

Contents

Note — V

Acknowledgements — V

List of Tables and Figures — XI

Abbreviations — XIII

Outline — XV

Part I: Theoretical and sociohistoric background

1 Theoretical background — 3

1.1 Introduction — 3

1.2 Language change — 4

1.2.1 What is language change? — 4

1.2.2 Theories of language change — 8

1.2.3 The role of empirical and theoretical aspects
in the study of language change — 15

1.3 Language contact — 16

1.3.1 Perspectives on language contact — 16

1.3.2 Language maintenance and language shift — 17

1.3.3 The Transmission Phenomenon Model — 19

1.3.4 Thomason/Kaufman and Van Coetsem compared — 22

1.3.5 The (extended) Matrix Language Frame Model — 24

1.3.6 Thomason/Kaufman, Van Coetsem, Myers-Scotton:
A synopsis — 31

1.4 Concluding remarks — 33

2 The Pennsylvania Germans and their language(s) — 34

2.1 Introduction — 34

2.2 Historical development of the speech community — 36

2.2.1 The structure of the speech community — 40

2.2.2 The plain and the non-plain language repertoire — 43

2.3 Research review — 45

2.3.1 Research on Pennsylvania German, 19th to 21st century — 45

2.3.2 Discussion — 56

2.4	The three varieties —	58
2.4.1	Pennsylvania German —	58
2.4.2	Amish High German —	77
2.4.3	American English / Pennsylvania German English (PGE) —	79
2.4.4	Summary of the varieties and their functions —	85
2.5	The sociolinguistic aspect —	87
2.5.1	Bilingualism and diglossia —	87
2.5.2	Language as a role attribute in conservative plain PG communities —	90
2.6	Conclusions —	91

Part II: Data analyses

3	The PG data corpus —	97
3.1	Presentation of data corpus and data background —	97
3.1.1	Introduction —	97
3.1.2	Written data: Problems and advantages —	98
3.1.3	The relevance of written data for the development of modern-day PG —	100
3.2	Data origin —	100
3.2.1	Region of data origin —	100
3.2.2	Data sources and authors' backgrounds —	101
3.3	Research interest and general findings —	104
4	Semantic-syntactic changes: Form-meaning and form-function relationships —	110
4.1	Introduction —	110
4.1.1	Contrasts between English and German —	110
4.1.2	Case syncretism in Pennsylvania German —	113
4.2	Theoretical background: Concepts of lexical-semantic structure —	117
4.2.1	Thematic roles —	118
4.2.2	VP shells —	122
4.2.3	Causative alternation —	125
4.3	Changes in argument structure —	129
4.3.1	Preliminaries —	129
4.3.2	Changes in reflexive marking —	132
4.3.3	Transitivity changes —	140
4.3.4	Impersonal constructions —	151

4.4	Conclusions — 176
5	Structural variation and incipient change — 178
5.1	Introduction — 178
5.2	Clause structure in German and English – differences and similarities — 180
5.3	V2 clauses in German and English: A generative analysis — 184
6	Verb position in complement <i>dass</i>-clauses — 187
6.1	Introduction — 187
6.1.1	Syntactic background — 187
6.1.2	The data — 188
6.2	Why "V2"? – Diachronic and synchronic aspects of the word-order pattern <i>dass</i> +V2 — 190
6.2.1	The diachronic perspective — 190
6.2.2	The synchronic perspective — 196
6.3	The underlying syntactic structure: V2 or not V2? — 198
6.3.1	Potential syntactic analyses — 198
6.3.2	Underlying V2 structure — 199
6.3.3	Underlying verb-final structure — 201
6.3.4	Interpretation of the findings — 205
6.4	Concluding remarks — 205
7	Extrapolation of prepositional phrases — 207
7.1	Preliminaries — 207
7.2	The Data: Prepositional phrases in Pennsylvania German — 210
7.2.1	Overall frequency of PP extrapolation — 214
7.2.2	Extrapolation of light and heavy PPs — 216
7.2.3	The role of close semantic attachment (in argument structure) between verb and PP — 219
7.2.4	The role of linguistic origin of the verbal lexeme — 223
7.3	Interpretation of results — 225
7.4	Concluding remarks — 227
8	Stranded prepositions in Pennsylvania German — 230
8.1	Preposition stranding: A brief description — 230
8.1.1	Preliminaries — 230
8.1.2	The range of stranding phenomena — 232
8.2	Preposition stranding in Pennsylvania German — 236
8.2.1	Pennsylvania German data — 237

8.2.2	Extraposition preferences —	240
8.3	Preposition stranding and PP-split —	244
8.3.1	Preposition stranding in English —	245
8.3.2	PP-split and the resumptive-pronoun strategy in German —	247
8.4	The place of Pennsylvania German —	260
8.5	One surface -- two parsing strategies —	268
8.6	Conclusions: Structural variation and incipient change in Pennsylvania German —	271
9	General conclusions and implications —	276
9.1	Applying language contact models to PG: Predictions —	276
9.2	Findings —	278
9.2.1	Characterization of text groups —	278
9.2.2	Theoretical implications —	280
9.3	Conclusions —	282
Appendix — 289		
List of analyzed texts — 289		
Bibliography — 295		
Index — 317		