xətə]</td>
<td>'coal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xəpf]</td>
<td>'head'(of human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xorb]</td>
<td>'basket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xorn]</td>
<td>'corn, maize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xəʉfə]</td>
<td>'to buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xəŋə]</td>
<td>'to cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xraŋə]</td>
<td>'sick, ill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xraitə]</td>
<td>'to scratch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xræps]</td>
<td>'cancer, crab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xri:də]</td>
<td>'chalk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xriʃdæg]</td>
<td>'Christmas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xruːə]</td>
<td>'jug, pitcher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xruːt]</td>
<td>'cabbage, greens'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xuː(ə)]</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xuəxə]</td>
<td>'cake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xuːi]</td>
<td>'kitchen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xumɪəɡ]</td>
<td>'convenient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xupfɪə]</td>
<td>'copper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xurts]</td>
<td>'short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iaː]</td>
<td>'to let, allow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iaːdvæərɡ]</td>
<td>'apple-butter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[land]</td>
<td>'land, ground'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| [ɪæŋ] | 'long' (adv.) cf.:
| [ɪæŋ] | 'long' (adj.) |
| [ɪəxə] | 'to laugh' |
| [ɪəbə] | 'life' |
| [ɪər] | 'empty' |
| [ɪəts] | 'wrong, incorrect' |
| [læʃə] | 'ladder' |
| [læːnɪŋ] | 'alone' |
| [lætʃt] | 'last' |
| [læʃuə] | 'spoon' |
| [liəb] | 'dear' |
| [liədɪ] | 'song' |
| [liəʃt] | 'light' |
| [liːækə] | 'sheets, bedlinens' |
| [lɪŋks] | 'to the left' |
| [lɪpʃə] | 'to lift' |
| [lɔːs] | 'loose' |
| [lɪsə] | 'to listen' |
| [læufə] | 'to run' |
| [lɔx] | 'hole' |
| [luəɡə] | 'look' |
| [lut] | 'loud' |
| [luft] | 'air' |
| [mædɪɾn] | 'modern' |
| [maːɡə] | 'stomach' |
| [maɡir] | 'lean, gaunt' |
| [maːtə] | 'to grind' |
[man] 'man, husband'
[mar/kət] 'market'
[ma:ʃi:nə] 'machine'
[max:ə] 'to do, make'
[ma:ʃi:jə] 'to mow'
[ma:ʃtli]~[ma:ʃtlı] 'girl'
[maeu xe] 'to milk (a cow)'
[ma:ŋgi:ʃ] 'many a time'
[maeʃir] 'knife'
[məbuw] 'maple'
[medı:ʃsi:n] 'medicine'
[mı:ʃ] 'mile'
[me:nə] 'to think, opine'
[meʃt]~[me:nʃt] 'most'
[me:(r)] 'more'
[me:tʃgir] 'butcher'
[mi:n] 'my, mine'
[my:ød] 'tired'
[mı:ʃt] 'manure'
[mi:dag] 'noon'
[mi:teŋaŋ] 'all together'
[mi:ti:n:] 'midnight'
[mi:ʃi:i] 'mill'
[mo:nat] 'month'
[mo:n] 'moon'
[mɔ:rə]~[mə:n] 'morning, tomorrow'
[məʃt] 'apple cider'
[mo:ʃtir] 'mother'
[mu:t]~[nuw] 'mouth'
[mu:r] 'brick, stone wall'
[mu:s] 'mouse'
[na:də] 'needle'
[na:mə] 'name'
[na:mı:dag] 'afternoon'
[nax] 'near', cf.:
[nexı:ɾ], [nexıt] 'next'
[naxber] 'neighbor'
[nax:ər] 'afterwards'
[naxt] 'night'
[næbə] 'next to, beside'
[næbəɾ]~[næbuw] 'fog'
[næʃiə] 'to sew'
[næʃt] 'nest'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nexti</td>
<td>[næɛtɪ]</td>
<td>'last night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>[njuː]</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cream</td>
<td>[niːdɪə]</td>
<td>'cream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never</td>
<td>[niːə]</td>
<td>'never'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nobody</td>
<td>[niːəmɪr]</td>
<td>'nobody'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>[nɪət(ə)nt]</td>
<td>'nothing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low(er)</td>
<td>[nɪdɪr]</td>
<td>'low(er)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north</td>
<td>[nɔːrd]</td>
<td>'north'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>only, just</td>
<td>[numθ]</td>
<td>'only, just'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nut</td>
<td>[nʌt]</td>
<td>'nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over, above</td>
<td>[əʊrə]</td>
<td>'over, above'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>[əʊpə]</td>
<td>'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often</td>
<td>[əfθ]</td>
<td>'often'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>[əps]</td>
<td>'fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without</td>
<td>[ɔːnɪ]</td>
<td>'without'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncle</td>
<td>[oŋkəl]</td>
<td>'uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>[ɔːr]</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rather</td>
<td>[ɔːrɛθ]</td>
<td>'rather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich</td>
<td>[ɔːθ]</td>
<td>'rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>call</td>
<td>[ɔːθ]</td>
<td>'call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stove, oven</td>
<td>[ɔvə]</td>
<td>'stove, oven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stir</td>
<td>[ɔvərə]</td>
<td>'to stir'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to call</td>
<td>[ɔvərə]</td>
<td>'to call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peach</td>
<td>[pɜərzi]</td>
<td>'peach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipe</td>
<td>[pɪːfə]</td>
<td>'pipe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to plant</td>
<td>[pflæntsə]</td>
<td>'to plant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plow</td>
<td>[pfləʊ]</td>
<td>'plow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pound</td>
<td>[pʊnd]</td>
<td>'pound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edge, border</td>
<td>[ænd]</td>
<td>'edge, border'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>razor</td>
<td>[ræziːr mæsɪr]</td>
<td>'razor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to rain</td>
<td>[ræŋə]</td>
<td>'to rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to wrestle</td>
<td>[ræsətə]</td>
<td>'to wrestle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to rake (up)</td>
<td>[ræːksə]</td>
<td>'to rake (up)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the right</td>
<td>[ræksə]</td>
<td>'to the right'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>[rɛdə]</td>
<td>'to speak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ready</td>
<td>[rɛdɪ]</td>
<td>'ready'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>row</td>
<td>[rɛŋθə]</td>
<td>'row'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripe</td>
<td>[rɪf]</td>
<td>'ripe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tear, pull</td>
<td>[rɪːsə]</td>
<td>'tear, pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to ride</td>
<td>[rɪːtə]</td>
<td>'to ride'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to call</td>
<td>[rɪːtə]</td>
<td>'to call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rail</td>
<td>[rɪɡwə]</td>
<td>'rail'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[rɪŋ] 'ring'  [sweɪt] 'sweet'
[rɪk(o)] 'back'  [slid(ə)] 'side'
[rɪp] 'rib'  [sɪtɪə] 'cider'
[rɔiɔ] 'dress, skirt'  [zɪŋ(o)] 'to sing'
[ɾəs] 'horse'  [sɪtsə] 'to sit'
[rət] 'red'  [sɪvə(t)] 'otherwise'
[ɾəux] 'smoke'  [səmər] 'summer'
[ɾəʊs] 'soot'  [sənə] 'sun'
[ɾuːjə] 'to rest'  [sou] 'pig'
[ɾuːpæsə] 'to pass around'  [suːd] 'south'
[ɾʌnd] 'round'  [suːfə] 'drink'(as an animal)
[saɪlə] 'silo'  [sər] 'sour'
[sæk] 'sack, bag'  [zuəkə] 'to seek'
[slət] 'lettuce, salad'  [zuːvər] 'clean'
[saʊts] 'salt'  [səf] 'sheep'
[saːmə] 'seed'  [səfə] 'to work'
[zæx(o)] 'thing'  [səkə] 'shock'
[zaːɡə] 'to say'  [sərpə] 'sharp'
[saɛːjir] 'sower'  [sətə] 'shade, shadow'
[saɪnəbɪr] 'oneself'  [səɛri] 'scissors'
[seɪtə'mænt] 'settlement'  [sɪɡɪk] 'leg'(of animal)
[siːdər] 'since'  [sən] 'pretty, beautiful'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shine</td>
<td>ñi:nø</td>
<td>'to shine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barn</td>
<td>ñy:r</td>
<td>'barn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shy</td>
<td>ñy:x</td>
<td>'shy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour</td>
<td>ñy:e</td>
<td>'pour (out)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shake</td>
<td>ñytə</td>
<td>'to shake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>ñlaː</td>
<td>'to hit, strike'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>ñlaːfə</td>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lick</td>
<td>ñæclə</td>
<td>'to lick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>ñækt</td>
<td>'bad, wrong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whet</td>
<td>ñiːfə</td>
<td>'whet, file'</td>
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<tr>
<td>slip</td>
<td>ñxpə</td>
<td>'to slip'</td>
</tr>
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<td>sled</td>
<td>ñrə</td>
<td>'sled, sleigh'</td>
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<td>key</td>
<td>ñrəsii</td>
<td>'key'</td>
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<td>butterfly</td>
<td>ñmægriŋ</td>
<td>'butterfly'</td>
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<td>smell</td>
<td>ñmyku</td>
<td>'to smell, sniff'</td>
</tr>
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<td>snail</td>
<td>ñnækə</td>
<td>'snail'</td>
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<td>snow</td>
<td>ñnøː</td>
<td>'snow'</td>
</tr>
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<td>cut</td>
<td>ñni:də</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
</tr>
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<td>cut little</td>
<td>ñntsə</td>
<td>'to cut to little pieces'</td>
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<tr>
<td>string</td>
<td>ñnuːr</td>
<td>'string'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moustache</td>
<td>ñnuːtə</td>
<td>'moustache'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
<td>ñəː</td>
<td>'already'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>split</td>
<td>ñpautə</td>
<td>'to split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>save</td>
<td>ñpæːro</td>
<td>'to save, spare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humorous</td>
<td>ñpæçig</td>
<td>'humorous, funny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bacon</td>
<td>ñpækə</td>
<td>'bacon'</td>
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<td>late</td>
<td>ñpæːt</td>
<td>'late'</td>
</tr>
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<td>attic</td>
<td>ñpiːkər</td>
<td>'attic'</td>
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<td>play</td>
<td>ñprəiːθ</td>
<td>'to play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jump</td>
<td>ñpɾiŋːo</td>
<td>'to jump'</td>
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<td>spray</td>
<td>ñpɾiːtsə</td>
<td>'to spray, sprinkle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>write</td>
<td>ñriːbə</td>
<td>'to write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strong</td>
<td>ñtə(r)x</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very</td>
<td>ñtænts</td>
<td>'very, extremely'</td>
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<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>ñtəɡ</td>
<td>'stone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>ñtərbo</td>
<td>'to die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>start</td>
<td>ñtəɾtə</td>
<td>'to start'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td>ñtətli</td>
<td>'village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handle</td>
<td>ñtəru</td>
<td>'handle'(of fork)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proud</td>
<td>ñtəkts</td>
<td>'proud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>ñtəpo</td>
<td>'to stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>store</td>
<td>ñtəːɾ</td>
<td>'store, shop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheelbarrow</td>
<td>ñtəːs bæɾə</td>
<td>'wheelbarrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dust</td>
<td>ñtəub</td>
<td>'dust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word</td>
<td>translation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[strtə]</td>
<td>'to stretch'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[stritə]</td>
<td>'to smooth, spread'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[strkə]</td>
<td>'to knit'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[strəu]</td>
<td>'straw'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[struːb]</td>
<td>'unkempt, ugly'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[strw]</td>
<td>'chair'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[stumph]</td>
<td>'dull'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[stug]</td>
<td>'hour'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sturm]</td>
<td>'storm' (also the name of a Swiss berry dish)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>[stuːsɪɡ]</td>
<td>'steep, precipitous'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃuː]</td>
<td>'shoe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[subliadhi]</td>
<td>'drawer'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃuːt]</td>
<td>'school'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃum]</td>
<td>'foam'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃuːz]</td>
<td>'sure, certain'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃuːvə]</td>
<td>'shovel'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃvants]</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃvæts]</td>
<td>'black'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃvax]</td>
<td>'weak'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃvɛːr]</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃveːʃtir]</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
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<td>[ʃvivts]</td>
<td>'Switzerland'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ʃvɪts]</td>
<td>'sweat'</td>
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<tr>
<td>[iːξi]</td>
<td>'tea'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iɛʃtə]</td>
<td>'to taste'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsaŋ]</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsaŋo]</td>
<td>'tongs'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɪsaemə]</td>
<td>'together'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsæeʃə]</td>
<td>'meal, dinner'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[:sɛ:]</td>
<td>'toe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsiɡə]</td>
<td>'to show'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsiː]</td>
<td>'time'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsiːɡ]</td>
<td>'stuff, things'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsiɡɪr]</td>
<td>'cottage cheese'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsruːɪk]</td>
<td>'back(wards)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsuə]</td>
<td>'to, towards'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsuɔɪr]</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tspoː]</td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsvɛːʃə]</td>
<td>'between'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tspvə]</td>
<td>'between'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tspvɛr]</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tspvɛː]</td>
<td>'two'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ufiɡə]</td>
<td>'to call up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ufxə]</td>
<td>'to get up, out of bed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ufmæxə]</td>
<td>'to open up, make up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[u:ɾ]  'clock'
[u:s(ο)]  'out, outwards'
[u:sfigerο]  'to figure out'
[u:sfrθə]  'to find out'
[u:s max:ə]  'to make out'
[vexogabete]  'to fork down'

[umːt]  'again'
[ur for gaestix]  'unforgettable'
[unxru:t]  'weeds'
[untsktsiːfr]  'vermin'
[vjir]  'under'
[vjirʃxt]  'difference'

[væɡ]  'scales'
[væɡo]  'wagon'
[vəŋ]  'wall'
[va:r]  'true'
[varm]  'warm'
[vaɾtə]  'to wait'
[voɾum]  'why'
[vašir]  'water'
[vaeg]  'way, path, road'

[vægə]  'because of'
[vaer]  'who'
[væxiə]  'to wash'
[væxbi]  'wasp'
[vɛiθə]  'while'
[vɛ:ni(g)]  'little, not much'
[vɛntsə]  'wheat'
[vɛ(r)do]  'to become, get'
[væs(t)]  'west'
[vɛtir]  'weather'
[vetsyə]  'to whet'
[vi:bir fœx]  'woman, women'
[vi:s]  'white'
[yit]  'far, distant'
[yint]  'wind'
[yintir]  'winter'
[vɔː]  'where'
[vœuxə]  'cloud'
[vɔmə]  'to live'
[vort]  'word'
[vuŋiɾ]  'wonder'
[vurš:]  'sausage'
ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the text of this work:

SwdtA. = Schwyzerdüütsch  Brn. = "Bärn" dialect
Fr. = French  Snb. = "Sonnebürg" dialect
AEEngl. = American English  Bd. = dialect of Canton Berne
Penn.Dt. = Pennsylvania  Zt. = dialect of Canton Zürich
Dutch, or German  NHG. = New High German
  +  +
OHG. = Old High German  WGmc. = West Germanic
MHG. = Middle High German  Gmc. = Germanic
Goth. = Gothic  Lat. = Latin
OFr. = Old French
  +  +  +
coll. = colloquial  hum. = human
colec. = collective  anm. = animal
vulg. = vulgar  WS = Wenker sentence(s)
SDS = Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz
m. = masculine

n. = neuter

f. = feminine

sg. = singular

pl. = plural

nom. = nominative

dat. = dative

acc. = accusative

com. = common

ind. = indicative

condit. = conditional

pres. = present

PRES. = present

PERF. = present perfect

INF. = infinitive

COM. = comparative

FV = finite verb

AUX. = auxiliary verb

LEX. = lexical or main verb

IC = immediate constituent

SUBJ. = subject

PRED. = predicate

ADV. = adverb

ADJ. = adjective

PREP. = preposition

OBJ. = object

HEAD = head or center of phrase

MOD. = modifier

DET. = determinative

IND. = independent clause

DEP. = dependent clause
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