

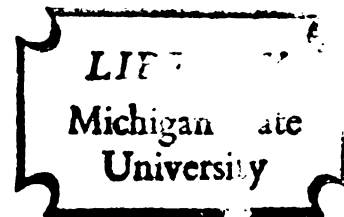
THE DIALECT OF METZENSEIFEN AS
SPOKEN IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
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NANCY ANN ELLIOTT
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THESIS



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

THE DIALECT OF METZENEIFEN AS
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NANCY ANN ELLIOTT

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of the requirements for

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ABSTRACT

THE DIALECT OF METZENSEIFEN AS SPOKEN IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

By

Nancy Ann Elliott

Metzenseifen is a small town in eastern Czechoslovakia, which was settled in the Middle Ages by Bavarian and Silesian miners and metal workers. After the 1870's emigrants from Metzenseifen began settling in several American cities, including Cleveland, Ohio, where the dialect is still spoken by a dwindling number of their descendants. The object of this study is to present and thereby preserve the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the dialect as it is now spoken. The phonology and its development from Middle High German are described in Part A of this work. Part B deals with the structures of the parts of speech, and Part C with phrase, clause, and sentence structures.

Data for this study was collected in the form of taped monologues, discussions, and translations of the forty sentences of Georg Wenker (Wenkersätze), which has been a standard tool in German dialect study in this

century. Twelve informants from the Greater Cleveland area, representing immigrants and first and second generation dialect speakers, contributed to the tapes. Two first generation speakers provided a large body of information transcribed directly from speech for the grammar and syntax parts of this study. Some published and unpublished written material was also consulted for purposes of comparison.

Immigrants in Cleveland began adapting American English loan words to their phonological system before the turn of the Century. The first generation born in Cleveland increased the number of loan words and introduced some phonological changes. The inflection of nouns and adjectives declined in use, and loan constructions were introduced into the syntax. Sentence structure began to resemble that of American English. These processes continued into the second generation, however subsequent generations abandoned the dialect altogether, due to social pressures and marriages outside of the ethnic circle. It is estimated that the dialect will not persist into the next century.

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Nancy Ann Elliott

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	1
INTRODUCTION	5
The Relationship of Metzenseifen to Other Dialects .	11
NOTES: INTRODUCTION.	17
PART A: PHONOLOGY	18
Chapter 1: Vowels.	21
Development of the Metzenseifen Vowels from MHG .	31
Chapter 2: Consonants	50
Development of the Metzenseifen Consonants from MHG	58
PART B: MORPHOLOGY	71
Chapter 1: Nouns	71
Formation of Plurals	73
Declension.	76
Chapter 2: Pronouns	84
Group 1 Pronouns.	84
Group 2 Pronouns.	88
Chapter 3: Adjectives and Adverbs	93
Primary Adverbs	97

	Page
Chapter 4: Verbs	99
Classification of Strong Verbs	101
Conjugation	107
PART C: SYNTAX	117
Chapter 1: Words and Phrases	119
Nouns, Pronouns, and Modifiers	119
The Uses of Case.	124
Prepositions and Conjunctions	126
Verbs	129
Chapter 2: Clauses and Sentences.	137
Traditional Main-Clause Word Order.	138
Traditional Subordinate-Clause Word Order	141
Americanized Word Order	142
SUMMARY OF LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENTS AMONG CLEVELAND	
AREA SPEAKERS	144
NOTES: PART A.	149
NOTES: PART B.	150
NOTES: PART C.	151
BIBLIOGRAPHY	152
APPENDIX I: EXAMPLES OF FOLK LITERATURE IN	
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION	154
APENDIX II: INFORMANTS.	159

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
A 1. The Metzenseifen Vowel Phonemes	22
A 2. Umlaut	29
A 3. Development of the Short Stressed Vowels . .	37
A 4. Development of the Long Vowels	41
A 5. Development of the MHG Diphthongs	42
A 6. The Secondary Diphthongs	47
A 7. The Phonemic Consonants.	52
A 8. Development of the MHG Stops and Fricatives .	60
A 9. Development of Other MHG Consonants.	61
B 1. Nouns of Plural Group 1.	77
B 2. Nouns of Plural Group 2.	78
B 3. Nouns of Plural Group 3.	79
B 4. Nouns of Plural Group 4.	80
B 5. Nouns of Plural Group 5 and 6.	81
B 6. The Personal Pronouns	85
B 7. Pronominal Adjectives	90
B 8. Possessive Adjectives	91
B 9. Strong and Weak Adjectives.	95
B 10. Weak Verb Conjugations	108

Table	Page
B 11. Strong Verb Conjugations	109
C 1. Tense--Time Relationships.	131
D 1. Informants.	161

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.	accusative
conj.	conjunction
D.	dative
ENHG	Early New High German
Fem.	feminine
imper.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
indic.	indicative
infin.	infinitive
Masc.	masculine
Metz.	Metzenseifen
MHG	Middle High German
Neut.	neuter
P.	possessive
part.	participle
perf.	perfect
pers.	person
pres.	present
pl.	plural

sing.

singular

subj.

subjunctive

All dialect words are underlined in the text and
MHG equivalents are enclosed in parentheses.

PREFACE

This work seeks to describe concisely the phonological, morphological, and syntactic aspects of the Metzenseifen dialect, which is now spoken almost entirely by people over fifty years of age and which may not exist in another twenty years. According to Metzenseifeners interviewed, young adults in the United States and in Metzenseifen itself are not using dialect themselves, nor are they passing it on to their children. Therefore there is only a short time left in which the living dialect can be studied first hand. Thus this work treats the general rules of the whole dialect rather than the phonology alone. Furthermore Metzenseifen is presented as one dialect instead of emphasizing the changes which have developed among United States speakers. These are changes which do not hinder communication and are therefore of lesser interest. They cannot be broken down clearly by generation, as was expected at the outset. Ober- and Unter-Metzenseifen are considered as one dialect area, because they do form one culturally and linguistically solid community, although there have been separate

administrations for the two towns in the past. Dialect differences, some of which are mentioned in the text of this work, are of a very minor nature.

Twelve informants from the Cleveland, Ohio area, representing immigrants and first and second generation speakers, contributed to four thirty-minute free discussion tapes and four thirty-minute monologue tapes. Five of these informants representing the three generations also made taped translations of the forty sentences of Georg Wenker (Wenkersätze), the official sampling tool of the Deutscher Sprachatlas. The Wenkersätze provided a comparison of morphological and syntactic features not possible in the unstructured tape recordings. Two of these informants, both first generation speakers, were used as principal informants to provide much additional detailed information for Parts B and C of this work. This information was transcribed directly from speech as responses to specific queries about points of grammar. All transcriptions, including those made from tapes, were recorded in a modified phonetic script devised for this study, based on the International Phonetic Alphabet. Information about the informants used in this study is found in Appendix II.

In addition to the tapes, I have also consulted material in document form. This consisted of unpublished dictionary word-lists and Wenkersätze from Ober- and

Unter-Metzenseifen provided for this study by the Sudetendeutsches Wörterbuch at Giessen and copies of the Wenkersätze for Ober- and Unter-Metzenseifen sent by the Deutscher Sprachatlas at Marburg an der Lahn. Because documentary information in the handwriting of the native speaker is often difficult to interpret, this material was used in a secondary way only to corroborate verbal information. Examples from the works of Schröer and Gedeon described in the following paragraph were also used in this way.

Published material dealing with the Metzenseifen dialect, and for that matter all the Unterzips dialects, is extremely scanty, perhaps because it was the Oberzipser and Siebenbürger Sachsen dialects which occupied scholarly attention for so long a time. It was not until the mid 19th Century that German scholars became interested in the medieval mining settlements of Hungary. An early investigator and traveller, Karl Julius Schröer, compiled notes, word-lists, and sample texts, which he published in the Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna, 1857-63). He was the first scholar to recognize the Middle German basis of the Unterzips dialects, and he proposed a common origin for them together with those of the Kremnitz-Schemnitz dialect area. He published a folktale, some proverbial expressions, and a brief word-list from Metzenseifen.

In 1950 Alajos Gedeon, a native of Unter-Metzenseifen, published a phonological study of the Metzenseifen dialect in Hungarian entitled Az Alsó-Meczenzéfi Német Nyelvjárás Hangtana (Budapest, 1905), which continues to be the only monograph dealing with this dialect. Gedeon's short work presents the vowels and consonants of Metzenseifen and shows their derivation from the sounds of Middle High German. Detailed information is given on the articulation of each sound, but the most useful part of his work is the copious listing of examples illustrating the sound developments. Another Hungarian work of this same period is Ernő Lersch's A "Gründler" Nyelvjárás (Kolozsvár, 1904), a very small grammar which applies only to a few Unterzipser towns and not Metzenseifen. An unpublished master's thesis by Emaline Antel Rolfe, (one of the informants in the present study), entitled "A Study of the Metzenseifener Dialect" (Western Reserve University, 1933) is actually a transcription into phonetic script and glossary of some poems of Theodore Kliegel of Schmölnitz, and was not found to be of help for this work. Some material compiled from Wenkersätze of Metzenseifen is published in the text volume of the Deutscher Sprachatlas (Marburg, Lahn, 1956). A large amount of dictionary material from Metzenseifen has been collected for the Sudetendeutsches Wörterbuch at Giessen, which will be available in the future.

INTRODUCTION

The town of Metzenseifen, now called Nižni-Medzev, which includes Ober-Metzenseifen, is located in Czechoslovakia near the Hungarian border between two branches of the Tatra Mountains, a part of the Carpathian Range, at 48° 60' North Latitude and 20° 90' East Longitude. About twenty miles east lies the nearest large town, Kaschau on the Hernad, and Budapest is over 150 miles to the south. About five miles away is the well-known monastery of Jasso, (recently destroyed by fire), which was the scene of King Bela IV's defeat by the Mongols in 1241. The surrounding terrain is infertile and in places densely forested; it is drained by the Hernad and the Bodva, a tributary of which runs through Metzenseifen and is called the grōnda pōx. The surrounding hills have yielded gold, silver, and iron ore, as well as semi-precious stones since ancient times, and metal working has been the chief activity of this region to the present day.

Occupation of the Carpathian region by Germanic peoples dates back to the Roman period, when Goths, Gepides, and Quads lived there and worked primitive mines

until driven out by the Huns. Later, after gradual resettlement of Bavarians and Austrians under Charlemagne, Bavarian churchmen established monasteries in the river valleys farther east and paved the way for German resettlement of the remote mountain areas. Already in 1044 North German miners were active in the Carpathian region.¹ Throughout the period of the medieval holy wars crusaders moved south-eastward from the Low Countries and Saxony in groups as large as 200,000 in some cases and settled the relatively empty timberlands. In fact many indentured workers from the overpopulated Rhine Valley joined the Crusades especially for the purpose of settlement, and in this way the first Zipser settlements of the 1150's were made. In the late 12th Century the Hungarian King Geisa II began to recruit large numbers of German handworkers and farmers from Bohemia and Silesia, most of whom had settled these regions from the Cologne-Trier-Aachen area a few generations earlier. Thus a loose chain of German settlements sprang up, which became known as the Zipser towns, and in 1212 these towns were politically independent enough to elect their own local baron. The Zipser towns contributed significantly to the waves of migration called the Siebenbürger Sachsen, who in later centuries moved into Rumania and Bulgaria. Many Zipser also helped settle the Unterzipser towns such as Metzenseifen.

At the same time North Bavarians were moving slowly across the Hungarian Plain from the west and south, establishing a great many gold-mining settlements, including some of the Unterzipser towns. After the Mongol invasion of 1241, in which practically all of these towns were devastated, King Bela IV recruited German settlers to repopulate the old sites. He was anxious to have German settlers in his land because of their strict self-government, their skill in mining and tool-making, and their ability to improve the land on which they worked. Bela granted city charters and gave grazing, hunting, and water rights to the inhabitants. The new settlers came from East-Middle German colonies around Meissen, in Silesia, Bohemia, Mähren, and the metal-working area Iglau and represented a mixture of Middle Germans with North Bavarians and Rhinelanders. In the Unterzips region the major towns of Schmölnitz, Gölnitz, Einsiedel and possibly Metzenseifen were resettled, as well as the colonies of Kremnitz, Schemnitz, and Deutsch Proben in the Turz-Neutra basins. Krickerhau in the Neutra basin, together with Drechslerhau and Kunneschhau, bears a remarkable resemblance linguistically to Metzenseifen, but it is not clear how the towns are related historically, since they are very far apart. In this period very many short-term gold-mining settlements sprang up and were abandoned. Literate and enterprising men called Richter obtained

permission from the king to open veins and found towns, whose names usually ended in -hau "clearing" or -seifen "steep valley". A very good mine was discovered near Jasso,² and this could have been at Metzenseifen. An important medieval trade route, the Krackau-Kaschau road, may have been the road which runs through Metzenseifen, since the artifacts found in the region exhibit Krackau influence, so it is possible that Silesian and Bohemian settlers continued to move into these Hernad basin towns for several centuries.

In the Late Middle Ages the German Carpathian mining region flourished and its inhabitants reaped a great harvest of material wealth. Later gold and silver became depleted, and the surplus population moved elsewhere, as the remaining inhabitants turned to iron-working, shingle-cutting, hunting, and subsistence farming. Many of the towns which had no iron works and were located on very barren hills suffered extreme poverty and isolation.

The town of Metzenseifen is in the cultural area called the Unterzips, the Gründner Boden, or the Gründler region,³ which lies southward from the Oberzipser (also called Zipser) settlements of Burgerhof and Leutschau, separated from them by forests and small Slovak-speaking villages. The language, customs, and folklore of the Gründner Boden are quite different from those of the Oberzipser towns, although the communities have always been in contact. The other major Gründner towns include

Schmölnitz, Gölnitz, Schwedler, Einsiedel, Wagendrüssel, Stooss, and Dobschau, of which Dobschau represents a link between the cultures of the Unter- and Oberzips. Most of the towns today bear Slavic names, and the original dialects and customs are rapidly dying out.

The earliest mention of Metzenseifen was in a document dated 1376, granting the use of stream water to power the hammermills or hēma of the local iron industry, but it is certain that the town existed before that.⁴ In 1639 the town received permission to hold a joamark or annual trade fair, which brought in many visitors from surrounding communities, and this event persisted into the 20th Century. The iron implement industry saved many Unterzipser towns like Metzenseifen from abandonment after the depletion of the precious metals of earlier times. In the 1850's Metzenseifen had about 6,000 inhabitants,⁵ comprising the two segments of Ober- and Unter-Metzenseifen, which had separate churches and schools and a history of continuous rivalry, though they were located only a few hundred feet apart. Each community in the Unterzips made one or two specific implements, and these were contracted for by dealers as far away as Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia and Russia. Metzenseifen made shovels, rakes, and plowshares. There are still Metzenseifeners alive today who can recall in detail the procedures of hand-tool manufacture at the turn of the century. With the advent of the industrial revolution in Hungary about 1860-80, the

large foundaries of Budapest put the family-owned hēma out of business. The hēma persisted into the 1920's, but they were gradually shut down as the tool industry declined and workers left. After World War II and the advent of Communism in Czechoslovakia, Metzenseifen was selected as an industrial site; factories were built and workers imported from distant Slovak and Hungarian towns. Presently there are over 10,000 inhabitants, and new streets and housing developments are constantly being built to accommodate the expanding manufacturing industry now located there.

Large-scale emigration from Metzenseifen began in the period after 1870 and lasted until the Communist occupation. Between 1880 and 1890 the town lost roughly one third of its population, and shortly after the turn of the century there were as many Metzenseifeners in American industrial centers as in Metzenseifen itself.⁶ A great many emigrants also went to industrial cities in Germany, and a few even colonized the Ukraine. Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, and Pittsburgh were the chief United States cities chosen by immigrants from Metzenseifen. Some of the early immigrants to the United States returned to Metzenseifen after a few years, bringing back elements of American English, which remained in the dialect of Metzenseifen.

The colony established in the city of Cleveland, Ohio was located on the near west side of town in the

area of West 25th Street, Fulton Road, and Clark Avenue. Many of the early immigrants found employment at a division of the White Sewing Machine Company, operated by the Kunz family, who were among the earliest arrivals from Metzenseifen. The near west side was also inhabited by Hungarian, Slovak, Czech, and Ukrainian immigrants as well as some from the Gründner and Oberzipser towns, so the Metzenseifeners found themselves in the same cultural and linguistic environment as before. A cultural organization, the West Side Sachsenheim, was formed by the Sudeten- German immigrants to keep their dialects and traditions alive. As is to be expected in a large urban society, the Metzenseifen colony, which numbered over 1500 in the first half of this century, did not persist long, but dissolved rapidly because of intermarriage, suburban expansion, and job mobility. By the third generation dialect was no longer spoken, and today there are probably no speakers under the age of fifty years who can converse fluently in dialect.

The Relationship of Metzenseifen to Other Dialects

As can be surmised from the history of the Gründner Boden, a complex mixing of people and dialects has taken place, not only in the towns themselves, but also earlier in the parent settlements of Bohemia and Silesia. The region of settlement in Bohemia and Silesia contained colonists from the Lower, Mid, and Upper Rhine,

from Franconia, Thuringia, Upper Saxony, and Swabia, as well as Bavaria. Dialect mixture was so thorough that often several geographically distant traits came together in the same word. The mixing process also gave rise to some new traits not found in any West German dialect, such as f and tf for initial MHG pf. Finding a West German homeland for Carpathian dialects derived from this mixture is a hopeless, if not a meaningless task. However, it is possible to identify some areas of temporary settlement in Bohemia and Silesia and assemble some clues as to the dominant dialect forces.

The Gründner dialects all appear to be related by Middle German elements and especially East Middle German elements, with variable influence of Bavarian from town to town. A probable previous settlement area for those colonists who came to Metzenseifen can be mapped out in the Elb-Saale region, with the aid of the forms treøg- (triuge), apl (apfel), -l (-lîn), and tsøryk (zerücke) forming a western boundary parallel to the Saale and running roughly from Leipzig to Zwickau to Saaz. The Metzenseifen initial f for pf would indicate a location north of a line from Altenburg to Dresden, or else a small area just north of Prague. The latter is more probable, since the forms hentn (hindene) nōxt (naht), and āñ (ougen) indicate a region south of a line running roughly from Chemnitz eastward into Poland. The forms nyšt and nixt indicate an area north and east of Saaz. This area is

characterized by what are usually called South Silesian dialect traits. It is possible that the area where the Eger joins the Elbe was a homeland for the Metzenseifen colonists for a time, and there may have been other intermediate settlement places in Iglau, the dialect island from which the Kremnitz area was settled, and which has been linked to Gölnitz.⁷ Another possibility is the dialect island Olmütz in North Mähren. These island dialect areas were both settled before 1300. Iglau has īs, en̄k for the second person plural pronoun; MHG uo > ū; lengthening of e in vēter; p for b initially; and p for pf medially just as in Metzenseifen, but it does not have the rounded front vowels, b for w, or diphthongization associated with r. Olmütz has MHG ei, ou > ā; p for b; vocalization of r; f for pf initially and p for pf medially; and the words ros (ros) and traig- (triuge) in common with Metzenseifen. It does not have īs, en̄k or rounding of the front vowels.

Metzenseifen has many Middle German characteristics, which appear in the South Silesian settlements, and some Lower Rhine dialect elements acquired probably from the Oberzipser settlements which are known to have contributed to the Metzenseifen population. Some Silesian elements are identical with Bavarian elements, since Silesia had a large North and Middle Bavarian colonization. Other South Silesian traits reappear in areas of the Rhine

Valley and in West Germany generally. Those found in the Metzenseifen dialect include: MHG t > d after l; very closed ō and ē; MHG i > e and u > o before nasals; MHG pf > f initially and > p medially; loss of the -e plural ending and loss of -e on many feminine nouns; the infinitive ending -n or -en rather than -a; da- for er- in prefixes; ixa for ix; the word hea for er; the diminutives in -xenk (-chen) and -lenk (-lîn); and the words nyšt, nont, ix zai, and treøg-. The lengthening of vowels in short syllables with final MHG x, such as pōx (bach) is of Dutch origin.⁸

The Bavarian dialect elements are very strong in Metzenseifen and date back to a very early period, before the 13th Century.⁹ They include the rounding of front vowels in words like bøš (wesche) and tsbøšn (zwischen); the complete vocalization of n in words like mō (man); MHG b > p; MHG w > b; MHG ei, ou > ā; the diminutive ending -l; the vocalization of r; assimilation of -gen, -den, and -ben to ŋ, n, and m respectively; and the words ufsan, ōmðs, huxtsət and kiemes, which are of Bavarian origin.

The Metzenseifen dialect resembles those of the Unterzips towns Schmölnitz, Gölnitz, Wagendrüssel, and Stooss in the following common traits: MHG b > p; MHG w > b (also in clusters); MHG ā > ō; MHG ei, ou > ā; vocalized r; īs and enk; the prefix da-; MHG pf > p

medially; and lowering of u and i before nasals. It differs from them in that it has rounding of some front vowels, especially as unlauded back vowels; the diphthong eø, and MHG f > v medially. These last three characteristics are shared with the towns of the Krickerhau group; Krickerhau, Drechslerhau, and Kunneschhau, as well as the island dialect area of Deutsch Proben. Metzenseifen differs from the Krickerhau group in that the latter has MHG f > v initially; MHG initial r > hr; the noun plural ending -e; and the infinitive and past participle ending -a for -en. The Krickerhau v for f initially is thought to have been widespread in the Unterzips at one time, and there are occasional examples of it in Metzenseifen. The Metzenseifen dialect is not very similar to Dobschau, which seems to be a hybrid between the Unter- and Oberzips.

Because the Bavarian dialect characteristics of the Unterzips are of greater antiquity (mostly earlier than 1200), it appears as if Silesian settlers moved into towns already established by Bavarian and/or Austrian miners a century earlier, and yet another dialect mixture took place. A high degree of variation from speaker to speaker within the Metzenseifen dialect as well as within the other area dialects indicates considerable mixture and mobility. Many Metzenseifen family names imply origins in nearby towns: Sittner, Pimsner, and Kniesner

(from Sittna, Binse, and Kniesen in the Oberzips);
Glosner and Bennesch (from Glaserhau and Benneschhau near
Kremnitz).¹⁰ Emigrants who recall life in Metzenseifen
early in this century report a high degree of interaction
among the various dialect communities. As a trade center
in the Southern Unterzips region, Metzenseifen was by no
means isolated and it may have attracted settlers over a
long period.

NOTES: INTRODUCTION

¹Johannes Kachelmann, Geschichte der Ungardeutschen Bergstädte (Schemnitz, 1852), p. 21.

²Kachelmann, p. 110.

³The origin of these terms is discussed in Karl Julius Schröer, "Beitrag zu einem Wörterbuche der deutschen Mundarten des ungrischen Berglandes" in Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien, 1857), p. 219, note 1.

⁴Alajos Gedeon, Az Alsó-Meczenzéfi Német Nyelvjárás Hangtana (Budapest, 1905), p. 4.

⁵Karl Julius Schröer, "Versuch einer Darstellung der deutschen Mundarten des ungrischen Berglandes" in Wiener Sitzungsberichte (Wien, 1863), p. 259.

⁶Gedeon, p. 5.

⁷Ernst Schwarz, Sudetendeutsche Sprachräume (München, 1935), p. 309.

⁸Schwarz, Sudetendeutsche Sprachräume, p. 294.

⁹Schwarz, "Probleme alter Sprachinselmundarten" in Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Tübingen, 1934), vol. 58, p. 342.

¹⁰Hanika discusses the possible link between Metzenseifen and Krickerhau in Ostmitteldeutsch-Bairische Volkstumsmischung im Westkarpathischen Bergbauggebiet (Münster in Westfalen, 1933), p. 92.

PART A: PHONOLOGY

- A1. The vowel and consonant phonemes of Metz. are treated here both from a descriptive and from a historical point of view. Chapters 1 and 2 are subdivided accordingly. Metz. has twenty consonant phonemes, all of the same length. The vowel phonemes include eight short, or lax, seventeen long, or tense, and eleven diphthongal phonemes. The concept of lax versus tense or centralized versus decentralized vowels described by Moulton¹ applies also to the vowels of Metz. In this work tense vowels are distinguished by the long mark (\bar{a}) rather than the dot ($\underset{\cdot}{a}$), because the dot is being reserved to indicate tongue height in the special cases of \bar{e} , $\bar{\phi}$, \bar{o} , and \bar{e} . Thus tension and length are regarded as the same feature here for purposes of historical comparison. In actual speech, however, the tense vowels have length only under primary stress; under secondary stress they actually lose length while retaining tension.
- A2. There are two recognizable degrees of syllable stress in Metz. Primary stress is phonemic, and secondary stress is predictable, as in German. There can be no

more than one primary stress per word, and this regularly falls on the stem syllable. Some monosyllabic words may receive secondary stress or no stress at all. Stress can affect the tension or length, as well as the quality of vowels. In the unstressed condition a vowel cannot have tension or diphthongal quality, and it sometimes appears as the central vowel ə [A36]. This vowel cannot occur under primary stress.

A3. As in many German dialects, close juncture is very frequent, especially between syllables with secondary or no stress. Close juncture affects the aspiration and voicing of the stops involved: a p^hea "a bear" [open juncture, aspiration]; prompa "brown bear" [close juncture, no aspiration]. There are, however, some speakers who do not aspirate voiceless stops in any case [A39]. Unvoicing of b, d, g and assimilation usually accompany close juncture: ampat = ant + boat "answer"; hostə = host + də "have you"; enkən = ent + kən "towards". If the same consonant occurs on both sides of a close juncture, it appears as a lengthened consonant: kommit "come along".

A4. Open juncture occurs between phrases and often before stressed syllables, as in English and Standard German. It is rare in compound words or words having prefixes and suffixes, except where a stressed syllable begins with a vowel, in which case the vowel is preceded by the

glottal stop: stantʔoat "location." The glottal stop marking open juncture usually occurs between vowels: gəʔoabət "worked". Some speakers use an etymological /r/ to close the juncture between syllables where MHG r has been vocalized [A35]: farean "respect", əs boa-r-āmol "there once was"; but others do not: faʔean, əs boa āmol. All speakers use a non-historical /r/ to close the juncture between a word-final vowel and the pronouns ons "us", enk "you", pl., as well as the unstressed pronoun forms om or ən, "him", "it", "them": ix ho-rən gəzẽ, "I saw him" [B10].

CHAPTER 1: VOWELS

A5. The stressed vowel phonemes of Metz. can be divided into short, long, and diphthongal. The long and diphthongal vowel systems can be further subdivided into oral and nasal. Oral vowels are articulated completely in the oral cavity, whereas nasal vowels have a strong nasal resonance, because part of the breath stream flows through the nose. Each of these vowel systems contains three positions of articulation: front, center, and back. All back vowels are rounded, and all central vowels are unrounded. There are both rounded and unrounded front vowels. In the short vowel and the diphthong systems there are three degrees of tongue height, whereas in the long vowels there are four. The vowel phonemes are presented in Table A 1.

A6. All short vowels are produced with the tongue and jaws in a slightly relaxed condition. These vowels are very similar to their Standard German counterparts. /i/, /y/, and /u/ have the highest tongue position, approximately the same height as for the vowels in Standard German ich, Mütze, and Fuchs. Some speakers

TABLE A 1. The Metzenseifen Vowel Phonemes.

The front rounded vowels are represented in parentheses to indicate that they actually occupy the same front position as the front unrounded vowels.

Short or Lax			Long or Tense			
(all oral)			oral		nasal	
i (y)		u	ī (ȳ)	ū	ĩ (ỹ)	ũ
			ē (ǣ)	ō	ẽ	
e (ø)	ɔ	o	ē (ǣ)	ō	(ǫ)	õ
	a			ā		ã

Diphthongs

oral		nasal	
ie (ye)	ue		
eø		ẽø	
ea (øa)	oa		
ai	ao	ãi	ão

use a slightly lower tongue position for /i/ and /u/, roughly equivalent to i and u in American English "it" and "put". The vowels /e/, /ø/, /ə/, and /o/ all have medium tongue height and are similar to the first vowel sounds in German Bett, Löcher, Gestalt, and Gott. Some speakers use a slightly lower and more central tongue position for /o/, much like the vowel sound in American English "fun". The vowel /a/ has the lowest tongue position, much like the position for Standard German a in Stadt.

- A7. The long vowels, both oral and nasal, are articulated with strong tension of the muscles involved. In the oral long vowel system the vowels /ī/, /ȳ/, and /ū/ have the highest tongue position and are equivalent to the German counterparts in wie, Mühe, and Kuh. The series /ē̇/, /ø̇/, /ō̇/ is intermediate in tongue height between /ī/, /ȳ/, /ū/, and /ē/, /ø/, /ō/, and it has no counterparts in either Standard German or American English. /ē/, /ø/, and /ō/ are almost equivalent to but slightly lower than the Standard German vowels in gehen, Söhne, and tot, but /ē/ is not as low as the vowel in spät.² There is no phoneme /ø̇/ for most speakers, but for some this sound is used as an umlaut of /ō/, and thus it is included here. /ā/ has the lowest tongue position and is equivalent to ā in Standard German Staat.

- A8. The nasal long vowels have no corresponding sounds in Standard German or American English. As can be seen from Table A 1, /ĩ/, /ỹ/, and /ũ/ correspond to /ī/, /ȳ/, and /ū/, and /ẽ/ corresponds to /ē/ in all aspects of tongue and lip position. However there are no nasal counterparts for /ø̄/ and /ō̄/. In the next series there is no nasal counterpart for /ē/. /ø̄/ can be described as similar to the vowel in Standard German schön, with more nasal resonance, and /õ/ is like the second vowel in French maison. /ã/ is the nasal equivalent of /ā/.
- A9. The diphthongs are arranged in Table A 1 according to their first elements. In most cases both elements are of the same length. Articulation of the diphthongs is relaxed, as for the short vowels. The oral diphthongs /ie/, /ye/, and /ue/ begin at the tongue levels of /i/, /y/, and /u/ respectively. For most speakers the tongue moves to the position of /e/, however the variants [yð], and [uð] also occur. Before /x/, /ue/ becomes [ui]: tuix "through". The diphthongs /eø/, /ea/, /øa/, and /oa/ begin at the middle level of tongue height. /ea/ and /oa/ are peculiar in that the second element may dominate in fast speech, and the first element may be reduced to a semi-vowel: šmjatðk for šmeatðk "biscuit", bwam for boam "warm". The elements in /eø/ and /øa/ are always the same length. /ai/ and /ao/ originate at the lowest tongue level. As can be seen from Table A 1,

the nasal diphthongs /eǝ/, /aĩ/, and /aõ/ originate from the mid and lowest tongue positions. They are relatively rare in the dialect, especially /eǝ/, of which there are only two examples.

A10. The following list presents examples of all stressed vowel phonemes plus the one unstressed phoneme /ə/:

/ī/	zīŋ	"to be victorious"
/ĩ/	pĩ	"bee"
/i/	ziŋən	"to sing"
/ē/	zēŋ	"to bless"
/ě/	gě	"to go"
/ē/	zēŋ	"to saw"
/e/	nem	"take"
/ȳ/	kȳ	"cows"
/ỹ/	kỹhait	"cleaveriness"
/y/	bysn	"to know"
/ǝ/	knǝl	"dumplings"
/ǝ/	mǝgra	"thinner" (phonemic for only some speakers)
/ǝ/	sǝhalt	"beauty"
/ø/	bøš	"wash"
/ū/	rū	"quiet"
/ũ/	rũ	"to rest"
/u/	hufn	"to hope"
/ō/	pōn	"floor"
/ō/	pōn	"to bathe"

/õ/	põ	"track"
/o/	ros	"horse"
/ā/	flāš	"meat"
/ã/	pã	"bone"
/a/	flaš	"bottle"
/ie/	piek	"birchtree"
/eø/	neø	"new"
/eǝ/	neǝ	"nine"
/ea/	peak	"mountain"
/ye/	štyem	"storms"
/øa/	bøa	"were", subjunctive
/ue/	štuem	"storm"
/oa/	boa	"was"
/ai/	pai	"by"
/aĩ/	paĩ	"pain"
/ao/	pao	"(I) build"
/aõ/	paõ	"to build"

and the unstressed phoneme:

/ð/	gðbalt	"force"
-----	--------	---------

All. Nasalization. Nasal vowels and diphthongs may replace the combinations "long vowel plus n" and "primary diphthong plus n" where these occur in word-final or preconsonantal positions. All nasal vowels are long. Nasal counterparts exist for the "primary"

diphthongs, i.e., those of vocalic origin, but not for the "secondary" diphthongs, arising from vocalization of /r/ [A33]. There are also no nasal counterparts for /ē/, /ē̄/, or /ō̄/, perhaps because nasalization tends to raise /ē/ and lower /ō̄/. It would seem that nasalization is in complementary distribution with /n/, since /n/ occurs 1) initially, 2) after consonants, 3) word-finally after a short vowel, and 4) after a short vowel in a preconsonantal position. But /n/ can occur more rarely word-finally after a long vowel, so that in some cases ̄ appears to be in contrast with /n/. The following minimal pairs demonstrate this:

/pō̄n/ "to bathe" : /pō̄/ "track"
 /rē̄n/ "to talk" : /rē̄/ "dear", D. pl.
 /jū̄n/ "Jews" : /zū̄/ "son"
 /ā̄n/ "son-in-law" : /alā̄/ "alone"
 /lō̄n/ "to load" : /lō̄/ "wage"

Nasal vowels can also be distinguished from their oral counterparts with minimal pairs:

/pai/ "by" : /paĩ/ "pain"
 /frā̄/ "lady" : /frã̄/ "ladies"

A12. The nasal long vowels are treated as phonemes here, even though they are often in complementary distribution with /n/. The long-vowel-plus-n words are in frequent

use and have been in the dialect a long time.³

Etymologically these are words arising from MHG nouns and verbs ending in -den, which became assimilated to n [A78]. Though pronounced as one syllable in the infinitive or present tense first and third plural by most speakers, they are derived from disyllabic forms, as can be seen from the present conjugated forms or the present participle [B37, B32].

A13. A nasal vowel or diphthong cannot replace a combination with /n/ where /n/ is followed by a vowel. In this case /n/ is retained as a syllable divider: alã, alãnð "alone", neð, neðnð "nine".

A14. Umlaut. All of the Metz. back vowels and all diphthongs which originate in the back of the mouth are capable of being fronted or umlauted, due to high front vowels which had been present in following syllables in Old High German times, but which are lacking in Metz. It can be seen from Table A 2 that there is considerable correspondence among the patterns of umlaut in the three vowel systems. The umlauted forms of /u/, /o/, /ū/, and /ue/ are always the rounded front vowels, /y/, /ø/, /ÿ/, and /ye/ respectively, however /a/, /ō/, /ö/, and /oa/ all have rounded and unrounded choices available. The basis for these choices lies in the speech habits of individuals for a few words, especially where pluralization is involved: fēta or fōta (vater) "fathers",

TABLE A 2. Umlaut.

Short Vowel Umlaut

i (y) ← u

e (ø) ← o
 ↙ ↘
 a

Long Vowel Umlaut

(Nasals omitted for simplicity)

ī (ȳ) ← ū

ē (ǣ) ← ō
 ↙ ↘
 ē (ǣ) ← ō
 ↙ ↘
 ā

Diphthong Umlaut

ie (ye) ← ue

eø ← ea (ǣa) ← oa
 ↙ ↘
 ai ao

TABLE A 2. (cont'd).

Examples for Diagrams on the preceding page

Short Vowel Umlaut:		Long Vowel Umlaut:	
fus	fys (vuoz)	štūl	štyl (stüele)
froš	frøš (vrosch)	šōf	šēf (schâf)
zak	zek (sac)	hōf	høflix (hof)
plats	pløtsa (plaz)	šlōŋ	šlēkst (slagen)
		mōga	møgra (mager)
		nōgl	nēgl (nagel)
		hās	hēsa (heiz)

Diphthong Umlaut:

štuem	štyem (sturm)
oam	eaml (arm)
šoaf	šøafa (scharf)
paoa	peørən (buwaere)

plets or pløtsa (plaz) "places". Similarly in the comparison of the adjective nōt (naht) the choices nēta and nøta are possible. In each of these the rounded umlaut is rarer, and the sound / $\bar{\phi}$ / is used by only a small number of speakers. Probably the rounded umlaut represents an older stage of the language, and unrounded umlaut is an influence of the surrounding Gründner towns, where it is a universal feature. Umlaut in word derivation is not subject to individual variation. The diminutive of joa (jâr) is always jøal, but the adjective is jealix. / \bar{o} / is umlauted to / \bar{e} / in šlēfrek (slaeferic) but to / $\bar{\phi}$ / in šlōfa (slâf) "temple".

A15. Umlaut occurs in the comparison of adjectives [B 22], the second and third singular of some verbs [B 34.4], the plurals of some nouns [B 3.2-3], and the addition of certain suffixes in word derivation. The suffixes -lix (-lich), -ek (-ec), and -a (-aere, -er) as well as the diminutive suffixes cause umlaut: grōf, grēflix (grave), šlōf, šlēfrek (slâf), jōk, jēga (jaget), hont, høntl (hunt) [B.2].

Development of the Metzenseifen
Vowels from MHG

A16. Vowel Quantity. In the following discussion the primary diphthongs, oral and nasal, are considered the equivalents of long vowels. Secondary diphthongs are considered short. Like short vowels, they can stand before word-final /n/ or /n/ plus a consonant without

becoming nasalized [A 33]. Actually these diphthongs may be long or short temporally depending on the speech tempo; but secondary diphthongs derived from short vowels are no shorter than those derived from long vowels.

A17. Lengthening of MHG short vowels occurs under the following circumstances:

1) In a MHG open syllable, i.e., where the vowel is followed by a single consonant, which is followed by a vowel: fēda (vēder), ōvn (oven), zōŋ (sagen), ōbθs (obez). Lengthening usually occurs before MHG t, n, and m in open syllables where other dialects retain the short vowel: pētla (bētelaere), bēta (wēter), kēt (ketene), dōna (doner), hōma (hamer), zēm1 (sēmel), tsēmθn (zemen). Exceptions are listed in A 18.3.

2) In monosyllables with stem-final l: gēl (gēl), mēl (mēl), fōl (vol), tsōl (zol), bōl (wol), tōl (tal); also in some multisyllables: šbōlmθn (swalwe), hōlmθn (halme). Rarely lengthening occurs before MHG ll: ēlpōŋ (ellenboge), ēlant (ellande).

3) In many monosyllables whose oblique case forms underwent lengthening according to A 17.1. Length was transferred to the nominative form by analogy. However, if the oblique case forms had doubled stem-final consonants, lengthening did not occur in the nominative [A 18.1].

a) In monosyllables with stem-final t: prēt (brēt), pōt (bat), grōt (gerat).

b) In monosyllables with the stem ending x, xt, k and ks: pōx (bach), rēxt (rēht), bēk (wēc), bēksl (wēchsele), aidēks (eidēhse). In many cases lengthening does not occur [A 18.1].

c) In monosyllables with various other single stem-final consonants: hōf (hof), grōp (grop), grōs (graz), lōm (lam). When a MHG syllable with stem-final n became lengthened, nasalization occurred: mō (man), pÿ (bün), pō (ban), pī (bin), zū (sun).

A18. MHG short vowels remain short under the following circumstances:

1) In all closed syllables, i.e., those with more than one final consonant: ziŋðn (singen), mesa (mezzer), dik (dicke), hant (hant). This includes some words with stem-final x, xt, and ks: maxn (machen), flixt (phliht), oks (ochs). It also includes MHG double consonants and monosyllables where the oblique forms had two consonants although the nominative had only one: hel (helle), tsarn (zerren), ros (ros, rosses), rok (roc, rockes).

2) In all words where r has been vocalized: poat (bart), eat (erde), pea (bër), kloa (klar).

3) In many cases before MHG single m: himl (himel), komðn (komen), nemðn (nëmen). Exceptions appear in A 17.1.

4) In words which are usually unstressed: ja, (ja), bos (waz). These syllables are subject to lengthening when stressed.

A19. The conditions under which MHG long vowels have become short in stressed syllables are difficult to describe, and there are many exceptional developments, as is true in other dialects. Shortening is probably a more recent development than lengthening. The characters z and ch are often associated with shortening, perhaps because they were long, fortis consonants in MHG. The following general categories can be described:

1) Shortening before MHG z, and st often occurs: pusn (bûzen), ostn (osten), but grôz (grôz), ôstan (ôstern). The MHG high diphthongs ie, üe, and uo have been monophthongized and before some consonants, especially x [written ch] and z, shortened to i, y, and u. Before other consonants they have remained as long vowels. MHG ie > i before MHG z and x: gism (giezen), rixn (riechen) for most speakers, but tif (tief) and mītn (mieten) have the long vowel for all speakers. MHG ue > y before MHG x, t, f, and z: tyxl (tuoch), hytn (hüeten), ryfn (rüefen), grysn (grüezen), but rȳm̄n (rüemen), flūk (phlüege). Long vowel forms also exist with t and f: plyt (blüete), prȳfenk (prüevunge). MHG uo > u before MHG x, z, f, and st: pux (buoch), fus (vouz), rufn (ruofen), šusta (schuostaere). Before MHG

t and k either the long or short vowel can occur: plut (bluot), gut (guot), gðnuk (genuoc), lukn (luogen); glūt (gluot), mūt (muot), flūk (vluoc). Before other consonants the long vowel occurs: prūda (bruoder). The shortening of MHG diphthongs took place after the diphthongs were monophthongized to long vowels, [A 31, 32], and it has never been completely carried out.

2) The comparative and superlative forms of some adjectives with long stem vowels have shortened vowels: grōs, grysa (grôz) [B24]. Some speakers use long vowels in the comparative and superlative forms of these adjectives, probably through analogy with the other long-vowel adjectives. Note that /ē/, /ø/, and /ō/ are shortened to /i/, /y/, and /u/, rather than /e/, /ø/, and /o/.

3) Shortening occurs in syllables where r has become vocalized: ea (êr), piet (bîr), ŷiet (schîr).

A20. Most MHG long vowels remain long in Metz.: bōk (wâge), ŷōf (schaf). Some with medial m, t, or l have remained long in Metz. despite shortening in other dialects: jōma (jâmer), nōta (nâter), ālvə (eilf). Also shortening does not usually occur before MHG xt, as in many other dialects: gðdōxt (gedächt), gðprōxt (gebrächt), gðdēxtnə̃s (gedaechnisse). Where long vowels occurred word-finally or followed by only one consonant, shortening also did not occur: ŷnē (snê), tōt (tôt), bais (wîz), kōzn (kôsen).

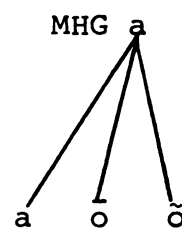
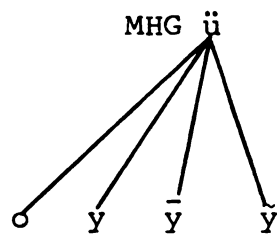
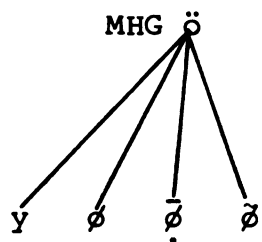
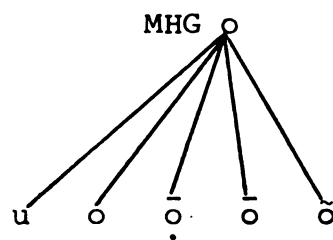
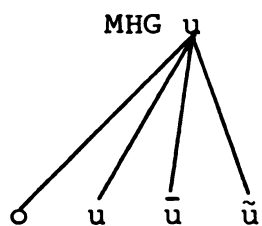
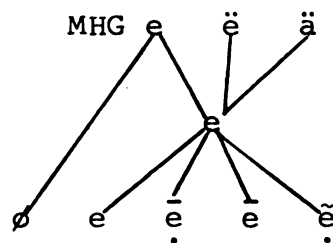
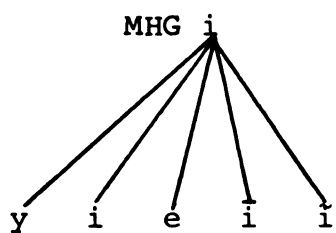
A21. The Short Stressed Vowels. The earliest changes in the short vowel system date from the late MHG period and involve the rounding of MHG i and e, but not ë, in the presence of MHG w, s, z, and l. Many examples of this persist into Standard German. Rounding in Metz. involves the same vowels and consonants and exists in a few additional words: bø̃s (wesche), bysn (wizzen), nỹst (nihts, nütz), tsbỹsn (zwischen), lø̃fl (leffel).

Rounding is not universal in Metz. in the presence of these consonants: gə̃bis (gewisse), t̃is (tisch).

A22. Other changes in the short stressed vowels include the lowering of the high vowels i, y, and u under conditions which vary for each vowel [A 23, 25, 27]. At one time there was a reorganization of MHG short vowels into a system with four levels of tongue height.⁴ In the present century, this system has again been reorganized into a three level system, so that the phonemes /ẽ/, /ø̃/, /ũ/, still in existence in 1900,⁴ have now disappeared for all speakers. For the developments of MHG short stressed vowels discussed in the following paragraphs, the reader should refer to Table A 3.

A23. MHG i remains i in Metz. short syllables when it is not followed by the MHG consonants nd, nt, nn, or mm: pilt (bilde), zitsn (sitzen), zin (sin), tr̃inkñ (trinken), š̃iml (schimel). Before MHG nt, nd, and nn, lowering to e occurs: kent (kint), peñə̃n (binden), š̃peñə̃n (spinnen).

TABLE A 3. Development of the Short Stressed Vowels



Before MHG mm both i and e occur: šbimān (swimmen), štem (stimme). In a few cases rounding has occurred: bysn (wizzen) [A 21]. According to Gedeon, MGH i became e in a large number of words,⁵ but no examples of this phoneme could be found in the present study, so it is assumed that this development has been reversed in the present century. In lengthened syllables MGH i > ī, ī: rīzn (rise), pī (bin).

A24. The mid front vowels ē, e, and ä of MHG have converged into Metz. e: felt (vält), ext (echt), mextek (mähtec). MHG e has undergone rounding in bøš (wesche) [A 21]. The development of MHG e, ē in lengthened syllables is rather complex. Usually ē > ē̄: lēm (lēben), lēzn (lēsen), fēda (vēder), rēxt (rēht), pētn (bēten); however there are a few cases where ē > ē̄, ē̇, perhaps because of the loss of the MHG stem-final consonants g and h [A 78, 83]: zēñ (sēgen), rēñ (rēgen), zē (sēhen). In most cases MHG e > ē̄, ē̇: hēm (heben), rēn (reden), tsēln (zeln), kēt (ketene), ēlix (enlich). This is probably because MHG e, the result of primary umlaut, had a higher tongue position than ē. There are also many cases where MHG e > ē̄: knēbl (knebel), jēga (jeger), pəbēñ (bewegen), zēñ (segen).

A25. There has been a tendency for the back short stressed vowels to converge in their development from MHG to Metz. MHG u remains before ñ, b, and ks, and

before single m: jun (jung), g̊ətrun̩k̩ (getrunken),
šbun̩k, (swunc), štup (stube), fuk̩s (vuhs), zuma (sumer).

In the majority of cases u is lowered to o: pota
 (buter), polva (pulver), tom (tump), bonda (wunder), zon
 (sunne). Before MHG x and nst both developments occur:
šprux (spruch), g̊ərox (geruch), kunst (kunst), donst
 (dunst). In lengthened syllables MHG u > ū, ũ: tsuk
 (zuc), zũ (sun).

A26. MHG o is retained in almost all cases: box (woche),
klopm (klopfen). Gedeon describes the development of
 MHG o to ọ in words like hofn (hoffen),⁶ however at the
 present time this word is pronounced hufn, and all other
 examples of the ọ described by Gedeon are pronounced as
u: puk (bock), p̊əzufn (besoffen). Apparently the shift
 of ọ to u was concurrent with the raising of the other
 closed mid short vowels. In lengthened syllables MHG o
 > ō, õ before nasals and ō̄ elsewhere: dōna (doner), bōt
 (wonet), fōgl (vogel).

A27. The rounded front vowels are similar to the back
 vowels in their development. MHG ü has undergone
 lowering parallel to the MHG u > o change [A 25]. MHG
ü > y before n, p, and ks: jyn̩l (jungelîn), krypl
 (krüppel), fyks (vühse), but elsewhere it is lowered to
ø: gløk (gelücke), zønt (sünde). Gedeon described a
 lowering of MHG ü to ø,⁷ but these examples have since
 been raised back to y. In lengthened syllables MHG

ü > ȳ or ÿ: lȳk (lüge), pÿ (bün). MHG ö became Metz.
ø in all cases: tøp (töpfe). Where lengthened it
 became ȳ or ÿ: fȳgl (voegel), tÿ (doene).

A28. MHG a remains unchanged in stressed short syllables:
lant (lant). In lengthened syllables MHG a > ō or õ:
grōs (graz), mō (man).

A29. Stressed Long Vowels and Diphthongs. These vowel
 sounds can be considered in three categories: the oral
 vowels and diphthongs, the nasal vowels and diphthongs,
 and the secondary diphthongs. The last two of these are
 probably more recent developments. Both arise from the
 combination of a vowel with a resonant consonant (n or
r), and both occur in word-final and preconsonantal
 positions. The development of nasal vowels and
 diphthongs probably occurred gradually, as suggested
 by the following steps:

MHG zuon → zūn → zũn → zũ

Secondary diphthongs may also have developed by stages,
 with diphthongization occurring before the actual
 disappearance of r, as in some North Bavarian dialects:⁸

MHG hâr → hoar → hoa

The development of MHG long vowels and diphthongs in
 stressed syllables is presented in Table A 4 and 5.

TABLE A 4. Development of the Long Vowels

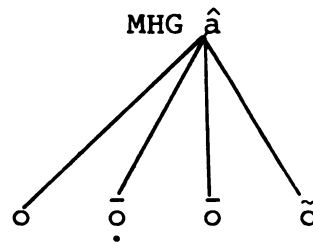
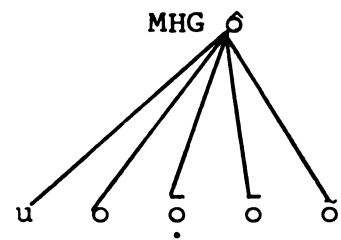
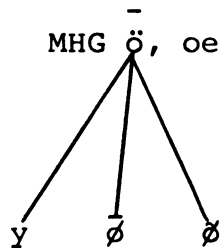
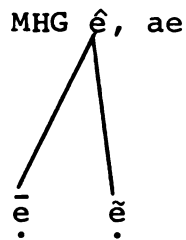
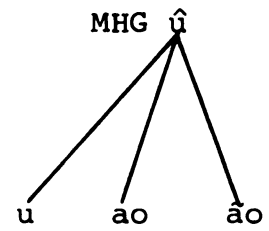
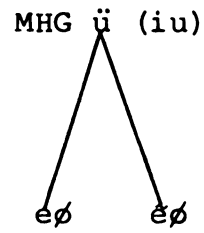
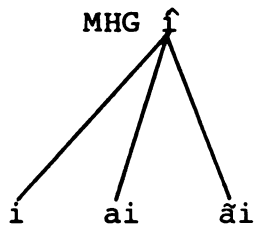
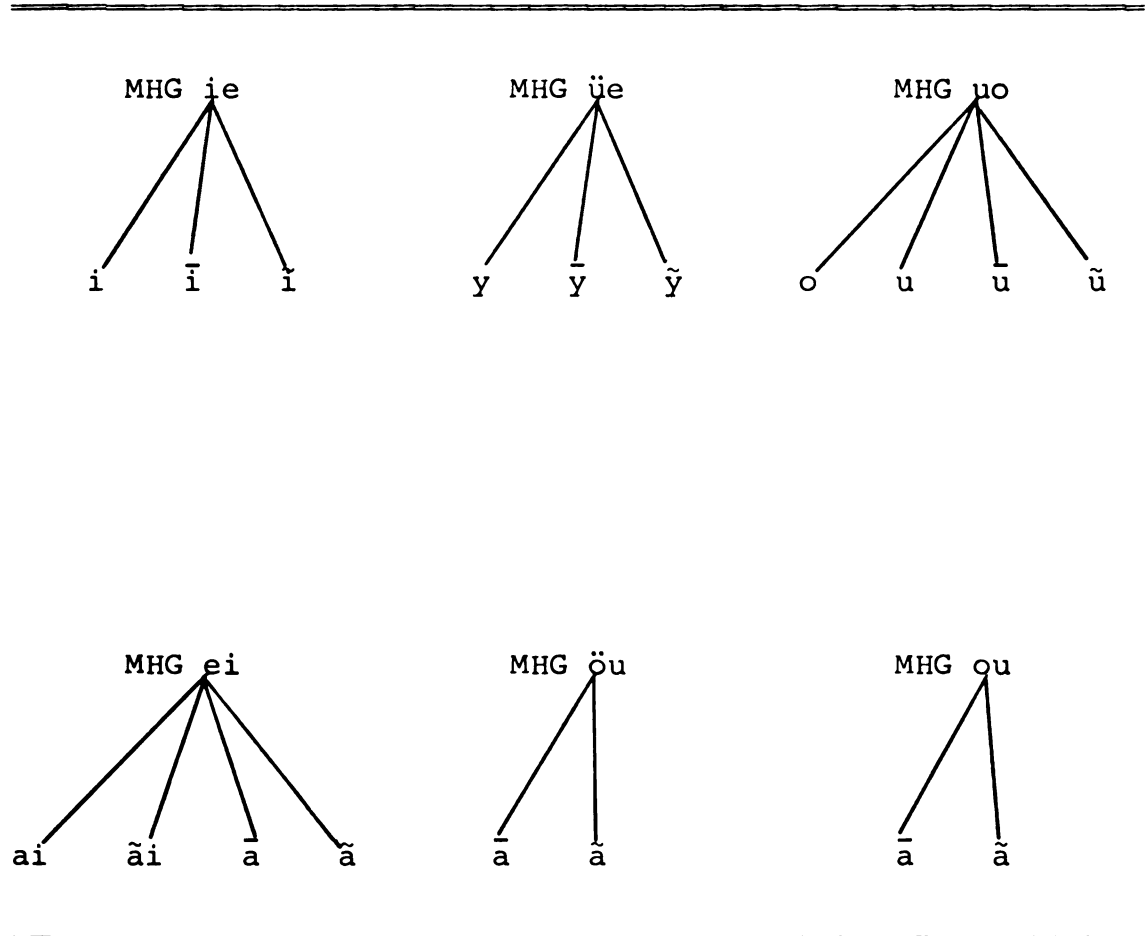


TABLE A 5. Development of MHG Diphthongs



A30. Before MHG n nasalization occurred where the MHG vowel or diphthong remained long or was lengthened [A 11]. It also occurred where the MHG consonants j, w, and h have disappeared after a long vowel [A 83]. The following MHG long vowels and diphthongs developed as Metz. nasal vowels:

MHG	Metz.		
î	ãi	šbãi	(swîn)
û	ão	pão	(bûwen)
ü	ẽø	nẽø	(niun)
ê	ẽ̇	rẽ̇	(rêhen, D. pl.)
ae	ẽ̇	drẽ̇	(draejen)
ô	õ	krõ	(krône)
ö	ø̇	sø̇hait	(schoenheit)
â	õ	špõ	(spân)
ie	ĩ	bĩ	(wien)
uo	ũ	hũ	(huon)
üe	ỹ	plỹ	(blüejen)
ei	ã	štã	(stein)
ou	ã	šã	(schouwen)
öu	ã	tsø̇strã	(zerströuwen)

A31. All the MHG long vowels and diphthongs occurring before consonants other than n in syllables that remain long result in oral long vowels and diphthongs:

MHG	Metz.		
î	ai	ŷraim	(schrîben)
û	ao	haos	(hûs)
ü	e∅	he∅t	(hiute)
ê	ē	zēl	(sêle)
âe	ē	ŷēfa	(schaefaere)
ô	ō	grōs	(grôs)
â	ō	nōta	(nâter)
ö	ø	røta	(roeter)
ie	ī	līm	(lieben)
uo	ū	prūda	(bruoder)
üe	ȳ	frȳ	(vrüeje)
ei	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{a} \\ ai \end{array} \right.$	bāx	(weich)
		faik	(veige)
ou	ā	lāfn	(loufen)
öu	ā	pām	(böume)

The MHG vowels ô and â have a special development in stressed syllables that remain long before MHG m and also before n, where nasalization is prevented by a following syllable [A 13]:

MHG â > ō: ōm∂s (âmeize)
ô > ō: frōna (Verôna, Veronica)

If this m represents the assimilated syllable -ben, or if n represents -den, the vowel behaves as it would before b or d: ōmt (âbent), ōn (âtem, âdem), ōm (oben).

The two developments of MHG ei seem to depend on the period when individual words came into the dialect from ENHG. Words with ā are probably older because they are more sophisticated: hāln (heilen) : hailek (heilige); lāt (leide) : laidnšuft (leidenschaft); Štrāx (streich) : Štraixholts (streich-holz).

A32. Shortening of the MHG diphthongs ie, uo, and üe as in Table A 3, occurred only before certain consonants [A 19.1]. In the shortening of MHG uo > ū > u, lowering occurred in the case of mota (muoter), but not in other cases: futa (vuoter). Lowering also occurred in the shortening of MHG â in losn (lâzen). Other examples of shortening are listed in A 19. No examples of shortening could be found for the MHG vowels ü, ê, and ae, or for the diphthongs ei, ou, and öu, except in unstressed syllables.

A33. Postvocalic r and the Secondary Diphthongs. In the Metz. dialect postvocalic r is usually vocalized, producing a diphthong, although in other positions it remains a consonant [A 76]. The diphthong arising from vocalized r cannot be nasalized: doan (dorn). These diphthongs are called "secondary" to emphasize their non-vowel origin, but they are nonetheless diphthongs in the usual sense, not merely diphthongal off-glides, as with Standard German postvocalic r. In the Metz. diphthongs equal length is given to both elements when

the word is spoken slowly: ʃoaf, not ʃoəf "sharp".

There are occasional allophones of the secondary diphthongal phonemes, as in the fast-speech variant bit for biet (wirt) [A 9]. Table A 6 demonstrates the development of the secondary diphthongal phonemes.

A34. Words in which MHG r has been retained postvocally exist in this dialect side by side with cases where r is vocalized under the same circumstances. The following minimal pairs show that r and the secondary diphthongs are distinct phonemes:

/ʃ^ʰteak/"strength" : /ʃ^ʰtark/"strong"
 /hoa/"hair" : /har/"mister"
 /foat/"you pl. drive" : /fort/"always"

The words with postvocalic r seem to be in wide circulation and are known to have been in the dialect for generations. The word joamark, which has both the diphthong and the retained r, has been in use for a long time, because the annual fair was a Metz. tradition for centuries. According to native speakers, some individuals use more or less r than others, so the occurrence of r does not have as established a pattern as at first appears. The Gründner settlements also seem to vary in the use of the consonant r versus the diphthong, Metzenseifen being one of the towns with comparatively little use of r and Dobschau with the most.⁹

TABLE A 6. The Secondary Diphthongs

MHG	Metz.	Positions		
		Initial	Medial	Final
i, ie	ie	ie (ir)	piek (birke)	bie (wir)
{ e, ë, ê, ae	ea	eaml (ermel)	peak (bërc)	abea (wër)
a, â	oa	oabət (arbeit)	poat (bart)	boa (war)
o, ô	oa	oat (ort)	moaŋ (morgen)	toa (tor)
{ u, û, uo	ue	ue (ûre)	gəpuet (geburt)	ʷsnue (snuor)
ü	ye	--	pyet (bürde)	tye (tür)
{ ö, oe, ae	øa	øatl (ortelin)	bøata (wörter)	bøa (waere)

A35. A small number of mainly monosyllabic words have lost postvocalic r without diphthongization: hat (hart, hërt), batn (warten), sbats (swarz), hats (herz). Some other monosyllabic words retain postvocalic r: fort (vort), stark (stark). r is also retained postvocalically where it represents MHG rr [A 76]. Often when a syllable with a final secondary diphthong is followed by another vowel, r occurs as a syllable-divider: feø-r-ont flam "fire and flame" [A 4].

A36. The Unstressed Vowels. Lack of stress causes shortening and centralization of all vowels in Metz. [A 2]. This condition is often found in prefixes and suffixes, as well as unstressed words. In compound words the no-stress situation alternates with secondary stress, and the alternation is a matter of vocabulary: mōltsait "mealtime" secondary stress, huxtsøt "wedding" no stress. The vowel ø is the most common development of vowels in the no-stress situation, because it is the most central vowel. MHG e > ø in prefixes and suffixes: pø- (be-), gø- (ge-), -øñ (-en). The syllabic consonants n, m, ñ, and l represent further developments of the unstressed e-syllable. MHG i also becomes ø in suffixes like -øš (-isch), -ñøš (-nisse), and -øñ (-inne). Elsewhere MHG i > e in the suffix -ek (-ic, -ec), and ie > y in byfl (wie-vil), where rounding has occurred, perhaps because of MHG w. MHG î > i in -lix

(-lîch), and before a nasal $\hat{i} > e$: -lenk (-lîŋ). MHG o usually remains o, and MHG a > a, o, or u: fonð (von), -zam or -zom (-sam), -suft (-schaft). MHG u > ð: d (du).

A37. Final MHG e is retained as an ending in the declension of adjectives in the form of ð [B 25], but it has been dropped in most nouns and in the conjugation of verbs. In a small group of nouns final MHG e is retained: tante "aunt", nixte "niece", nefe "nephew", line "line", and zupe "soup". It is very probable that these words are loan words from Standard German, since the last two are more or less international words, and since Metz. tends to borrow kinship terminology.

CHAPTER 2: CONSONANTS

A38. There are twenty phonemic consonants in Metz.

[Table A 7], about half of which occur in all three positions: initial, medial, and final. The distribution of consonants is much like that of Standard German, except that consonant clusters are often reduced because of assimilation and simplification [A 3, 52]. Through close association with preceding vowels, both /n/ and /r/ have developed as vowels as well as consonants [A 29]. /n/, /n/, /m/, and /l/ can be syllabic when following other consonants [A 48, 73], but /r/ cannot be syllabic. Among first and second generation speakers in Cleveland, several American English sounds have been added as allophones of Metz. phonemes [A 41]. Metz. has no double consonants, however consonant lengthening can occur as a result of close juncture [A 3]. The voiced stops and fricatives never occur finally and rarely occur medially after short vowels. /j/ and /h/ do not occur finally and /h/ does not occur medially. /v/, /x/, /ŋ/, and /s/ do not occur word-initially. The consonant phonemes are illustrated by the following examples:

	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	poat "beard"	hālpa "berry"	rip "rib"
/b/	boat "word"	zelba "himself"	...
/t/	toa "(I) dare"	nōta "snake"	hut "hat"
/d/	doa "there"	hōdan "quarrel"	...
/k/	kesl "kettle"	prøkl "crumb"	frōk "question"
			...
/g/	gesl "alley"	pr̄ygl "beat"	...
/f/	fet "fat"	šlōfn "sleep"	tīf "deep"
/v/	...	ōvn "oven"	...
/ts/	tsop "pigtail"	heatsn "hearts"	plats "place"
			tos "that", conj.
/s/	...	paisn "bite"	...
/z/	zuma "summer"	pðbaizn "prove"	...
/š/	šōf "sheep"	našn "nibble"	tiš "table"
/x/	...	rixn "smell"	bāx "soft"
/m/	mō "man"	hōma "hammer"	ōm "above"
/n/	nōt "near"	dōna "thunder"	ōn "breath"
/ŋ/	...	huŋa "hunger"	zōŋ "say"
/l/	lēŋ "lay"	fēla "mistake"	bol "wool"
/r/	rēŋ "rain"	fara "priest"	har "mister"
			...
/j/	joa "year"	majestāt "majesty"	...
/h/	hoa "hair"	...	...

TABLE A 7. The Phonemic Consonants

	labial	dental	palatal	velar
stops	p, b	t, d		k, g
fricatives and sibilants	f, v	s, z	ʃ	x
affricates		ts		
nasals	m	n		ŋ
laterals		l		
trills		r		
semivowels			j	
cavity friction		h		

A39. Speakers of Metz. often comment on the soft sounds of their dialect in contrast to the harsher sounds of Standard German. This is partly because there are actually fewer consonants per utterance in Metz., and because they are produced with less energy. There is, however, slightly more energy in the Metz. consonants than in their American English counterparts.

A40. Aspiration of the voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/ occurs regularly in the prevocalic position for many first and second generation speakers, however there are a few speakers who do not aspirate in this position. Unaspirated voiceless stops are nevertheless distinguishable from their voiced counterparts. Probably the aspiration of voiceless stops in this position is an influence from American English, because older speakers seem to use less aspiration. If the prevocalic stop occurs as part of a consonant cluster, it is not aspirated, but the unaspirated voiceless consonant is still distinguishable from its voiced counterpart: /^ʋspäi/ "spit" : /^ʋšbäi/ "pig". Terminally the voiceless stops may or may not be aspirated, and in fast speech before another consonant they are not released. Stops which occur before the syllabic consonants are always released nasally or laterally: ^ʋsnap^{Nm} "snap", pit^{Nn} "ask", pak^{Nŋ} "pack", ap^{Ll} "apple", written in this work as ^ʋsnapm, pitn, pakŋ, apl. Before syllabic nasals

some speakers do not even form the consonant stop prior to the syllable change but use the glottal stop instead: ʂnaʔm, piʔn, paʔŋ.

- A41. The voiced stop /b/ has the allophone [w], a labial semivowel, for some Cleveland area speakers when it occurs in the clusters [ʂw], [kw], and [tsw] for /^vsb/, /kb/, and /tsb/. A very few speakers use the allophone [v] in the same manner as [w].
- A42. There is a tendency for some speakers to devoice initial d in some words. This often occurs after a voiceless consonant in the preceding word: tos ta "that the" compared to ben da "when the"; duet trõ "over there" compared to nēm drõ "next to there". But tos da "that the" also occurs with about the same frequency as tos ta. Also some speakers devoice initial d even in voiced surroundings or sentence initially: bien zāi tueʂtek "we are thirsty". Occasional devoicing of d is a feature of most of the Gründner dialects. Metz. words with initial devoicing for all speakers include: tøafn (darf), and tos (daʒ, conj.) [A 56].
- A43. The stops /k/ and /g/ are pronounced without friction. Both are more palatal before front vowels and velar before back vowels.
- A44. The fricative pair /f/ and /v/ are pronounced as in American English or Standard German. A few speakers use /f/ in place of /v/ medially: teøfl for teøvl (tiuvel).

A45. The palatal and velar fricatives [ç] and [x] form one phoneme written here as /x/. They have no voiced counterparts. [x] occurs after back vowels and [ç] after front vowels and in the diminutive suffix -xen̩k. If /a/ and /ā/ are considered back vowels, then it can be said that [ç] occurs after back vowels in the syllable -xen̩k. Some speakers use the allophone [hj], a cavity friction consonant followed by a palatal semivowel, in place of [ç].

A46. /s/ and /z/ are pronounced in the dental-alveolar region using the tip of the tongue, and /š/ is articulated against the hard palate with strong lip rounding. All sibilants are pronounced like their Standard German counterparts. /š/ has no voiced counterpart.

A47. The nasals /n/, /m/, and /ŋ/ are equivalent to Standard German n, m and ŋ and likewise are syllabic after most consonants [A 73]: trɪŋkŋ (trinken). /ŋ/ is velar after back vowels and palatal after front vowels.

A48. /l/ is pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge with varying degrees of velar co-articulation. The amount of velarization varies with different speakers, positions, and surrounding vowels. Initial /l/ before a front vowel is a fairly clear [l] for most speakers and medial or final /l/ after a back vowel is usually the allophone [ɫ], very velar, with the tongue more flat and relaxed, and the tip not necessarily touching the alveolar ridge. Some first and second

generation speakers use velar [ɣ] in all positions, just as in American English words. /l/ can also be syllabic when it follows a consonant: himl (himel).

A49. /r/ is a voiced alveolar trill in all three positions and in consonant clusters. It always involves several flaps of the tongue tip. Some first and second generation Cleveland speakers use the allophone [ʀ], the American r, with lateral constriction and no tongue tip action in pre- and postconsonantal positions, where as these same speakers use the trilled [r] allophone in initial and inter-vocalic positions. Very rarely [ʀ] is used initially and intervocalically.

A50. /j/ is pronounced like American English initial y; it never has the fricative overtones which sometimes accompany Standard German j. /h/ is also pronounced without much friction. It resembles Standard German h but with less energy.

A51. Consonant Clusters. The initial Metz. clusters are:

pl	pr						špr
	tr	ts					štr
	dr						tsb
kl	kr	kn	kb				
gl	gr	gn					
fl	fr						
šl	šr	šn	šb	šp	šm	št	
		hn					

Medial clusters are much too complex to list in detail, since an almost endless juxtaposition of consonants can arise by making compound words and adding prefixes and suffixes. Medial clusters often become involved in assimilation [A 3, A 77 ff].

Development of the Metzenseifen
Consonants From MHG

A53. In the following discussion stem-final consonants are considered to be voiced or voiceless for a given word according to their voiced or voiceless status medially. However stem-final stops and fricatives (including sibilants) which are also word-final are automatically devoiced, as was the case in MHG. Thus klāt (kleit) can be said to have a voiced stem-final consonant, because that consonant is voiced in klāda [the stem is klād-], whereas rōt (rôt) has a voiceless stem-final consonant, because t is voiceless medially: rōta [the stem is rōt-]. In these terms it is generally true that MHG medially voiced consonants are medially voiced in Metz. If a stop or fricative has become word-final due to the loss of a syllable, it is also devoiced:

	MHG	Metz.
b > p	houbet	hāp
d > t	vriunde	freønt
g > k	sorge	zoak
z > s	weise	bās
w > b > p	farwe	foap

Devoicing of initial consonants occurs where the word becomes the second part of a compound in close juncture: hālpa (heidel-ber) [A 3]. The development of MHG consonants in Metz. is presented in Tables A 8 and 9.

A54. In the development of MHG consonants into Metz. all double consonants have become single:

	MHG	Metz.
pp > p	snappen	˘snapm
tt > t	bitten	pitn
kk > k	ackern	akan
zz > s	hazzen	hasn
ss > s	gewisse	gəbis
ll > l	vallen	faln
rr > r	hërre	har
mm > m	wimmeln	bimln
nn > n	kennen	kenən
ff > f	hoffen	hufn

A55. The Metz. stops and fricatives reflect the influence of Bavarian, Silesian, and Middle German dialects of the 13th and 14th Centuries, which was strong in all the old island dialects of Southern Bohemia and Northern Hungary. The dialect features p for b and b for w are very widespread in the island dialect groups such as Iglau, Kremnitz, Krickerhau, Deutschbrod, Deutsch Proben and Deutsch Pilsen, in fact all the Silesian settlements which had a strong Bavarian element. In the Unterzips

TABLE A 8. Development of MHG Stops and Fricatives

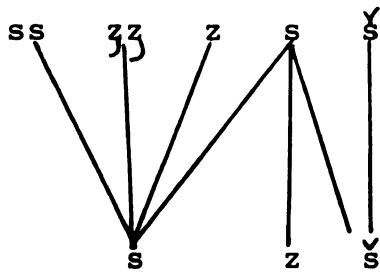
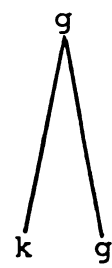
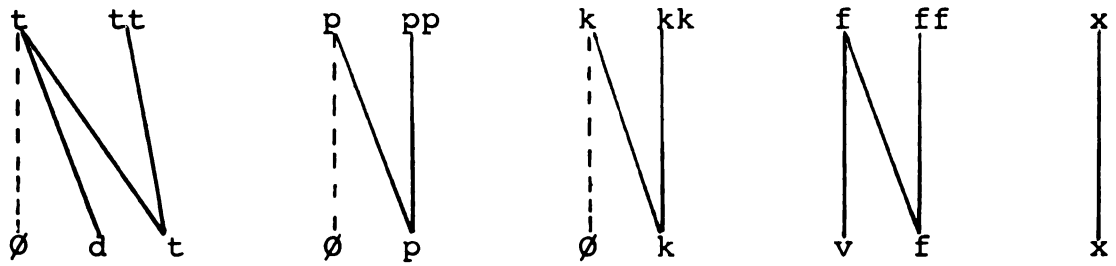
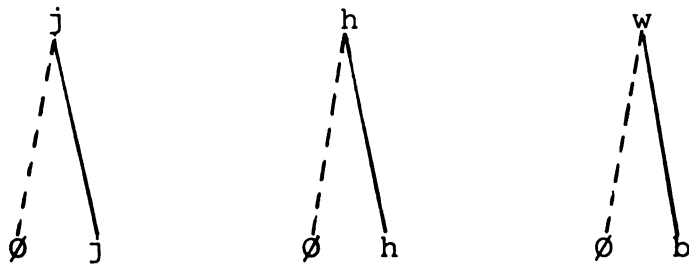
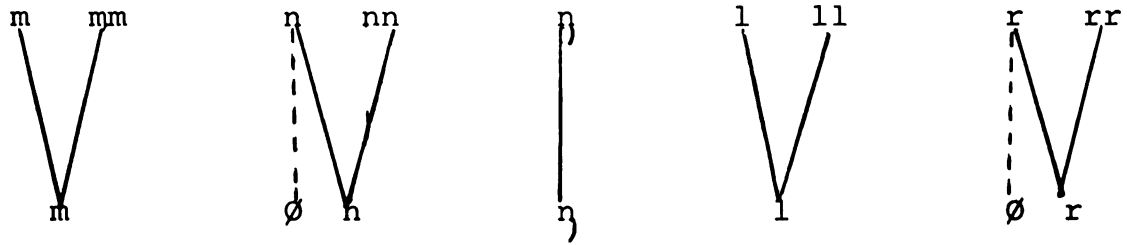


TABLE A 9. Development of Other MHG Consonants



region p for b and b for w, singly and in clusters, vary from one settlement to another, Metzenseifen being one of those with total development of p for b and b for w. At one time, the feature v for f initially, medially, and in clusters, was probably widespread also, but now it occurs only in Kremnitz-Krickerhau with remnants in Metzenseifen.¹⁰

A56. The devoicing of initial MHG b is universal in Metz., with the exception of a few loan words from German, such as baidə (beide) and barəs gelt (bares gelt). Devoicing of MHG d initially occurs in tos (daz, conj.) and təafn (darf) [A 42]. Devoicing of MHG g has only been found in the work kēn (gegen) and its derivatives [A 64].

A57. There is also a tendency to drop final stops after a short vowel plus nasal or liquid in both Ober- and Unter-Metzenseifen, although this occurs much more frequently in Ober-Metzenseifen, and is considered characteristic of their speech: ken for kent (kint), bal for balt (walt), hem for hemp (hemde), fiešlən for fiešlenk (phärsich). In the last example, loss of k causes the change of ŋ to n. There is also a loss of dentals following n before the suffix -ən [A 84].

A58. Both Ober- and Unter-Metzenseifen have added final t to some MHG words: gast (gazze), šont (schone), piet (bîr), šiet (schîr), nont (nû, nu), nōt (nâch), frailixt (vrîliche), feast (vërsen). This addition may be a

hypercorrection to compensate for the frequent loss of t in many words, or it may be related to other similar cases in Silesian or Middle German dialects.¹¹

- A59. MHG t > t initially, medially, and in clusters: top (topf), fōta (vater), traim (trîben). MHG tw > tsb: tsbeak (twërc). Final t is retained after vowels, but it may be dropped after nasals and liquids in short syllables: hut (huot), but hon (hunt) [A 57]. After l, t has been voiced in some words: kelda (kelter, comparative) [B 27].
- A60. In most cases d > d initially and medially: dōna (doner), bida (wider). Medially d remains after n except where followed by -ðn: bonda (wunder), but gðponðn (gebunden) [A 84]. The syllables -den and -del became assimilated [A 78, 81]. MHG d > t initially: tos (daz, conj.) [A 56].
- A61. MHG p > p initially, medially, and in clusters: polva (pulver), kðpitol (kapitel), plōk (plage).
- A62. MHG b > p initially and in initial clusters: puχ (buoch), plīc (blic). Medially MHG b > b, except in the assimilation of -ben to m [A 78]: hōba (haber). After short vowels medial b is rare: krebðs (krëbez).
- A63. MHG k > k in all positions: kēt (ketene), binkl (winkel), plutek (bluotec), knēbl (knebel).
- A64. MHG g > g initially and medially: gēl (gël), nōgl (nagel). The MHG syllable -gen became assimilated to ŋ [A 78]. MHG g > k initially in kēŋ (gegen).

- A65. MHG f (also written v) > f in all positions: fōta (vater), helfn (helfen), šōf (schâf), flīn (vliegen). After a nasal or liquid medial f sometimes became voiced to v: fōmvð (fünfe), alvð (eilfe).
- A66. MHG w > b initially and in clusters: boam (warm), tsbølf (zwelf). In the intervocalic position w was dropped: ā (ouwe). The syllable -wen became assimilated and nasalized [A 83].
- A67. MHG pf > f initially and in initial clusters: font (phunt), flūk (phluoc). Medially and finally MHG pf > p: kopa (kupfer), tsop (zopf). Finally after m, pf > f or pf: damf or dampf (dampf).
- A68. MHG ts > ts in all positions: tsūk (zuc), zitsn (sitsen), hats (hërze), tsbyšn (zwischen).
- A69. The development of the sibilant consonants is parallel to that of Standard German sibilants. MHG s remains voiceless finally and medially before consonants: lōs (los), pesta (bester), but initially and intervocalically s > z: zilba (silber), kōzn (kōsen). MHG z > s intervocalically and finally: hāsn (heizn), hās (heiz). In all initial clusters s > š: šlōn (slagen). MHG š > š in all positions: šraom (schruben), mišn (mischen), fiš (visch).
- A70. MHG x > x medially and finally: prexn (brechen), box (woche).
- A71. MHG j > j initially and rarely medially: joa (jâr), majestāt (majestat). j which became final disappeared:

fr̄y (vr̄ueje). The syllable -jen underwent assimilation and nasalization [A 83].

A72. MHG h > h initially: hōx (hōch). Medial h was lost when it became final: zī (siche, 1st. sing. indic.).

The syllable -hen became assimilated and nasalized [A 83].

A73. MHG n developed as a syllabic as well as a non-syllabic phoneme in Metz. n united with preceding Metz. long vowels resulting in the complete nasalization of the vowel with no trace of the consonant n, [A 11] : pō (ban). In the unstressed syllable -ən, n underwent assimilation after b, d, g [A 77 ff]. Elsewhere n became syllabic, except after liquids and nasals, where it became a part of the same syllable: šp̄arn (sparren), or remained in the following syllable: ziŋən (singen). After fricatives and voiceless stops n is syllabic: ōvn (oven), however after p, pp, or pf the syllabic consonant is m, and after k, kk it is ŋ: šnapm (snappen), trinkŋ (trinken). The MHG combination ng developed as the Metz. consonant ŋ medially and finally: fiŋa (finger), juŋ (jung).

A74. MHG m > m in all positions: mesa (mezz̄er), lāma (eimer), pām (boum), šmalts (smalz).

A75. MHG l > l initially, in initial clusters, and finally: losn (lâzen), plik (blic), fōl (vol). Medial l was usually retained, except sometimes before a nasal in a long syllable [A 82] : šbōlmən (swalwe), but homən (halme). l can be syllabic after consonants [A 48].

A76. MHG r is retained initially and in initial clusters: r̄axn (rouchen), kraft (kraft). Postvocalic r from the reduction of MHG rr is retained [A 54]: Ÿsparn (sparren), but postvocalic single r was usually vocalized: boa (war) [A 33, 34, 35].

A77. Syllable Assimilation. The term syllable assimilation is applied here to the situation where two syllables are combined into one, resulting in the merger or loss of a voiced consonant. This situation is always caused by a voiced consonant followed by an unstressed vowel plus n or l. The voiced consonant became so weakened that it was no longer able to divide the syllables effectively and merged with n or l, while the syllable became dominated by the stressed vowel. In most cases assimilation occurs following a Metz. long vowel, probably because voiced consonants are not common after short vowels, but vowel length is not a condition for assimilation. However, it is essential that the assimilated syllable be final. Some speakers pronounce assimilated syllables with a faint trace of the voiced assimilated stem-final consonant just before the nasal: hō^{-b}m, whereas others say hōm (haben). However no actual stop occurs, merely a change in the shape of the oral cavity which hints at a disyllabic state.

A78. The most common forms of syllable assimilation result from the combination: vowel + MHG -ben, -den,

-gen. The merger of b, d, g with n has produced m, n, and ŋ respectively:

MHG	Metz.
âbent	ōmt
vaden	fōn
tragen	trōŋ

Exceptions to this rule are extremely rare. They include the rarely-used present participle and some loan words: steab̄nt (sterbent), where the infinitive form is st̄eam; aiḡn (eigen), and aib̄n, Eiben, a family name.

A79. Syllable assimilation has also occurred with the liquids l and r before -ben, -den, -gen. In these cases l is retained and r is vocalized:

MHG	Metz.
selben	zelm
melden	meln
galgen	galŋ
erben	eam
ermorden	damoan
morgen	moanŋ

Assimilation does not occur with the MHG syllable -ern > an: rudan (ruodern).

A80. The MHG ending -igen resulted in an assimilated syllable where g was combined with n to produce ŋ and i was lowered to e because of the following nasal: p̄festenŋ (be-vestigen).

A81. The MHG syllable -del assimilated to l: nōl (nâdel), kn̄l (knödel), but -bel and -gel were not assimilated: h̄ybl (hübel), nōgl (nagel).

A82. The MHG syllable -len is reduced to n by some speakers: gr̄un (grullen), however some speakers retain l: gr̄ūln. All speakers retain l in tsōln (zoln), so there is no complete assimilation of this syllable for all cases. l is often lost after a long vowel and before a nasal where no syllable reduction is involved: hōm̄n (halme).

A83. Another kind of syllable assimilation took place with the MHG consonants j, h, and w plus the -ən ending. When these consonants disappeared medially, the resulting long vowel plus n combination gave rise to a nasal vowel:

MHG	Metz.
draejen	dr̄ē̄
geschehen	ḡə̄š̄ē̄
schouwen	š̄ā̄

A84. Simplification and Loss of Dentals. Loss of word-final dentals along with other stops is discussed in A 57. There is also a grammatical loss of stem-final d or t after a short vowel plus nasal, when the -ən ending of the infinitive, noun, adjective, or the endings of the verb conjugation are added:

MHG	Metz.	
swind-	fa [∨] ʒbenə̃n	"to vanish"
hand-	henə̃n	"hands", D. pl.
tante, Fr.	tanə̃n	"aunts", pl.
bind-	penst	"you sing. tie"
vind-	gə̃fonə̃n	"found"

Final dentals following a short vowel plus nasal or l plus a nasal have occasionally been dropped in word derivation: solt (schuld-): šølek "guilty"; kalt (kalt-): keln "cold weather"; haln (halt-) "to hold".

A85. Consonant simplification occurs when two similar consonants are merged, as in the addition of case and conjugational endings. Stem-final t or d is merged with the endings -st, -ə̃t, producing the following results:

du pits (bittest)
 hea hilt (helt)
 īs fent (vindet)
 gə̃bat (gewartet)

But in behaoptə̃t (behoubeten), a modified loan from German, the imperfect ending is added without simplification to distinguish the form from behaopt, the first and third singular form of the present tense [B 39]. The addition of the possessive -s to stem-final s, š, or ts results in the loss of the final -s: də̃ fiš hāpa "the fishes' heads".

A86. Grammatical Change. Some remnants of Verner's law can be seen in the verb forms of Metz., however since imperfect-based past forms are lacking for all strong verbs, this phenomenon can only be seen in the comparison of the infinitive and the past participle:

śnain	gǝśnitn	(sniden)
frīzn	gǝfroan	(vriesen)
tsī	gǝtsōŋ	(ziehen)

PART B: MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER 1: NOUNS

B1. Nouns exist in two numbers, singular and plural, and three genders, masculine, neuter, and feminine. They can be declined according to four cases: nominative, accusative, dative, and possessive, but case endings are added to the noun itself only for the dative plural and the possessive singular and plural. Number, gender, and case are not always apparent from the form of the noun itself, but rather from the modifying article or adjective. As in Standard German, gender is not directly related to sex: ðs baip "the woman" is neuter and modifying adjectives must be neuter as well. Historically the genders of most nouns have not changed since MHG times. A few exceptions include dð pōx, feminine (bach, masculine); da tsbeak, masculine (twërc, neuter); ðs syets, neuter (schurz, masculine).

B2. The diminutives make up a special category of nouns, which are used to denote small things, the young of animals, children, and things pertaining to them. A few words, such as leml (lamp) and fiešðlenk (phërsich)

exist only as diminutives and have no corresponding regular forms. The formation of diminutives from noun roots always involves umlaut of the proximate (not necessarily the stem-) vowel and the addition of the endings -l, -lenk, or -xenk: oatšyftl from oatšuft "village". As with the diminutives of German, there are no hard-and-fast rules for determining which words require which of these three endings, but in some frequently used diminutives there are definite regular endings. Thus "cup" is always tøpl, and "puppy" is always høntl, but "little hand" can be hentl or hentxenk, since this word is not commonly used in a diminutive form. -xenk and -lenk are to some extent also interchangeable with words that occur infrequently as diminutives, but they are fixed for some common diminutives. Some phonological factors are involved in the choice of a diminutive ending: words whose stems end in l always take the -xenk ending, and words ending in a fricative add the element -a- before -xenk or -lenk: štýlxenk "little chair", šifalenk "little boat". In Ober-Metzenseifen the diminutive endings are -l, -xiŋ or -xin and -liŋ or -lən, and in both localities -xenk is sometimes pronounced -hjiŋ or hiŋ.

Formation of Plurals

B3. Plural noun forms are derived from the singular in the following ways: 1) the addition of the ending -ən or n, usually with no umlaut of the stem vowel; 2) the ending -a with umlaut of the stem vowel where possible; 3) umlaut of the stem-vowel with no ending; 4) no change in form; and 5) and 6) addition of the diminutive plural endings -axenk and -alenk respectively.

1) the first group contains most of the MHG strong feminine nouns as well as many of the weak nouns of all genders which do not have the stem-ending n: tsōl, tsōln (zal), zoak, zoan, (sorge), šmeats, šmeatsn (smerze), ampat, ampatn (antwürte), hats, heatsn (hërze). The last example is unusual in that the plural stem has vocalized r, whereas the singular has lost r. A few former feminine i-stems and a consonant stem have been added to this group: štōt, štōtn (stadt), šbesta, šbestan (swester). Words with the endings -šuft and -kait or hait occur here also: laidnšuft, laidnšuftn (leiden + schaft), kraṅkait, kraṅkaitn (krankeit). There are also some MHG strong masculine and neuter nouns which may have joined this group by expanding the dative plural form to include all plural cases: ōmt, ōmtn (âbent), rē, rē (réch), tsbeak, tsbean (twërc). As can be seen from the last two examples the plural ending -ən causes nasalization of a stem-final vowel and assimilation of b, d, and g [All, 78]. A few nouns in

this plural group have umlaut of the stem syllable: plūm, plȳmðn, or plūmðn (bluome).

2) The second group is made up largely of MHG strong neuter nouns which in MHG formed the plural with umlaut plus -er or had no endings: tōl, tēla or tǝla (tal), kent, kenda (kint), tie, tiera (tier). A few strong masculine and feminine nouns have been added: mō, mena (man), gðleft, gðlefta (lēfs), peak, peaga (bērc). The weak masculine noun hōs, hēza (hase) has also joined this group. The feminine noun aiznpō, aiznpōna (eisen + ban) does not have umlaut of the stem vowel although umlaut is possible. Metz. ā is not capable of umlaut in noun plurals: hāp, hāpa (houbet).

3) This is a very large group made up of MHG strong masculine nouns, including many masculine and feminine i-stems which have stem vowels capable of umlaut. The MHG plural ending -e has disappeared: bol̄f, bølf (wolf), nōgl, nēgl (nagel), kū, kȳ (kuo), mota, møta (muoter). A few strong neuters occur in this group: šōf, šēf (schâf), hū, hȳ (huon). Many nouns from the same MHG groups have stems not capable of umlaut and they appear in group 4.

4) This is a miscellaneous group of nouns whose nominative singular and plural forms are identical for various reasons. There are many MHG strong masculine and neuter nouns which have lost the plural ending -e:

prīf (brief), šbāi (swîn), freønt (vriunt), tōk (tac). This last example also has plural forms with umlaut and with -ən: tēk, tōŋ, tēŋ. The MHG strong feminines brücke and bün belong here also: pryk, pÿ. Many weak nouns which include n as their final stem consonant have identical singular and plural forms: nōmən (name), pōtn (bote), pī (bie, bin). Also the masculine weak noun pea (bër) occurs here. pām (boum) and kā (kamîn) occur here because Metz. ā is not capable of umlaut in nouns. Nouns with the endings -enk (-unge), -a (-aere), and -ən (-inne, -în) belong in this group: prÿfenk (pruevunge), rāba (roubaere), kyxn (kocherin). Likewise there are diminutives with the singular ending -lenk or -xenk which do not change for the plural: šbestaxenk "little sister" šifalenk "little boat". Some nouns in this plural group have variants which would place them in other groups: pām (boum) has the plurals pām or pāmən, and nos (nuz) has nos or nøs.

5) Groups 5 and 6 include the diminutive plural endings -axenk and -alenk respectively, which are the usual plurals for diminutives with -l in the singular: pāml, pāmaxenk (boum), jynl, jynalenk (junge). There is no definite rule determining which of these plural endings belongs with a given noun, but the ending -axenk is more common. Diminutives with -xenk and -lenk in the singular also have these plural forms: fōglxenk, fōgaxenk (vogel). Diminutives which already have this

form in the singular remain unchanged for the plural and belong in plural group 4: ſifalenk (schif).

Declension

- B4. The declension of nouns is presented in Tables 1-5. Nouns are subdivided into animate and inanimate. Inanimate nouns lack the possessive case and are thus given a separate declension. Remnants of the MHG genitive case still persist in adverbial expressions, such as moanſt (morgens) and ōmſt (âbends), but the genitive no longer functions grammatically.
- B5. The Metz. possessive case appears to have developed from the dative in the following way: At one time, presumably, possession was expressed by the formula: dative case [for the possessor] + the possessive adjective sein modifying the noun possessed. This is a construction common in dialects: dem Vater sein Hut; der Mutter ihr Kind, etc. Later the unstressed sein became reduced to -s, which was attached to the possessor-noun, still in the dative case. By analogy -s was also affixed to feminine nouns, the possessive dative constructions in Metz. then being: ðn fōtas, ðn kents, da motas, "the father's, the child's, the mother's." Likewise the -s ending appeared in the dative plural of all genders, following the -n ending: ðn rōsns "the horses'." This stage in the development of the possessive was noted by Schröer around 1860.¹

TABLE B 1. Nouns of Plural Group 1

Animate:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	(nachbure)	...	(swester)
sing.			
N.,A.,D.	noxpa		šbesta
P.	noxpas		šbestas
pl.			
N.,A.,D.	noxpan		šbestan
P.	noxpans		šbestans

Inanimate:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	(smërze)	(ouge)	(schîbe)
sing.			
N.,A.,D.	šmeats	āk	šaip
pl.			
N.,A.,D.	šmeatsn	âŋ	šaim

TABLE B 2. Nouns of Plural Group 2

Animate:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	(man)	(wîp)	...
Sing.			
N.,A.,D.	mõ	baip	
P.	mõs	baips	
pl.			
N.,A.	mena	baiba	
D.	menan	baiban	
P.	menas	baibas	

Inanimate:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	(bërc)	(wort)	(ort)
sing.			
N.,A.,D.	peak	boat	oat
pl.			
N.,A.	peaga	bøata	øata
D.	peagan	bøatan	øatan

TABLE B 3. Nouns of Plural Group 3

Animate:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	(wolf)	(schâf)	(mûs)
sing.			
N.,A.,D.	bolf	√ ⁻ š ⁻ of	maos
P.	bolfs	√ ⁻ š ⁻ ofs	"
pl.			
N.,A.	bølf	√ ⁻ sēf	møø
D.	bølvn	√ ⁻ sēfn	møøzn
P.	bølfs	√ ⁻ sēfs	møø

Inanimate:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	(wagen)	...	(want)
sing.			
N.,A.,D.	bōŋ		bant
pl.			
N.,A.	bēŋ		bent
D.	:		benðn

TABLE B 4. Nouns of Plural Group 4

Animate:				
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
	(bër)	(eninkel)	(bin)	
sing.				
N.,A.,D.	pea	ēnekl	pī	
P.	peas	ēnekls	pīs	
pl.				
N.,A.	pea	ēnekl	pī	
D.	pean	ēnekln	"	
P.	peas	ēnekls	pīs	
Inanimate:				
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
	(troum)	(jâr)	(prüevunge)	
sing.				
N.,A.,D.	trām	joa	prȳfenk	
pl.				
N.,A.	trām	joa	prȳfenk	
D.	tram̃n	joan	prȳfenkn	

TABLE B 5. Nouns of Plural Groups 5 and 6

Animate:

	Group 5	Group 6
	(katze)	(junge)
sing.		
N.,A.,D.	ketsl	jyŋl
P.	ketsls	jyŋls
pl.		
N.,A.	ketsaxen̄k	jyŋalen̄k
D.	ketsaxen̄kŋ	jyŋalen̄kŋ
P.	ketsaxen̄ks	jyŋalen̄ks

Inanimate:

	Group 5	Group 6
	(vuoz)	(bach)
sing.		
N.,A.,D.	fysl	pøxl
pl.		
N.,A.	fysaxen̄k	pøxalen̄k
D.	frysaxen̄kŋ	pøxalen̄kŋ

B6. Down to the present time the -s ending has always been limited to animate nouns. In the past century the idea of "possessive dative" has been lost for the feminine, neuter, and plural of all genders. These now have the article and adjective endings of the nominative-accusative cases, though they retain the -s ending on the noun: də motas, əs kents, də røs "the mother's, the child's, the horses'." [For simplification of s see A 85.] The masculine singular retains the dative endings for the article and adjectives, however these endings are identical to the accusative singular endings. As a result of these developments, the possessive can be listed with the accusative case in the paradigms for articles and adjectives: ən altn mōs poat "the old man's beard"; əs klāna kents mota "the small child's mother", etc. A few speakers even use the nominative case for the article and adjectives of masculine nouns: da altə mōs poat "the old man's beard."

B7. There is only one other noun case ending in Metz.: the ending -ən (-en) for the dative plural of all genders: bølvn (wölven). The accusative singular and plural and the dative singular have the same noun case forms as the nominative. This includes the masculine weak nouns, even where the -n ending has not become part of the stem: ən drax "the dragon", ən nefē "the nephew", both are accusative or dative.

B8. A few important phonological effects result from the addition of case endings. The possessive ending -s is involved in simplification following s or ś: ə̃n hōs prats "the rabbit's foot" [A 85]. The dative plural ending has the same effects as the ending of plural group 1: assimilation, nasalization, and the loss of a stem-final dental in short syllables after n: tō̃ŋ (tagen), kỹ (kuejen), tsenə̃n (zente). After a final nasal vowel the -ə̃n ending has no phonological effect: zỹ (suen). [A 78, A 11, A84.]

CHAPTER 2: PRONOUNS

B9. The Metz. pronouns can be divided into two groups: 1) those that only replace nouns in a sentence and 2) those that can replace or modify nouns. Group 1 includes the personal, reflexive, interrogative, and relative pronouns, and group 2 contains articles, demonstratives, possessives, and other pronominal adjectives.

Group 1 Pronouns

B10. The personal pronouns [Table B6] exist in singular and plural in three cases: nominative, accusative, and dative, for each of the three persons. The third person has forms for masculine, neuter, and feminine in the singular. Most personal pronouns have stressed and unstressed forms. The stressed form occurs when the pronoun begins an utterance or occurs singly. It may also be found within a sentence when special emphasis is placed on the pronoun. The unstressed form occurs when the pronoun follows a stressed syllable or is one of a series of unstressed syllables. The syllable divider -r- is heard when the pronouns enk, ons, om,

TABLE B 6. The Personal Pronouns

(The first form given is the most common in each case.)

		Stressed	Unstressed
1st. pers. sing.	N.	ix, ixa	x, i
	A.	mix	mix, mi
	D.	mie	ma
pl.	N.	bie, bien, da	ba, pa, p
	A.	(r) ons	(r) ons
	D.	(r) ons	(r) ons
2nd. pers. sing.	N.	du, dū	də, tə
	A.	dix	dix, di
	D.	die	da, ta
pl.	N.	īs	s
	A.	(r) eŋk	(r) eŋk
	D.	(r) eŋk	(r) eŋk
3rd. pers. sing. (Masc.)	N.	hea	a, ea
	A.	īn	(r) ən
	D.	īm, īn	(r) om, (r) ən
(Neut.)	N.	əs	əs, s
	A.	əs	əs, s
	D.	īm, īn	(r) om, (r) ən
(Fem.)	N.	zī	zə, sə
	A.	zī	zə, sə
	D.	ie	ra
pl. all genders	N.	zī	zə, sə
	A.	zī	zə, sə
	D.	īn, īnən	(r) om, (r) ən

and ən follow a word with a final vowel: ix hō rom
gəzōkt, "I said to him" [A 4]. The pronouns are often
 assimilated to preceding words: dōs hōx gəzōkt, "I said
 that". The unstressed pronouns ba, da, də, and zə are
 used following a vowel or voiced consonant whereas pa,
p, ta, tə, and sa are used after voiceless consonants.

B11. Metz. ixa is a little-used form probably related to
ixet of the other Unterzips dialects.² The first person
 plural form da is of unknown origin, as is the n of bien
 (wir). The second person plural forms īs, enk are
 survivals of the Germanic second person dual, which
 occur in a few Bavarian dialects especially in the
 Hungarian and Bohemian mining regions. a and ea are
 both unstressed forms of hea used interchangeably. ea is
 not a loan from Standard German.³ The accusative
 singular masculine form īn is also used in the dative
 singular masculine as an alternate to īm, and it has
 been extended to the neuter singular as well. This
 tendency to use the accusative form for the dative is
 often apparent in the pronominal adjectives as well.

B12. Reflexive pronouns exist only in the accusative and
 dative. The reflexive forms of the first and second
 persons are identical to the corresponding forms of the
 personal pronouns. The third person has the following
 reflexive forms:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.
	zix	zix	zix	zix
D.	(r) om, zix	(r) om, zix	ra, zix	(r) om, zix

The forms (r) om and ra appear to be derived from the MHG reflexive forms im and ir respectively.

B13. The indefinite pronouns include ma (man), abea (ein-wër), abos (ein-waz), nimant (nie-man) and nyšt (nihts, nütz). nimant and nyšt are singular only and not declined. ma is nominative only; the dative and accusative are both ã (einen). The plural of ma is filleøt (vil - liut) for the nominative and accusative and filleøtn for the dative. abea and abos are both singular and share the declension of bea and bos [B 14]. Some pronominal adjectives are also used as indefinite pronouns: āna (einer), māixa (manec), abyfl (ein-wie-vil) "some".

B14. The interrogative pronouns are bea (wër) and bos or bōs (waz), which exist only in the singular, but may be used with a plural verb when they function as a predicate: bea zāi dð freønt, "Who are the friends?" bos or bōs is indeclinable, and bea has the forms:

N.	bea
A.	bē
D.	bēm, bē
P.	bēs

The possessive bēs appears to have developed from the dative possessive construction wem sein in a way parallel to the formation of the possessive case in nouns and articles [B 5, 6]. As in the articles, the accusative singular masculine form was used for the dative, and the possessive developed from that. The adjective bexa or belxa (swelch) is also used as an interrogative pronoun.

B15. For the relative pronoun the demonstrative dea, dōs, dī is used, since there is no separate relative declension. A possessive form of the relative pronoun exists: dēs, which developed like bēs [B 14]. If the antecedent is neuter, the relative pronoun can be the interrogative bos or bōs.

Group 2 Pronouns

B16. The pronouns of group 2 are used mostly as pronominal adjectives, i.e., to modify nouns; however all of them can be used pronominally [in place of nouns] as well. When used pronominally, pronouns of this group with a long stem vowel plus final n have the ending pattern of kāna (keiner) "none", "no one":

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.
N.	kāna	kās	kānə	kānə
A.	kā	kās	kānə	kānə
D.	kā	kā	kāna	kā

Those whose stems end in a consonant other than n take the endings of onza (unser):

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.
N.	onza	onzas	onzrð	onzrð
A.	onzan	onzas	onzrð	onzrð
D.	onzan	onzan	onza	onzan

There is no possessive form for these pronouns. Since some of them are already possessive in meaning, a possessive form is unnecessary. For pronouns in this group without possessive meaning, the idea can be expressed with the preposition fon plus the dative case. When the pronoun ie (ir) is used in place of a noun, it takes the form ira for the nominative singular masculine and irðs for the nominative singular neuter. The rest of the declension is like that of the adjective ie [Table B8, C].

B17. The forms of the pronominal adjectives when used as modifiers are outlined in Table B 7, and the possessive adjectives, which can be regarded as a kind of pronominal adjective, are declined in Table B 8. When used as modifiers, the pronominal adjectives have possessive forms which are identical to the accusative. dai (dein) and zai (sein) are declined like mai; enka "your" follows the patterns of onza (unser), and ie (ir) has its own slightly different declension [Table B 8]. Unlike the definite articles and demonstratives, where the full

TABLE B 7. Pronominal Adjectives

(Where two forms are given, the first is the most common.)

Definite Article: (der)

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
N.	da	əs	də	də
A.,P.	ən, dn	əs	də	də
D.	ən, dn	ən, dn	da	ən, dn

Demonstratives: (dër, diser)

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.
N.	dea, dīza	dōs, dīs	dī, dīzə	dī, dīzə
A.,P.	dǝ, dīzn	dōs, dīs	dī, dizə	dī, dīzə
D.	dǝ, dīzn	dǝ, dīzn	dea, dīza	dǝ, dīzn

(jener)

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.
N.	jəna	jě	jēnə	jənə
A.,P.	jě	jě	jēnə	jənə
D.	jě	jě	jēna	jě

TABLE B 8. Possessive Adjectives

 Declension A: (mein, dein, sein)

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.
N.	mai	mai	mai	mai
A.,P.	māi	mai	mai	mai
D.	māi	māi	māi, maina	māi

Declension B: (unser, iuwer)

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.
N.	onza	onza	onzrð	onzrð
A.,P.	onzan	onza	onzrð	onzrð
D.	onzan	onzan	onza	onzan

Declension C: (ir)

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.
N	ie	ie	irð	irð
A.,P.	ian	ie	irð	irð
D.	ian	ian	ira	ian

declension is used by all speakers, the possessive adjectives are sometimes not inflected. Nasalized forms māi, dāi, and zāi exist along with the forms mai, dai, zai; both of these can be used indeclinably or as in Table B 8. The indeclinable form mai may be the result of American English influence.⁴

B18. The definite article da, ðs, dð is declined in Table B 7. When used pronominally, the definite articles are equal in meaning to the personal pronouns, and there is no possessive case. The indefinite article a and the negative article ka are usually not declined at all when used as adjectives. a has no plural. When a and ka are stressed, they become ā and kā, which may have the inflected forms ã and kã, for the accusative singular masculine and the dative singular masculine and neuter. ka can have the dative plural form kã.

B19. The demonstratives [Table B 7] include: dea, dōs dī (dēr, daz, diu), dīza, dīs, dīzð (diser, diz, disiu), and jēna, jē, jēnð (jener, jenez, jeniu). dea and dīza can be used interchangeably with the meaning "this", but only dea can be used as a relative pronoun, jēna has the meaning "that".

B20. Other pronominal adjectives include: bexa or belxa (welch), zyta (solich), māixa (manec), ala (al), jēda (iedec), and baidð (beide). The interrogative bōfra (waz-für-ein) is often used as a pronoun, where it has the form bōfrāna.

CHAPTER 3: ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

- B21. Most of this chapter deals with the descriptive adjectives, those belonging to the "open" class, that describe nouns and verbs and are capable of being compared. Adjectives of the limited or closed class, such as "this", "such" belong to the pronominal group of adjectives discussed in Chapter 2 [B 10]. Adverbs of the closed class, such as "very" and "never", are called primary adverbs in this work and are discussed in B 28.
- B22. Metz. has the same three degrees of comparison for both adjectives and adverbs: simple, comparative, and superlative. The comparative and superlative endings are -a (-er) and -astð or -stð (-este) respectively. These endings are always accompanied by umlaut of the stem vowel where possible. Even ā < MHG ei, ou is umlauted in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, although it is not umlauted under any other circumstances: bāx, bēxa, bēxast (weich), gðnā, gðnēa, gðnēastð (genou). Disyllabic adjectives umlaut the stem vowel rather than the proximate vowel: graozam, greþzama, greþzamstð (grûwesam). There are two adjectives which derive their

comparative and superlative forms from stems other than that of the simple form: gut, pesa, pestə (guot); šl̄ext, šlema, šlemstə (sleht, slimp). The adjectives klā (klein) and šǝ (schoen) have irregular comparative and superlative forms due to the addition of a consonant and the shortening of the stem vowel: klendra, šǝndra. lan̄k (lanc) has the forms len̄ka, len̄klstə when it refers to extension in space and len̄a, len̄astə when it refers to time.

B23. The superlative ending -astə is much more common than -stə, being used after almost all consonant and vowels. -stə is used in multisyllabic words: pāilixstə (pînlich). After MHG m and l both endings occur: šlemstə or šlemastə (slimp), fylstə or fylastə (vol). With a nasalized final vowel, both endings can occur: gr̄ystə or gr̄ynastə (grüen).

B24. A few adjectives with long stem vowels have shortening of the stem-vowel in the comparative and superlative: gr̄ōs, gr̄ysa, gr̄ysastə (grôz), h̄ōx, hyxa, hyxastə (hoch), l̄īp, liba, libastə (liep). However most long-stem-vowel adjectives retain the long vowel: m̄yt, m̄yda, m̄ydastrə (müede).

B25. Descriptive adjectives vary greatly in the degree to which they are inflected by various speakers. Some speakers use the full inflection as presented in Table B 9, whereas others use the nominative singular form throughout, even for the dative plural. Usually

TABLE B 9. Strong and Weak Adjectives

Strong Forms:

		alt (alt)			
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.	
N.	alta	altθs alt	altθ	altθ	
A.,P.	altn	altθs alt	altθ	altθ	
D.	altn	altn	alta	altn	
		klā (klein)			
N.	klāna	klānθs klā	klānθ	klānθ	
A.,P.	klā	klānθs klā	klānθ	klānθ	
D.	klā	klā	klāna	klā	

Weak Forms:

		alt (alt)			
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	pl.	
N	altθ	altθ	altθ	altn	
A.,P.	altn	altθ	altθ	altn	
D.	altn	altn	altn altθ	altn	
		kla (klein)			
N.	klānθ	klānθ	klānθ	klā	
A.,P.	klā	klānθ	klānθ	klā	
D.	klā	klā	klā klānθ	klā	

descriptive adjectives are declined according to two patterns: strong and weak [Table B 9]. Descriptive adverbs are indeclinable. The strong declension has endings like those of the pronominal adjectives, whereas the weak declension has only the endings -ə and -ən. The neuter strong declension has interchangeable forms for the nominative and accusative, and the feminine weak declension has interchangeable dative singular forms. The uses of these are discussed in C6. Adjectives with a stem-final nasal vowel have special peculiarities of inflection, as described in Table B 9: də ʃə gədan̩k̩, "the good thoughts".

B26. The cardinal numbers ā, anə (ein, eine) and tsba, tsbē (zwo, zwene) have strong declensional forms, although these numerals are sometimes used indeclinably as ā and tsba. ā, anə has a pattern like klā (Table B 9], except that the nominative singular masculine has the form ā, and there is no plural. tsbē is a form used with masculine nouns only, and it has the dative form tsbēn.

B27. The comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are declined like the simple forms, with endings added after the comparative and superlative endings. r of MHG -er is not vocalized when endings follow: jy̩n̩a (jünger), but də jy̩nrən kenda, "the younger children". The addition of declensional endings may result in syllable

assimilation or nasalization: m̄yt, m̄yn (müed-), fr̄y, fr̄ỹ (vrüeje) [A 78, 83]. The voicing of t after l following a short vowel does not occur in the declension of the simple adjective, but it does occur in the comparative and superlative: da alt̄ð m̄õ "the old man", da is elda, "He is older", da is da eldast̄ð, "He is the oldest." When r of the comparative -er is present, voicing of t after l does not occur: da eltra m̄õ "the older man".

Primary Adverbs

B28. Primary adverbs describe conditions, intensify verbs and adjectives, and explain spatial and temporal relationships. They are invariable in form. The most common are: duet (dort), fort (vort), goa (gar), hāt (hart), gr̄õt (gerat), itstan (iezunt), r̄õ (hër-abe), no (hin-abe), din̄n (dar-innen), daosn (dar-ûzen), a pisl (biʒ). The adverb ja with the variations jā, jō, also occurs as an interjection, as does the adverb sur, dasur or tasur derived from the American English "sure". The negative adverbs are: nixt (niht), nā or nō (nein), nī or nīmols and nietsant (nie, niemer).

B29. Interrogative adverbs are often paired with answering adverbs: ben, den "when", "then"; fabōs, fadōs "why", "therefore"; buhea, dahea "from where", "from there"; bīfil or byfl, azōfil "how many", "so many", buin, doatn "to where", "to there". Indefinite adverbs

are made from the interrogative words with the prefix a
(ein) "some": ab̄o "somewhere", abī "somehow", ab̄os
"somewhat", aben "sometime", abuinha "from somewhere".

CHAPTER 4: VERBS

B30. Metz. has simple and compound verb forms. The meaning of the simple verb is complete in the stem, whereas the compound verb uses a prefix to complete the meaning of the stem. Compound verbs have either separable or inseparable prefixes. Inseparable prefixes remain attached to the verb stem in all tense forms: ∂s g∂šēt, "it happens", ∂s is g∂šē "it happened", ∂s bit g∂šē, "it will happen". Separable prefixes remain attached to the stem in all tenses of the indicative and subjunctive except the present indicative and also in the imperative forms: ∂s fent ō, "it begins" ∂s is ōg∂fan∂n, "it began", nem ∂s ō, "take it off". However, if the present indicative form is in final position in a dependent clause, the prefix is attached: tos ∂s ōfent, "so that it begins". The elements g∂- and ts∂- (ge-, ze) may intervene between the prefix and the stem in most verbs with separable prefixes: hāmts∂gē, "to go home"; nōxg∂frōkt, "asked about". The prefix bida is inseparable in the word bidahōln (wider-holn), but separable in bidakom∂n (widerkomen).

B31. In conjugating the verb as well as deriving the non-finite verb parts it is necessary to know the verb stem. The stem can best be found from the first person singular present indicative form. In some cases this form is identical to the stem, but in others devoicing of the stem-final consonant has occurred: da \bar{g} rāpm (ergripen): da \bar{g} rāp-; zōŋ (sagen): zōg-; bondan (wundern): bonda-; pə \bar{k} ēŋ (begegenen): pə \bar{k} ēŋ-. The stems of modal verbs are obtained by dropping the ending of the plural forms of the present indicative: beln (wollen): bel-. A few verbs also have past and subjunctive stems [B39, 42, 45].

B32. Metz. has three non-finite verb parts or verbals, derived from the verb stem: the infinitive, the present participle, and the past participle. Whereas the infinitive and past participle are used in tense formation, the present participle exists only as an adjective. The infinitive is made from the verb stem plus the ending -ə \bar{n} , which may cause assimilation or nasalization: š \bar{b} aig- + -ə \bar{n} = š \bar{b} ain $\bar{ŋ}$ (swîgen) [A 78, 83]. The present participle is formed by adding the element -ə \bar{n} t to the present stem. This syllable does not cause assimilation: lēb- + -ə \bar{n} t = lēbə \bar{n} t (lëbent). Adjective endings can be added as in Standard German: a š \bar{t} ea \bar{b} ə \bar{n} da (ein stërbender). The past participle usually has the inseparable prefix gə- unless it is a compound verb already having an inseparable prefix: gə \bar{p} onə \bar{n} (binden), faloan (verliesen). Verbs whose stems begin with g

usually omit the gð- prefix: gosn (giezen), gaŋðn (gân), (gð)glixn (lîhen). Prefixes may not occur in (gð)komðn, (gð)boan (komen, wërden).

B33. The past participle is the basis for classifying verbs as weak, with the ending -t or -ðt, or strong, with the ending -ðn. These endings can result in assimilation or simplification [A 78, 85]. The past participles of weak verbs almost always have the same vowel as the stem: reŋ (regen): gðrēŋt. A few weak verbs have a vowel change in the past participle: preŋðn (bringen): gðprōxt; preððn (brennen): gðprant or gðprent; kenðn (kennen): gðkant or gðkent; denŋ (denken): gðdōxt. These represent the so-called Rückumlaut effect. Strong verbs often have vowel change in the formation of the past participle, which is the basis for their classification.

Classification of the Strong Verbs

B34. Many Metz. strong verbs have the phenomenon of Ablaut, a stem-vowel difference between that of the infinitive and the past participle. In addition some strong verbs have umlaut and/or raising of the stem-vowel in the second and third persons singular present indicative. To classify these changes it is helpful to think of the verb as having principal parts from which tenses are formed. For Metz. verbs the minimal necessary parts including these vowel changes are the

infinitive, the past participle, and the third person singular present indicative form:

(helfen) : helfn, gðholfn, hilft

Metz. has about seventeen combinations of these three-vowel groups. To facilitate their classification into series or classes similar to the Ablautsreihen of historical German grammar, it is necessary to simplify the groupings by considering only the first two principal parts, which represent the only actual Ablaut change. There are many exceptional developments in the third principal parts which are not easily reconciled with the division into classes. The following five classes have been defined on the basis of the Metz. vowel differences between the infinitive and the past participle. They are not necessarily parallel to the historical Ablautsreihen:

1. ai - ī, i
2. ī, i - ō, o
3. i - u
4. e - o
5. no change

1) Class 1 is parallel to the historical MHG first Ablautsreihe. It contains twelve verbs, about half of which follow the pattern of šraim, gðšrīm, šraipt

(schrîben), having ī as the stem-vowel of the past participle as a result of ENHG lengthening [A 17.1]. The rest of this group have the past participle stem-vowel i, like pəgraifn, pəgrifn, pəgraift (be-grîfen). All verbs in this class retain the stem-vowel of the infinitive in the third principal part, and thus throughout the present conjugation. Two verbs of this group, śnain, gəśnitn, śnait (snîden), and lain, gəlitn, lait (lîden) are unusual in that they show evidence of Verner's Law and lack the stem-final consonant in the third principal part due to consonant simplification [A 85].

2) This class have twelve verbs and is equivalent to the second Ablautsreihe of MHG. Shortening of the infinitive stem-vowel is due to the presence of the MHG stem-final consonants z̥ and x. MHG ie > ī preceding z̥ [A 19.1] is shortened for only some speakers, so there are two possible stem-vowel lengths for verbs with z̥: gisn or gīsn, gosn, geøst (giezen). MHG ie > ī became shortened for all speakers before x: rixn, gəroxn, reøxt (riechen). Lengthening of the past participle stem-vowel in verbs like flīn, gəflōn, fleøkt (vliegen) is due to ENHG lengthening in open syllables [A 19.1]. Verner's Law is seen in the verbs frīzn, gəfroan, freøst (vriesen). falīzn, faloan, faleøst (verliesen), and tsī, gətsōn, tseøkt (ziehen). All but two of the verbs in class 2 have the vowel eø in the third principal part.

These exceptions are pīŋ, gəpōŋ, pīkt (biegen), and šīm, gəšōm, šaipt (schieben). tsī (ziehen) can have the irregular third singular present form tsert.

3) This class involves only five verbs and is not exactly equivalent to the MHG third Ablautsreihe. These are all verbs with the stem-vowel i followed by the consonant ŋ. Since lowering of i and u are preserved in the infinitive and past participle. There are no irregularities in the formation of the third principal part. All verbs in this group follow the pattern of ziŋən, gəzuŋən, ziŋt (singen).

4) Class 4 includes about twenty-two verbs following the pattern of penən, gəponən, pent (binden). Historically this group includes the MHG third and fourth Ablautsreihen, combining into one group the MHG infinitive stem-vowels i and e, because of Metz. lowering of i before n and m [A 23]. The lowering of u to o in the past participle is the result of Germanic lowering or Brechung for most verbs and of Metz. lowering in the case of verbs with MHG nn and nd [A 25]. Verbs with the MHG stem ending nd have lost d before the ending -ən [A 84]. Likewise in the present conjugation d also disappears before the endings -st and -t [A 85], hence there is no survival of the MHG stem-final d: fenən, gəfonən, fent (vinden). The MHG second and third singular present forms are preserved for all verbs in this group except before n or m, where lowering of i

occurs: nemst (nimest). There are a few exceptional verbs which according to their MHG prototypes should belong in group 3 or 4: šbimən, gəšbomən, šbimt (swimmen) does not have lowering of i before MHG mm [A 23]. The stem-vowel of MHG stēln has undergone lengthening according to the Metz. rule for lengthening before MHG single l [A 17.2], resulting in the long-vowel forms štēln, gəštōln, štēlt. The third principal part of this verb is also irregular. The verb komən, gəkomən (komen) has three possibilities for the third principal part, which vary from speaker to speaker: komt, kømt, kemt.

5) This is the largest grouping, containing about thirty-five verbs from the MHG Ablautsreihen 5, 6, and 7, all of which have the common feature of no Ablaut change in Metz. There are also survivals in Metz. that preserve the historical feature called "jan-present", an unlauded infinitive stem-vowel which is thus different from the vowel of the past participle.

a) Verbs of class 5 which came from the MHG fifth Ablautsreihe have the stem vowel e or ē, depending on the application of ENHG lengthening [A 17.1]. They follow the pattern of esn, gesn, ist (ezzen) or lēzn, gəlēzn, lēst (lesen). In most of these long stem-vowel verbs the same vowel persists into the third principal part, as seen in the preceding example. žē, gəžē, zīt

(sēhen), is an exception to this rule, and gəšē, gəšē (geschēhen) has two interchangeable third parts: gəšēt or gəšīt, gēm, gēm (gēben) has a diphthong in the third principal part: gait,⁵ and the jan-present verb līŋ, gəlēŋ (ligen) has a similar third form, perhaps through analogy: laikt, where the stem-final consonant remains.

b) The verbs of class 5 which derive from the MHG sixth Ablautsreihe have the stem-vowel ō, where MHG a has been lengthened, or o where vocalization of r has taken place: trōŋ, gətrōŋ, trēkt (tragen), foan, gəfoan, feat (varn). In other cases the MHG vowel a has remained: baksn, gəbaksn, bikst (wahsen). As can be seen in the above examples, the third principal part shows the effect of MHG secondary umlaut. The form bikst probably developed on the analogy of the MHG fourth series second and third singular forms. Verbs which preserve the MHG jan-present include hēm, gəhōm, hēpt (heben), and šbean, gəšboan, šbiet (swern). The irregular verb štē, gəštanən, štēt (stân) has loss of d due to the addition of -ən [A 84].

c) The so-called reduplicating verbs of the MHG seventh series also belong to class 5 in Metz. and have a variety of stem-vowels. Most have umlaut where possible in the third part: plōzn, gəplōzn, plēst (blasen). lāfn, gəlāfn, lāft (loufen). Three verbs of

this group, haln (halten), doafaln (vallen) and losn (lâzen) have the stem-vowel i in the third principal part: hilt, filt doa, list. gē, gaŋən, gēt has its infinitive stem-vowel from MHG gên, a variant of gan.

Conjugation

B35. Metz. verbs can be conjugated in the past, present, and future of the indicative and the past and present of the subjunctive [Tables B 10 and 11], and can be active or passive voice. These categories are comparable in meaning to the corresponding categories of Standard German. All tenses except the present indicative are compound tenses for most verbs and require auxiliaries for their formation. The Metz. verbs hōm (haben), zāi (sein), and bean (wërden) [Tables B 10 and 11], are also used as auxiliaries. The modals are a special group of verbs which are used to express circumstances of the verbal action, such as desire, capacity, etc. [B 45]. The modal zoln (sol) is used as an auxiliary by some speakers in place of bean (wërden) [C 24].

B36. In forming the compound tenses the auxiliary zāi (sein) is used with most intransitive verbs denoting motion or change in state, as in Standard German, whereas hōm (haben) is used with transitive verbs and some intransitives where no motion or change of state is implied: du pist gaŋən, "you went"; hea hot gəhøat,

TABLE B 10. Weak Verb Conjugations

		(vragen)	(wizzen)	(haben)
infin.		frōŋ	bysn	hōm
pres. indic.	1.	frōk	bās	hō
	2.	frōkst	bāst	host
	3.	frōkt	bās	hot
pl.1	3.	frōŋ	bysn	hōm
	2.	frōkt	byst	hōt, hōpt
past indic.	1.	ix hō gāfrōkt	busāt	hat
	2.	etc.	busāst	hast
	3.		busāt	hat
pl.1	3.		bustn	hatn
	2.		bustāt	hat
past perf. indic.	1.	ix hat gāfrōkt	ix hat gābyst	ix hat gāhōt
		etc.	etc.	etc.
future indic.	1.	ix bea frōŋ	ix bea bysn	ix bea hōm
		etc.	etc.	etc.
pres. subj.	1.	ix bye frōŋ	bysāt	het
	2.	etc.	bysāst	hest
	3.		bysāt	het
pl.1	3.		bystn	hetn
	2.		bystāt	het
past subj.	1.	ix het gāfrōkt	ix het gābyst	ix het gāhōt
		etc.	etc.	etc.

TABLE B 11. Strong Verb Conjugations

		(nēmen)	(sein)	(wērden)
infin.		nem̄n	zāi	bean
pres.	1.	nem	zai	bea
indic.	2.	nemst	pist	biest
	3.	nemt	is	bit, biet
pl.1	3.	nem̄n	zāi	bean
	2.	nemt	zait	beat
past	1.	ix hō̄ ḡn̄m̄n	boa	ix zai ḡboan,
indic.	2.	etc.	boast	etc.
	3.		boa	
pl.1	3.		boan	
	2.		boat	
past	1.	ix hat ḡnom̄n	ix <u>boa</u> ḡbēzn	ix boa ḡboan
perf.		etc.	ḡbēst, etc.	etc.
indic.				
future	1.	ix bea nem̄n	ix bea zāi	ix bea bean
indic.		etc.	etc.	etc.
pres.	1.	ix bye nem̄n	b̄a	bye
subj.	2.	etc.	b̄st	byest
	3.		b̄a	bye
pl.1	3.		b̄an	byen
	2.		b̄at	byet
past	1.	ix het ḡn̄m̄n	ix <u>b̄a</u> ḡbēzn,	ix b̄a ḡboan
subj.		etc.	ḡbēst, etc.	etc.

"he heard". zāi is also used with the verbs zāi (sein), plaim (belîben), and zitsn (sitzen).

B37. The Present Tense Indicative. The present tense personal endings are the same for all verbs in the dialect with the exception of the auxiliaries, modals, and bysn (wizzen) [Tables B 10, 11]:

	sing.	pl.
1st.	...	-(ə)n
2nd.	-st	-t
3rd.	...	-(ə)n

Formation of the present tense involves addition of these endings to the verb stem. In the plural the vowel ə may be added before the ending n in verbs with stem-final n, m, or ŋ. The conjugational ending is sometimes omitted in the first plural form when the unstressed pronoun ba or pa follows. Assimilation caused by close juncture may occur here: kemba (kennen wir) [A 3]. All weak verbs retain the stem-vowel of the infinitive throughout the present tense, however certain strong verbs have a vowel change in the second and third singular [B 34]. The vowel of the second and third singular form is indicated by the third principal part. Occasionally by analogy, this change is also applied to the second plural form: īs trēkt for īs trōkt (tragen). The verb bysn (wizzen) and all of the modals except beln

(wellen) have the historical feature "preterite present", meaning that the present tense forms are derived from past forms, and there is no ending on the first and third singular form. bysn (wizzen) and the modals kynən (kan), mysn (muoz), møn (mac), and tøan (tar) have a stem-vowel difference for the present tense singular because of preterite present [B 45]: ix bās, ix kō, ix mus, ix mok, ix toa. The infinitive beln (wellen) is derived from a Germanic subjunctive form, whereas the past participle gəbolt preserves the original vowel. The verb endings -st and t can result in simplification following a stem-final t or d [A 85]: īs bet (ir wettet). They also cause devoicing of voiced stem-final consonants: trōŋ: du trēkst, hea trēkt "you carry", "he carries."

B38. The Past Tense Indicative. This tense is formed in two ways: 1) as a compound construction and 2) as a simple construction. These two methods are mutually exclusive in that no verb can use both methods. Method 2 can be used only by a fixed set of verbs listed in B 39, and Method 1 is used by all others. The compound construction of the past tense consists of a present inflected form of the auxiliary hōm (haben) or zāi (sein) plus the past participle: ix hō gəzē "I saw", ix zai gəplīm "I remained." Metz. has no distinction, as does Standard German, between a perfect and an

imperfect tense; there is only one past tense here that includes both meanings [C 23].

B39. The simple construction of method 2 usually uses a special set of endings cognate with the Standard German imperfect endings. There are used also in the present subjunctive of some verbs [B 42]:

	sing.	pl.
1st.	-(ə)t	-tn
2nd.	-(ə)st	-tət
3rd.	-(ə)t	-tn

Here, as in the Metz. nouns, there has been apocope or loss of the final unstressed -e of MHG [A 37]. The second plural ending -tət does not have simplification, as would be expected from the rule [A 85]. Most speakers apply the unstressed vowel -ə before the consonant ending after most stem-consonants and always after stem-final t in the singular [B 40]: kunət (kunde), busət (wuste). If a pronoun follows immediately, the unstressed vowel is omitted: zōkta = zōkt da "he said". The set of verbs using the simple construction is as follows:

zāi	(sein)	boa
hōm	(haben)	hat
kynən	(kan)	kunət
beln	(wellen)	bolət
bysn	(weiz)	busət

mainðn	(meinen)	mainðt, mǎit
denkŋ	(denken)	duxt
zōŋ	(sagen)	zōkt

This list includes two modals, two of the auxiliaries, and the most common verbs of saying and knowing. It can be seen from the list that most of these verbs have special imperfect stems to which the endings are added. zāi (sein) has a completely unrelated stem for the simple past construction: boa (war) [Table B 11].

B40. The imperfect endings are also added to the less common verb bðhaoptn (behoubeten) a modified loan word from German: hea bðhaoptðt. Here the simplification of -tðt does not occur [A 85]. The simple past construction is not freely applied to all words which express saying, knowing, or thinking; the compound construction [method 1] is used for verbs not listed in B 39: ix hō gðglāpt ix spīl mit ōstenden leøtn, "I thought I was [lit. I am] playing with respectable people."

B41. Other Indicative Tenses. The past perfect tense is rarely used, and it is always a compound tense made from the past tense of hōm (haben) or zāi (sein) [Table B 10, 11] plus the past participle: hea hat gðbolt "he had wanted" in contrast to hea bolðt, "he wanted". The future is also a compound form consisting of the present tense of bean (wērdēn) or rarely zoln (sol) plus the infinitive: ðs bit rēŋ, "It is going to rain."

B42. The Subjunctive Mood. The subjunctive exists in only two tenses: present and past. The past tense is formed with the auxiliaries het (haben) and bōa (sein) [Tables B 10, 11] plus the past participle. Present tense subjunctive is formed in two ways which are mutually exclusive: 1) the subjunctive of the auxiliary bean (wērdēn): bye plus the infinitive, and 2) the subjunctive stem plus the imperfect endings [B 39]: ix het zð mitgðnomðn [past] "I would have taken them along", ix bye zð mitnemðn [present] "I would take them along", ben īs bustðt [present] "If you knew." The two present tense constructions are equal in meaning. Only seven verbs have subjunctive stems and the second method is used only with them. These include three modals [B 45], all three auxiliaries [Tables B 10, 11] and bysn [Table 10]. The Metz. subjunctive is cognate with the so-called Subjunctive II of Standard German. Remnants exist of a subjunctive form based on the present stem, but it is confined to a few set phrases, and there is no conjugation [C 25].

B43. The Imperative. Imperative forms exist for the second person singular and plural and also for the first person plural. The imperative singular consists of the stem of the infinitive and is usually identical with the first person singular form of the present tense

indicative. Likewise the second person plural imperative is identical with the second plural form:

Infin.	MHG	2nd. sing. imper.	2nd. pl. imper.
lēzn	lēsen	lēs	lēst
nemðn	nēmen	nem	nemt
šīs̥n	schiezen	šīs̥	šīst
helfn	hēlfen	helf	helft
kōzn	kōsen	kōs	kōst

There are no differences between weak and strong verbs in the imperative. There are, however, a few strong verbs with irregular second singular forms: zē (sehen): zī; gēm (gēben): gip

B44. The first person plural imperative consists of the present stem, often in abbreviated form, with the unstressed form of the personal pronoun attached. Close juncture [A 3] usually causes devoicing of the first consonant of ba, when a voiceless consonant is stem-final: zōkpa (sagen wir), bepa (wetten wir), zets-p-rons (setzen wir uns).

B45. The Modals. Modals are a special group of verbs in frequent use which express the conditions or circumstances of the sentence action, such as desire, necessity, ability, etc. [C 27]. The modals are:

Infin.	lst. pres. indic.	lst. pres. indic. MHG	imperf. stem	subjunct. stem	past part.
beln	bil	wil	bol-	bø1-	gðbolt
zoln	zol	sol	...	...	gðzolt
kynðn	kõ	kan	kun-	kyn-	gðkynt
mysn	mus	muoz	...	...	gðmust
møŋ	mok	mac	...	møg-	...
tøan	toa	tar	...	...	gðtøat

møŋ (mac) exists only rarely in the present tense indicative and subjunctive. tøan (tar) meaning "to dare" has a rare variant tøafn, gðtøaft, toaf based on MHG darf rather than tar. The irregular present tense of modals is discussed in B 37.

B46. The Passive Voice. In conversation the passive voice is usually avoided in favor of an active voice statement using the indefinite pronouns ma (man) or āna (einer) as the subject. The true passive construction consists of an inflected auxiliary plus a past participle. The auxiliaries zāi (sein) and bean (wērdēn) can both indicate the "actional" passive, but bean is rarely used. The agent is expressed by the preposition pai (bei) plus an object in the dative: hea is en krīk plðsiet boan pāi āgðnðn komðrōtn, "He was wounded in the war by his own comrades", hea boa pai rāba gðšosn, "He was shot by a robber." The use of pai "by" and the auxiliary zāi are American English influences.

PART C: SYNTAX

C1. Word relationships and functions are expressed in Metz. by inflectional endings, prepositions, and word order, much as in Standard German. However the roles of these indicators are in a state of transition. With first and second generation speakers, case endings of nouns and adjectives have become less important, whereas prepositions and a more rigid word order have taken over part of their function. Inflection of nouns and modifiers after prepositions has also decreased, although the function of case in this position is still preserved in the personal pronouns. The traditional sentence pattern of Standard German, which has a sentence field determined by the two parts of the predicate, has in part given way to a sentence pattern like that of American English, with the verb elements closer together and important information at the beginning of the sentence. Sentence patterns vary with individual speakers, the traditional pattern being more common with older speakers and immigrants. The influence of American

English is as evident in the shifting roles of the indicators as it is in usage, vocabulary, and phonology.

CHAPTER 1: WORDS AND PHRASES

C2. The morphological units or sentence units, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc., perform grammatical functions on the sub-sentence level either singly or in combinations. Simple combinations lacking a predicate or subject, such as noun or prepositional phrases or compound verbs are discussed in this chapter. Complex combinations with both subject and predicate are clauses or sentences, which are the subject of Chapter 2.

Nouns, Pronouns, and Modifiers

C3. Nouns function as subjects, objects, predicate nominatives and accusatives, predicate modifiers, or possessives modifying other nouns. Nouns may also occur in apposition to other nouns in these roles. It is characteristic for nouns to be preceded by pronominal adjectives, such as the definite and indefinite article. If a descriptive adjective accompanies a noun, it precedes it, but it follows any pronominal adjective. The noun plus its modifiers constitutes a noun phrase: a apl "an apple", da oamə mō "the poor man". If a relative clause modifies the noun, it must follow the

noun: da oamə mō dea āx tāp boa "the poor man, who was also deaf". All modifiers within a noun phrase can be said to agree with the noun in gender, number, and case, and any relative pronoun must agree in gender and number. Actually since the noun itself usually does not indicate case or gender and often does not indicate number, the modifiers function as the indicators of this information.

- C4. Pronouns, including pronominal adjectives which function as pronouns, can replace nouns as subjects, objects, predicate nominatives, and also possessives. Pronouns can have nouns in apposition but cannot occur in phrases with modifiers as attributes. The personal pronouns have several irregularities in use. All have stressed and unstressed forms [Table B6]. The first plural form bie (wir) can be used in any stressed situation, however, some speakers use the stressed form bien before the conjugated verb: bien beln ślōfn, "We want to sleep." A few speakers use da in place of bien: da kōzn, "We are talking."¹ The unstressed forms ba [and after voiceless stops pa] can occur in any situation where there is no sentence stress. It often occurs after the first person plural verb form, where it causes loss of the ending, as in the imperative forms [B 37, 44]: hī gēba, hī štēba, "Here we go; here we stand." The first person singular pronoun ix has the variant form

ixa, used interchangeably with it by some speakers. The second person forms du and īs have no corresponding polite forms, as in Standard German. The third person singular and plural pronouns can be replaced by the definite article with no change in meaning: zī or dī is də mota, "She is the mother."

C5. The use of personal pronouns and pronominal adjectives sometimes reflects American English influence. The dative singular unstressed form (r) om of the masculine personal pronoun is sometimes substituted for the unstressed accusative singular (r) ən: hea hot om nixt gəzē, "He didn't see him." This never happens with the stressed form, however: da hot īn gəzē, nixt mix, "He saw him, not me." This substitution of the dative may result from its similarity to English "him" in an unstressed situation. The neuter personal pronoun əs (es) is used in Metz. like the American English "it" to refer to any inanimate antecedent regardless of gender: ... ben də jōk frai boa ont ben əs āx fapōtn boa, "... when hunting was legal and also when it was illegal." The possessive pronouns occur very frequently in Metz. because they are used redundantly, as in American English: hea hat zai gəbea in zāi henən, "He had his gun in his hands."

C6. Descriptive adjectives can occur attributively in noun phrases, as predicate adjectives, or as substantives,

in which case they have the same uses as nouns. When used as attributes, adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in gender, number and case, according to the weak or strong adjective declensions presented in Table B 9. Some speakers do not inflect adjectives according to case or gender [B 25]. For most speakers weak endings are used after the definite article: da estə tōk, "the first day". Strong endings are used when no article precedes and after the nominative singular masculine of the indefinite or negative articles: alta mō "old man", a grōsa pām "a big tree". After the nominative or accusative-possessive singular neuter of the indefinite or negative article, the strong ending or no ending may be used: mai līp kent or mai lībəs kent "my dear child". Likewise there are two interchangeable forms of the weak adjective in the dative singular feminine: fon da altn kiex or fon da altə kiex, "from the old church". With the indefinite article, weak adjective endings are often used although the article may be undeclined: fon a altn pux, "from an old book". Descriptive adjectives are not inflected when used as predicate adjectives: zai šbesta is šeø, "His sister is shy." When used as a substantive, the adjective retains its normal adjective endings: da klānə "the little one", pesta "best one".

C7. Primary and descriptive adverbs have no inflection.

Both can be used as predicate modifiers or complements,

and both can modify other adjectives and adverbs: kōst
du šnela šraim, "Can you write faster?" əs is hāt bixtek,
 "It is very important." īs kynt fuexpa gut špīln, "You
 can play terribly well."

C8. Descriptive adjectives and adverbs can be compared in
 the same manner, and the conjunction abī or bī (wie) is
 used to relate the compared entities, usually in the
 sentence postfield: hea kō šnela lēzn abī də andan, "He
 can read faster than the others." Descriptive adverbs
 can also be compared by means of the primary adverb mē
 "more", which may be an example of American English
 influence: īs myst mē laot kōzn, "You must talk louder."
 When the adverb occurs as a superlative, it can only be
 in the form of an adjective in apposition to a noun or
 substantive: hea kō ās pesta šīsn, "He can shoot best"
 [lit. as the best one].

C9. Negation is often a function of the negative primary
 adverbs [B 28], and conjunctions [C 19], which can negate
 entire predicates or single elements: da prūda is nixt
dahām, "The brother isn't at home." əs is nyšt mē nont
štāp ont eš, "There is nothing left but dust and ashes."
 The negative pronominal adjective ka, kāna (kein,
 keiner), and the negative pronouns nimant (nie-man) and
nyšt (nihts) are used much as their Standard German
 counterparts. Double negative constructions are common:
hea gait nimant nyšt, "He doesn't give anybody anything."

The Uses of Case

- C10. Some speakers do not inflect nouns and pronominal or descriptive adjectives according to case, although all speakers make case distinctions with the personal pronouns. Undeclined nouns and adjectives have the nominative singular and plural forms regardless of function: fon da juŋə mō, "from the young man". Where case distinctions are lacking, prepositions and position in the sentence aid in function identification. All speakers use the nominative case for the subject of a clause, the predicate nominative, or the predicate adjective, where the adjective refers to the subject.
- C11. After the disappearance of the genitive case, its varied functions were taken over in several ways. The possessive attribute became a function of the dative case, out of which evolved the possessive case for animate nouns [B 5, 6]. The possessive noun always precedes the noun it modifies: ən s̄ustas bitbə, "the shoemaker's widow." In personal pronouns the genitive survives only as the possessive adjective mai (mein), dai (dein), zai (sein), etc. The dative is no longer used for possession with animate nouns. Possession is usually indicated by phrases like dōs is zāis, "That is his." hea aignət dōs, "He owns that." For inanimate nouns the dative is used with the preposition fon (von), rarely uf (uf): əs dax fon haos "the roof of the house", də hatə

√sōl uf da nos "the hard shell of the nut".² Verbs whose Standard German counterparts take at least one object in the genitive, express this function with prepositions: di hom om fa moat ōgðklakt,³ "They accused him of murder." The old genitive with adjectives is expressed by the dative and sometimes left uninflected: da trūvl beat or də trūvl beat "worth the trouble"; fōl menan or fōl mena⁴ "full of men". Subject and object genitives are expressed by prepositions with the dative: əs ziŋən fon fōgl "the singing of birds", mai koap uf flā√s "my basket of meat". Genitive expressions of time have become uninflected primary adverbs: moanst "in the morning". Prepositions whose Standard German counterparts govern the genitive take the dative or accusative in Metz.: an√tōt dix "instead of you", dēzaits da pōx "this side of the stream".

C12. Dative and accusative are both used for the complements of verbs, prepositions, and adjectives. When verbs have two objects which do not refer to the same thing, accusative is used for the object acted directly upon [primary object], and dative for the object receiving the benefit or effect of the action [secondary object]: da hot əs ən honən gēm, "He gave it to the dogs." Most transitive verbs, however, take only one object, which is usually in the accusative case: əs kent lēst a meaxenk, "The child is reading a story." A few verbs, such as verbs of naming, may take two accusative objects:

dī hōm zə āna gətāft, "They named her Anna." The following verbs take a dative object: ampatn (antworten), helpn (helfen), drā (drouwen), fatsāi (verziehen), fatrāo (vertruwen), fēln (vaelen), dan̄kn̄ (danken), and gratulien "to congratulate": ix hō da gəampat, "I answered her."

- C13. There are also some less frequent uses of the dative and accusative without prepositions. The subject of an infinitive phrase which is dependent on another verb appears in the accusative [C 27]: bien hōm də f̄gl̄ zinjən gəhøat, "We heard the birds singing." The accusative of place and time can appear without a preposition, as in Standard German: ən gantsn tōk "the whole day", hea^vstaikt halbə laitn, "He climbs half way up the mountain." The dative of interest is often expressed without a preposition: abea hots ma tsəproxn, "Somebody broke it on me." Dative is also used after some adjectives: əs is ma õpəkant, "It is unknown to me."

Prepositions and Conjunctions

- C14. Prepositions indicate the functions or relationships of the nouns or pronouns they govern. All Metz. prepositions precede the words they govern, which are either in the dative or accusative case. A preposition plus the object and its modifiers form a prepositional phrase, which is usually used adverbially or as a predicate

complement: bilst itst fon lēm daløst zāi... "If you want to be freed from life..."

C15. Prepositions governing the accusative exclusively include: an[✓]tōt (an-stete), pos (bis), tuix (durch), om or əm (umbe), ōne "without", zait (sīt) and fa (vür). Prepositions which govern the dative exclusively are: aos (ûz), aosa (ûzen), pai (bî) dēzait (dissīt), jēzait (jensīt), mit (mit), nox (nach), nēm or nēm drō (nēben), trots (traz), foa or farō (vor), fon (von), tsbyšn (zwischen). Some speakers use kēŋ (gegen) with the accusative and some with the dative. The same applies to the preposition tsə (ze, zuo). The prepositions ō, an (an) en (in) henta (hinder), ōp (obe), onta (under), yba (über) and uf (ûf) govern the accusative as in Standard German to indicate a direction or change of position, and the dative to indicate a stable position or a place in which action occurs: kom hentas haos "come behind the house" [accusative], zī bandan en peagan, "They wander in the mountains," [dative].

C16. Prepositions are used idiomatically as complements of verbs, adjectives, and nouns. The preposition and the case it governs have a fixed meaning. Although these constructions are items of vocabulary, a few examples are presented here: dankŋ fa "thank for", hufn fa "hope for", zōŋ uf "say to" with the accusative; denkŋ an "think of", glām an "believe in", faxn foa "be afraid

of", rixn nox "smell like" with the dative. Adjectives associated with prepositional idioms include: Ÿstolts uf "proud of", Ÿſølek uf "guilty of", fōl uf "full of" with the accusative; Ÿſōt fon "too bad about" with the dative. Nouns can also have prepositional complements: freøt uf "joy in" with the accusative, anſt foa "fear of" with the dative.

C17. Prepositions often combine with the following articles to produce assimilated forms: mit + ən = men : men henən "with the hands"; ōp + ən = ōm : ōm tis "on the table". Assimilation of the dative or accusative article ən with a final vowel or n in a preceding preposition results in loss of the article and/or nasalization of the vowel: en ən balt = en balt "in the woods"; pai ən prūda = pāi prūda "by the brother"; ō ən pām = ō pām "against the tree". This disappearance of the article has been extended to other situations where nasals are not a factor: jěžaits reba "across [the] river"; Ÿraips en pyxl āi, "Write it in [the] book." The combination of en (in) with the article əs is pronounced ins, a case where MHG i has not been lowered because the article was already assimilated before lowering occurred in the dialect [A 23]: kom ins haos "Come into the house." The prepositions fa (vür) and foa (vor) often have the MHG consonant r present before a following vowel: fa-r-a box "for a week".

C18. Many prepositions combine with the adverbial element da- [before vowels d̄or-] to form pronominal compounds referring to inanimate objects: dafon "from it"; danox "after it". These can be used adverbially or as verb complements: hea bās dafon, "He knows about it." These compounds can also be used to introduce clauses: zai baip boa krank d̄or̄əm zāi z̄ə dahām ḡəplīm, "His wife was sick, therefore they stayed home."

C19. The Metz. dialect has a number of conjunctions, most of which are used to relate or join clauses and are discussed in C 32. Some of these are also used to relate individual words or phrases as well. The most common of these are ont, on "and"; oba "or", "but"; ās, abī bī (als-wie) "as", "like"; z̄əndan "but instead". A few conjunctions consist of more than one part: entbeda, oba "either, or"; nyšt, nont "nothing, but" noa, nax "only, and": noa šaofl, nax kratza, nax flūgaizn, "only rakes, shovels and plows."

Verbs

C20. The verb expresses an action or state of being and relates the subject to other elements of the sentence. Hence it performs a key function of ordering as well as describing. The verb agrees with the subject in person and number. Transitive verbs may take objects in the accusative or dative cases and several may take more than one object [C 12]: zī kāft ma a klāt, "She is

buying me a dress." Reflexive verbs take reflexive pronouns as objects, indicating that the subject and object are the same [B 12]: hea faxt zix foa ma, "He is afraid of me." Modal verbs and some others take infinitives as objects: ix bolt əs k̄āfn, "I wanted to buy it," hea leant ʎbimən, "He is learning [or teaching] swimming." Verbs expressing a state of being or identity require a predicate complement, which may be a predicate nominative, adjective, adverb, or prepositional phrase: ix hās rōbat, "I am called Robert." ix zai zixa, "I am certain." əs is onta basa, "It is under water." Verbs with separable prefixes have these as verb complements in the present tense and in the imperative: zi frōkt nōx "she asks", nem əs ̄o "take it off" [30].

C21. Expression of the verbal idea is impossible without simultaneously limiting the time and expressing reality or unreality. Time is expressed by the four tenses of the indicative and the two tenses of the subjunctive. Reality and unreality are expressed by the indicative and subjunctive moods respectively. Since these designations are very general, adverbial modifiers are often added to define the time or conditions of the verb more nearly. A conjunction introducing another clause may also act adverbially for this purpose. Tense-time equivalents are represented in Table C 1.

C22. The present tense indicates actual present action as well as action which is habitual or continuing

TABLE C 1. Tense--Time Relationships

Indicative			
Pre-past	Past time	Pres. time	Future time
		<p>← Pres. tense →</p> <p>Pres. tense</p>	
←			→
			← Pres. tense →
			← Pres. tense →
	Past tense		← Future tense →
←	← Pres. tense →		← Future tense →
	← Past tense →		
← Past perf. →			

Subjunctive			
Pre-past	Past time	Pres. time	Future time
		← Pres. tense →	
	← Pres. tense →		
	← Past tense →		

indefinitely: ix oabət heøt, "I am working today." ə s rēnt fort, "It always rains." It may also describe present action that continues into the future: ixa zai nixt mē pai lēm pos mai gəpuetōk, "I will not live till my birthday"; as well as action begun in the past: zī bōt duet zait a box, "She has been living there a week." With adverbs like šon (schône) grōt (gerat) it can express the immediate future: ix gē šon, "I am about to go." Occasionally the present tense is used in narratives to dramatize a sudden happening in the past, as in English or German: uf āmol is a da, "Suddenly he was there."

C23. The past tense has both simple and compound forms [B 38], but both are identical in meaning. The past tense is used for all manner of action occurring in the past, transitory as well as continuous or habitual. It also is the tense for narratives: də huxtsət hot gədaoat fa-r-a box, "The wedding lasted for a week." hea boa grōt hī, "He was just here." Time before past time is expressed by the past perfect. This tense is always used in comparison with the past: də andan boan šon āigəslōfn ben bien zāi gestan ȳmt tsərykomən, "The others had already fallen asleep when we returned last evening."

C24. The future tense exists only as a compound [B 41]. It can express all action which occurs completely in the future. Immediate future can be expressed by the present

tense [C 22]. The modal zoln has come to express the future without adding the idea of obligation: bos zāi zol zol zāi, "What will be, will be." Metz. has no future perfect tense, so the idea of completed action in the future has to be expressed with the future: zī bean esn afoa tos bien doakom̃n, "They will have eaten [lit. they will eat] before we arrive."

C25. Metz. has only one kind of subjunctive, and it corresponds to the Standard German Subjunctive II. Remnants of another subjunctive comparable to the Standard German Subjunctive I exist in expressions like: hōl dix da teøvl, "May the devil take you!" plaips gəzont əs gantsə haos, "May this household be healthy!"

C26. The Metz. subjunctive is used to express contrary-to-fact conditions, suppositions, and uncertainties.

Indicative is used in indirect discourse and after the conjunction op "whether." The present tense subjunctive can be a compound form in the event that the verb has no subjunctive stem, or it can be a simple form [B 4]: bie baiba byen bendl bøšn ben bien bystn bō boam basa bøa⁵

"We women would wash diapers if we knew where warm water was." dōs bøa dīs joa, "That would be this year?" The past subjunctive exists only as a compound. The following sentences illustrate the expression of time in the subjunctive:

present meaning: ben ix a ros het byex raitn
 If I had a horse, I would ride

past meaning: ben ix a ros het gðhōt bøax gðritn
 If I had had a horse, I would have
 ridden

In the last example the present tense ben ix a ros het could have been used in the condition clause without changing the past meaning of the sentence. The present tense of the subjunctive is also used with modals to lend politeness to requests or commands: du mōkst gē, "You may go" more commonly expressed by du kōst gē, indicative; ix bōlt glaixn tsð gē, "I would like to go."⁶

C27. Non-Finite Verb Forms. The participles and the infinitive, parts of the verb which cannot have conjugational endings, are used in forming compound tenses and in other sentence functions. In addition to forming the future and present subjunctive, the infinitive also functions as a verb complement or object. The modals, as well as the verbs lean "learn or teach", and bean (wörden) may have infinitive complements without using the preposition tsð (ze, zuo), whereas some other verbs, such as hufn (hoffen), ōfanjðn (vâhen), glaixn (lîhen), etc., require the infinitive as the object of tsð: zī bil slōfn, "She wants to sleep." hea bit glaixn tsð bysn, "He will like to know." Verbs denoting seeing or hearing may often take a primary object which is the

subject of an infinitive phrase. This infinitive phrase may in turn have its own object: ix hō a bolf gðzē a hōs esn, "I saw a wolf eating a rabbit." When an infinitive is the object of a modal [other than beln or kynðn] or of the verb losn (lâzen) in compound tenses, it occurs at the end of the clause after the non-finite part of the verb, which appears as an infinitive rather than a participle: dī hōm mysn oabðtn, "They had to work" [C 37]. This double infinitive does not occur with verbs other than those mentioned: ix hō zī ziḡðn, gðhøat, "I heard them singing."

C28. Infinitives can be used as subjects in sentences, and when so used they can have objects or modifiers, forming infinitive phrases: dð eat ufgrōm is ųbea, "Digging up the ground is difficult." Very frequently infinitives are used adverbially to indicate purpose, and they usually appear in the postfield: asbī ben zī is en hōma gaḡðn prant holn, "...as if she went to the hammermill to get firewood."

C29. The present participle [B 32] can occur as an adjective or adverb or as a substantive made from an adjective. In either case it is declined like an adjective. a lēbðnda "a living person"; dīs hot a ųteabðnt gðzōkt, "He said this as he was dying." The present participle is used very rarely and cannot be extended by additional modifiers or objects into a phrase as in Standard German.

C30. The past participle [B 33] forms the past, past perfect, and past subjunctive tenses as well as the passive voice. The past participles of verbs with separable prefixes have the prefixes attached: hea is son doagan̄n, "He went there already." The past participle in non-verbal use is much more frequent than the present participle. It occurs mostly as an adjective or a substantive made from an adjective, both following the adjective declension: ə s bo a in da fapōt̄nə tsait, "It was in the forbidden time." ə s boan ext fahairōtn, "There were eight married people."

CHAPTER 2: CLAUSES AND SENTENCES

C31. Clauses and sentences represent a complex level of organization where elements are related to each other by a verb in finite form. In Metz., as in Standard German or English, clauses may be either independent or dependent, according to the way in which they are introduced and structured. Dependent clauses supplement elements in main clauses to which they are usually related by an introductory word, such as a conjunction. As in German or English, a sentence consists of at least one main clause which may have one or more dependent clauses.

C32. Metz. has both co-ordinating conjunctions, after which normal main-clause verb placement occurs, and subordinating conjunctions, after which the verb usually appears at the end of the clause. Co-ordinating conjunctions include: ont, on "and"; azō "so"; oba "or", "but"; ufsan "then"; itstan "now"; zōndan "rather"; uftos "thereupon", fadōs, dōrðm "therefore". Subordinating conjunctions include: ās, asbī, abī "as if"; āsben "as when"; bī "when", "how"; bail "while"; ben "when", "if"; bō "where"; benix "if not"; ta "since"; tos "so that";

afoa tos "before"; dōrə̄m tos "therefore that"; fabos "why"; nōxdem tos "after"; pos tos "until". Word order in subordinate clauses is discussed in C 38.

C33. Metz. has two types of sentences: traditional and Americanized. The traditional remains the most common type and therefore is dealt with more fully here. The traditional sentence has a sentence field in the main clause, and semantic importance is attached to the last elements. The traditional subordinate clause has the conjugated verb in or near the final position. The Americanized sentence type resembles the American English scheme of subject-verb-object-modifications of time and space, with greater importance attached to the sentence anterior. Americanized dependent clauses usually have the verb close to the beginning.

Traditional Main-Clause Word Order

C34. In the traditional sentence the field is usually defined by the two parts of the predicate, such as the verb and its complement, or the inflected and uninflected parts of the verb. The sentence field usually contains the entire predicate idea, including most objects and modifiers. In the imperative as well as some interrogative and declarative sentences, the entire clause is contained within the sentence field: zāi zə̄ nixt aos bāi aosgə̄lāfn, "Didn't they run out of wine?" nem dox a štykl pr̄ot oba a pisl kuxn mit, "Take a piece of bread

or a little cake along!" Most declarative sentences have the subject or some other element in the prefield: ma mus a pisl itstan kraišn, "You have to talk loud now." In past tense declarative sentences the prefield is often left unoccupied in narratives: hōm zə zix pəkōst, zōktn zə bī bean ba zāi hut krīn, "They consulted each other and said, 'How will we get his hat?'" In the present tense, where the verb often occurs as a single word with no complement, the end of the sentence field is often undefined: ix faštē enj nixt, "I don't understand you."

C35. Within the sentence field the usual sequence of elements is: verb--subject [if not in prefield]--secondary object--primary object--verb complement. If an element within the field is given special emphasis, it appears closer to the end of the clause. If one of the objects is a pronoun, it precedes the noun object: āmol hot a rōbat a dōla gēm, "Once he gave Robert a dollar." But: āmol hot a əs rōbat gēm, "Once he gave it to Robert." Adverbial modifiers usually occur close to the verb or at the end of the sentence: bais dox də juṅan abos a pisl, "Show the boys something awhile."

C36. The prefield is most often occupied by the subject in declarative sentences. Other elements, such as clauses, prepositional phrases, adverbs, or objects can occur in the prefield also: løfl hōm zə en štōs gəmaxt, "They made spoons in Stooss."

C37. The sentence postfield is used for most dependent infinitives and their objects: ix busət nixt bos tsə zōŋ, "I didn't know what to say." host du zī gəhəat deøts̥ kōzn, "Did you hear her speaking German?" hea bit əs mesa nemən tsə ʃoafn, "He will take the knife to sharpen it." However if a verb has an accusative object which is the subject of an infinitive having no object, the infinitive can occur within the sentence field: bien hom zə tseatln gəhəat, "We heard her whimpering." When the modals mysn (muoz), zoln (sol), or toan (tar), or the verb losn (lâzen), occurring in the compound tense forms have dependent infinitives, the non-finite part of the verb also appears as an infinitive [C 27]. In this double infinitive it is the main verb which occurs first and the dependent infinitive which follows: da hot losn bysn tos a pø̥s boa, "He let it be known that he was angry." tšarli hot mysn də plūmən trōŋ, "Charlie had to carry the flowers." The postfield is also used for non-verbal elements to a greater extent than in German. Adverbial and prepositional phrases often occur in the postfield: də metsenzaifəna hōm fort ʃpas gəmaxt fon də ȳbadāfa, "The Metzenseifeners always made fun of the Ober-Metzenseifeners." də hont hōm ka maol ufgə̆tō̆ ən gantsn tōk, "The dogs didn't open their mouths all day."

Traditional Subordinate-Clause
Word Order

C38. The subordinate clause is usually introduced by one of the subordinating conjunctions [C 32], by an interrogative pronoun or adverb, such as bea (wër), bos (waz), or bōhea (woher) [B 14, 29], by a relative pronoun [B 15], or a prepositional adverb such as damit (dâ-mit) [C 18]. Clauses introduced by relative pronouns usually follow the nouns they modify, often interrupting the main clause: zai baip dī āx fon duetn boa boa benes✓, "His wife, who was also from there, was Wendish." Other subordinate clauses usually form the pre- or postfields of main clauses. If there is only one verb in the dependent clause, it usually occurs finally: bī lēna ✓ son hie boa, "When Lena was already here." In compound tenses the conjugated verb usually precedes the participle or infinitive: ben z-om dð hont hetn gēm, "If they had given him the dogs..." dī bās nixt bō dī bit bō, "She doesn't know where she will live." More rarely the conjugated verb occurs after the participle or the infinitive as in Standard German: tos ba dð kiex gðmuft hōm, "...that we moved the church." If there is a dependent infinitive, it follows the verb: zai haos dōs a hot losn pāo, "His house which he had built..." [C 37]. Passive verb constructions may have the same word order as the past tense compounds verbs if the auxiliary zai (sein) is used: tos əs ros boa gəstōln✓, "that the horse

was stolen, or more rarely: tos əs ros gəʃtōln boa.
 When the rare auxiliary bean (wörden) is used to form the passive, there are three verb parts which may occur in the patterns: is gəʃtōln boan or is boan gəʃtōln, "was stolen"; bit gəʃtōln bean or bit bean gəʃtōln "will be stolen."

Americanized Word Order

C39. Within the traditional sentence there is a tendency to expand the postfield with predicate modifiers in the form of adverbs and prepositional phrases, so that the non-finite verb or verb complement occurs closer to the conjugated verb. ufsan zai zə komə̃n fon ybadāf mit køap fōl kuxn, "Then they came from Ober-Metzenseifen with baskets full of cake." This tendency exists even among immigrants, but it is more noticeable with first generation speakers, and thus it probably reflects the influence of American English word order: subject--verb--object--predicate modifiers. Patterns of the following type can be considered Americanized sentences: hea hot gəzē̃ a tsigō̃, "He saw a gypsie." However they are not very common.

C40. In subordinate clauses there is a tendency toward main-clause word order: ben a kunə̃t nox zē̃ one glēza, "When he could still see without glasses," tos a hat ən šbaxn oam, "Since he had a weak arm." These clauses have lost the ability to show subordinate meaning by

means of word order, and thus they begin to resemble the patterns of American English clauses.

SUMMARY OF LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENTS AMONG
CLEVELAND AREA SPEAKERS

A dialect-speaking enclave in an expanding American urban area, such as Greater Cleveland, is predestined to an early end. Survival beyond two or three generations is probably not possible for a dialect such as this because of mobility and social pressure to conform to dominant patterns. Since no fluent third-generation speakers could be found, it was impossible to trace the development beyond the second generation.

The immigrants who arrived in the 1870's and 1880's quickly adapted many American English words, such as da fens, da fl̄or, to their phonological system without altering its phonetic structure. One possible phonetic development may have been the changing of the short vowels /e/, /ø/, and /o/ to /i/, /y/, and /u/ respectively, but there is no evidence that this change did not take place in Metzenseifen at that time. According to the data collected by the Sudetendeutsches Wörterbuch and the Deutscher Sprachatlas in the course of the present century there is no such phonemic distinction in short vowels.

It was found in the present study that the speech of an eighty-one-year-old immigrant who arrived in the United States in 1909 was the same in phonetic details as that of a sixty-seven-year-old immigrant who arrived in 1936.

The first generation of Metzenseifen dialect speakers born in the Cleveland area use a more varied phonology and a larger number of loan words than did their parents. One first generation speaker reproduced the sounds and intonation patterns of the parent dialect accurately but used a large number of American English loan words. Another first generation speaker of the same approximate age used almost no loan words but altered many phonological features. The ties of the first generation speakers to their dialect-speaking families and community have been strong, and many have married within their own dialect group or into a similar one. The influence of Standard German learned in high school is not very noticeable among these speakers and does not set them apart from their parents, who also learned Standard German in Metzenseifen. The phonological changes made by first generation speakers must be attributed to the heavily reinforced phonetics of American English. These changes include: 1) replacement of /l/ with ɫ; 2) the use of [ʌ] in place of /r/, usually before all consonants and after stops; 3) the replacement of /šb/ with [šw], [šv] and /tsw/ with [tsv] and /kb/ with [kw] or [kv]; 4) the

unrounding of the short vowels /ø/ and /y/ to [e] and [i] respectively.

Speakers of the second generation who have maintained close ties with their dialect-speaking families and friends have so many phonological features in common with the first generation speakers that they cannot be distinguished as a separate group. They have added a few phonological changes: 1) replacement of /ø/ with the American English ɜ , the vowel sound in "bird"; 2) replacement of the nasal vowels with a long vowel plus n, and sometimes 3) the change of /eø/ to [ai]. Other second generation and most third generation people have lost the ability to speak dialect entirely, or they may use one or two dialect words as loan words in the framework of English, because these words are more colorful and express a shade of meaning not possible in English.

The influence of American English vocabulary occurs in the form of direct word borrowings, such as kāmə̀n "common"; phonetically modified word borrowings, like reba "river", jāt "yard"; and semantic borrowings, such as the use of lāfn (loufen) to mean "operate", "run", and aoslāfn meaning "to be short", "run out". The loan words sur "sure" and mufn "to move" were being used in Metzenseifen itself as late as 1930, according to one immigrant. It is not known how much American English vocabulary was brought back to Metzenseifen, but there

were quite a few families who returned after a few years in the United States. There are also some hybrid words in use, such as hatsbīt "heartbeat" and gəjuzd "used", which crop up in conversations and are easily understood. The trend towards American English borrowings was positively reinforced by the immigrants' willingness to adapt to a new culture. Likewise borrowing of words from Standard German had a long history in Metzenseifen, because Standard German was considered a part of the town's cultural heritage. On the other hand loan words from Hungarian are less frequent, since Hungarian was felt to be outside of the cultural sphere. The inflection of nouns and adjectives has been leveled, and the uses of case after prepositions varies with different speakers. Sentences are often structured on American English modals, with position rather than inflection as a structuring device.

Today in Cleveland Metzenseifeners estimate that there still are about 700 people who can understand their dialect to some extent, but probably not more than 200 who use it frequently. Most of the latter are believed to be over fifty years of age. Cleveland area Metzenseifeners who visited Metzenseifen in 1968 reported the same situation there; in fact the Government of Czechoslovakia is promoting Slovak as a spoken language. Already in the last century and a half, the German mining towns of the Turz-Neutra basin have been totally integrated into the

Slovak population, and there is no reason to believe that this will not happen in the immediate future with Metzenseifen and the Gründner towns.

NOTES: PART A

¹William G. Moulton, The Sounds of English and German (Chicago, 1962), p. 58.

²Theodor Siebs, Deutsche Aussprache, ed. Helmut de Boor, Hugo Moser, Christian Winkler, 19th ed. (Berlin, 1969), p. 58.

³Gedeon notes them, p. 52.

⁴Gedeon, pp. 1-26. Examples of these phonemes are scattered through this section.

⁵Gedeon, p. 22.

⁶Gedeon, p. 24.

⁷Gedeon, p. 27.

⁸Schwarz mentions instances in examples of North Bavarian in Sudetendeutsche Sprachräume, pp. 48-54.

⁹Schwarz, Sudetendeutsche Sprachräume, p. 311.

¹⁰Karl Julius Schröer, "Die Laute der deutschen Mundarten des ungrischen Berglandes" in Wiener Sitzungsberichte (Vienna, 1863), p. 213. He gives the Metzenseifen word gōfutat (gefuotert) as gawîtet. Schwarz mentions the probably extensive use of v for f in Metzenseifen in earlier times in "Probleme", p. 349.

¹¹Schwarz, Sudetendeutsche Sprachräume, p. 311. He suggests that the word nont is the result of Oberzipser (Silesian) influence.

NOTES: PART B

¹Schröer, "Versuch einer Darstellung", p. 266.

²Ernö Lersch, A "Grundler" Nyelvjárás Alaktani Sajatsagai (Kolozsvár, 1904), p. 15.

³In the Deutscher Sprachtlas Text zur 5. Lieferung (Marburg, Lahn, 1956), p. 215, ea is given as an Ober-Metzenseifen form of hea, but this is due to a misreading of the longhand d used in the questionnaire, sentence 5, from which the Text compiled. The demonstrative dea was intended.

⁴However Lersch, p. 17, has examples of mai without endings in the nominative singular.

⁵In this case the diphthong ai is traceable to a loss of the stem consonant b in MHG times, with resulting diphthongization in the 2nd. and 3rd. sing. forms.

NOTES: PART C

¹This rare word is also recorded in the unpublished dictionary material of the Sudetendeutsches Wörterbuch in the vocabulary of an Unter-Metzenseifener, A. Göbl. Pages not numbered.

²The preposition uf written of occurs in the unpublished dictionary material of the Sudetendeutsches Wörterbuch, in the vocabulary of A. Göbl. No page number available.

³Note the use of the dative personal pronoun for the accusative. See B 11.

⁴This could probably be accusative as well.

⁵A traditional Metzenseifen tongue-twister.

⁶glaixn (lîhen) is in verb class 1 and preserves the MHG meaning "to like".

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

EXAMPLES OF FOLK LITERATURE IN
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

APPENDIX I

EXAMPLES OF FOLK LITERATURE IN
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

Two Folk Stories About
Ober-Metzenseifen

1.

ȳbadāf¹ hat āx a kiex. əs boa āmol gəʃš̄ə də
ȳbadāfa boltn də kiex mufn. hom zə zix tsəhāf gənoməɳ on
hōm zə an āna zait ɔ̄faɳəɳ tsə ʃtōsn. uf āmol zōkt a
ȳbadāfa bī bean bien bysn tos ba də kiex gəmuft hōm?
zōkt da andrə dōs is gans laixt. bie bean prōt prøklɳ.
on da andrəɳ zait bea-ba a līne maxn mit prōtprøkl. on
ben bien hōm də kiex gəmuft tos zə uf əs prōt stēt [bea-ba
bysn] bī bait bie hōm də kiex gəmuft. hōm prōt gəprøklɳ.
ufsan zāi zə an da andan zait² gaɳəɳ, hom zə ɔ̄faɳəɳ tsə
ʃtōsn. bī zə gəʃtōsn hōm, zāi fə̄gl koməɳ, hom zə əs prōt
gesn. bī də ȳbadāfa a bail gəʃtōsn hōm, uf āmol is āna
gaɳəɳ an da andan zait, ont zōkta, bien hōm də kiex ʃon
gəmuft, əs³ ʃtēt ʃon uf ən prōt.

The Ober-Metzenseifeners also had a church. Once
it happened that the Ober-Metzenseifeners wanted to move

the church. They gathered together along one side and began to push. Suddenly an Ober-Metzenseifener said, "How will we know that we have moved the church?" Another said, "That's simple: we'll crumble bread, and along the other side we'll make a line of bread crumbs. And when we have moved the church so that it stands on the bread, [we will know] how far we have moved the church." They crumbled bread. Then they went on the other side and began to push. As they were pushing [some] birds came and ate the bread. After the Ober-Metzenseifeners had been pushing a while, suddenly one went on the other side and said, "We have already moved the church; it is already standing on the crumbs!"

2.

ont āmol is grōs gābaksn uf ðn dax fon da kiex, bos zð mit eat gādekt hatn. dōs hat om nixt gut aosgāzē. boltn zð ðs grōs mē. dī bustn oba nixt bī zð-s maxn zoln. zōkt āna, bie bean a kū op ðs dax tū ont dð kū bit ðs grōs fresn. hōm zð a kū op s dax gāhōm, ont dð kū hot s grōs gāfresn. bī zð oba dð kū rō boltn preŋðn, hōm zð gāzē, tos dð kū zix het faletst ben zð rōsprīŋt. zōkt āna, bie bean fēdapētn preŋðn, bean bie uf dð eat tū, tos dð kū kō uf dð fēdapētn sprīŋðn. zāi zð alð gaŋðn, hōm zð fēdapētn gā prōxt. itsdan dð raixn hatn dð pestn fēdapētn ont di boltn zð nixt uf dð eat dekn. hōm dð raixn dð oamðn gāzōkt dī zoln irð fēdapētn uf dð eat

ʒstrā, ont dī bean irə fēdapētn ȯmuf dekn. dōs hom zə
 gəmaxt. den is āna ȯ⁴ dax gəklētət, bolt a də kū rōštōsn.
 bī də kū hot gəzē tos zə mus ʒprinjən hot zə en enstn ȯm⁴
 raixn fēdapētn gəʒisn. ufsan is zə rōgəʒsprunjən.

And once grass was growing on the roof of the
 church, which they had covered with earth. That didn't
 look good to them. They wanted to mow the grass, but they
 didn't know how they should do it. One said, "We will put
 a cow on the roof, and the cow will eat the grass." They
 lifted a cow onto the roof, and the cow ate the grass.
 But when they wanted to bring the cow down, they saw that
 the cow would [have] hurt itself if it jumped [lit. jumps]
 down. Somebody said, "We'll bring featherbeds [which]
 we'll put down on the ground, so that the cow can jump
 into the featherbeds. Now the rich had the best feather-
 beds, and they didn't want to put them on the dirt. The
 rich told the poor [that] they should spread their
 featherbeds on the ground and they [the rich] would put
 their featherbeds on top. They did that. Then somebody
 climbed on the roof and wanted to push the cow down. When
 the cow saw that it had [lit. has] to jump, it shit out of
 fear onto the rich peoples' featherbeds. Then it jumped
 down.

¹A colloquial name for Ober-Metzenseifen.

²This speaker inconsistently uses both dative and accusative after prepositions where motion is described.

³The neuter pronoun can be used regardless of the gender of the antecedent [C 5].

⁴om < MHG obe + dem. [C 17]. Also see note 1.

Two Nursery Rhymes

1.

patš^ˇi patš^ˇi kuxn

pexa hot gðrufn

bea bil guta kuxn maxn

dea mus hōm dīzð zaxn

zalts šmalts pota mēl

zafrō maxt dð kuxn gēl

Pat-a-cake, pat-a-cake

The baker called:

Whoever wants to make good cakes

Has to have these things:

Salt, lard, butter, flour,

Safron makes the cakes yellow.

2.

hopa tsopa tideleō

ðs ketsl hot a peltsa ō

da bōfrð šnaida hots gðnēt

da hot ðs raoð raosgðdrēt

Hopa tsopa tideleō,

The kitty has a fur coat on.

What kind of tailor made it?

He turned the rough side outside!

APPENDIX II

INFORMANTS

APPENDIX II

INFORMANTS

The twelve informants used in this study are: Father John Gruss, Richard Wagner, Viktor Eiben, Lucy and Viola Meder, Emaline Antel Rolfe, Mary and Michael Gedeon, Anna and Kasper Schmidt, and Agnes and Robert Glosner. Of these six are immigrants, four are first generation and two are second generation. Two of those considered here as immigrants were born in Cleveland, Ohio but returned with their families to live in Metzenseifen as children. The information in documentary form used with the permission of the Sudetendeutsches Wörterbuch was written by their informants, Dr. Andreas Göbl and Viktor Schmotzer, who emigrated to Augsburg and Darmstadt, Germany respectively. The Wenkersätze obtained from the Deutscher Sprachatlas were written by their informants Julius Gedeon of Unter-Metzenseifen and Grenzer Vendel of Ober-Metzenseifen. The following two paragraphs provide some background information about the two principal informants used in this study. Information about all twelve informants is outlined in Table D 1.

Father John Gruss is a Roman Catholic Priest at St. Michael's Church in Cleveland. He was born in Cleveland in 1906 of parents who immigrated in 1887, and he represents the first generation of Cleveland speakers. He spoke dialect exclusively until the age of six, and later used English and Latin, but he never studied German. Father Gruss has a B.A. degree in education and sixteen years of theological study. He currently uses dialect among friends and often with his brother. He also has devised his own script for writing notes to himself in dialect.

Richard Wagner also represents the first generation born in Cleveland. He is a retired Police Chief for the City of Cleveland, fifty-eight years of age. His parents emigrated from Metzenseifen to Cleveland in 1886. As a child he spoke dialect almost exclusively until he entered school at six years. He has had two years of college and speaks German and French besides English. He has used dialect often throughout most of his life but only rarely in the past few years.

TABLE D 1. Informants

Name	Age in 1970	Came to U.S.	Occupation
Immigrants:			
1. Viktor Eiben	78	1922 ¹	retired maintainance director
2. Emaline Antel Rolfe	80	1927 ²	retired teacher
3. Michael Gedeon	81	1906	retired trucking supervisor
4. Mary Gedeon	78	1910	housewife
5. Kasper Schmidt	67	1936	carpenter
6. Anna Schmidt	65	1936	housewife
First Generation:			
7. John Gruss	63		priest
8. Richard Wagner	58		retired police chief
9. Robert Glosner	61		upholsterer
10. Agnes Glosner	60		housewife, clerk
Second Generation:			
11. Viola Meder	63		librarian
12. Lucy Meder	58		secretary

¹He was born in Cleveland in 1892 and return to Metzenseifen as an infant. He left at the age of fourteen to study at Pula, Yugoslavia.

²Though born in the United States, she spent 1912-27 in Metzenseifen.

TABLE D 1. (cont'd.)

Education	Other Languages Besides English
1. German naval academy degree in engineering	German, Italian, French, Hungarian, Rumanian, some Gypsie dialects
2. M.A. in German	German, Spanish, French
3. grade school	some German and Hungarian
4. grade school	some German and Hungarian
5. apprenticeship in Metzenseifen	some German and Hungarian
6. grade school	some German and Hungarian
7. B.A. in education, graduate study in theology	Latin
8. 2 years of college, police training	German, French
9. high school	...
10. high school	...
11. B.A. in library science	German, Spanish, French
12. business college	some German, French



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