

„ds beschte Daitsch wo s gib:“
Variation in the use of the wo-relativizer
in Swabian German

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October 18-21, 2018

Common usage of the particle *wo*

Interrogative adverb:

wo warn mr dabei?

'where were we in the process?'

(Herbert-82)

Locative adverb:

Schwââbe bleibet gern dâ *wo* se gebore sin

'Schwabs like to stay there where they are born'

(Angela-17)

Temporal adverb:

am Ãfang *wo* se sich kenneglernt

'in the beginning when they met each other'

(Jurgen-82)

Relative pronoun:

ds beschte Daitsch *wo* s gib

'the best German that there is'

(Angela-82)

Research Questions

1. What are the internal and external factors influencing the usage of *wo* as a relative marker in Swabian German?
2. Is the usage of the *wo*-relative marker stable or changing and what are the drivers and/or inhibitors of the change?

Selected Research

English relatives:

- Romaine (1982)
- Ball (1984)
- Guy & Bayley (1995)
- Tagliamonte (2002)
- Tagliamonte, Smith, Lawrence (2005)
- D'Arcy & Tagliamonte (2010)
- Hinrichs, Szmercani & Bohmann (2015)

German relatives:

- Wiese (1917)
- Fleischer (1977 & 2004)
- Bayer (1984)
- Pittner (1995 & 2004)
- Günthner (2002)
- de Vries (2002)
- Brandner & Bräuning (2013)
- Poschmann & Wagner (2016)

Relative Clauses Defined

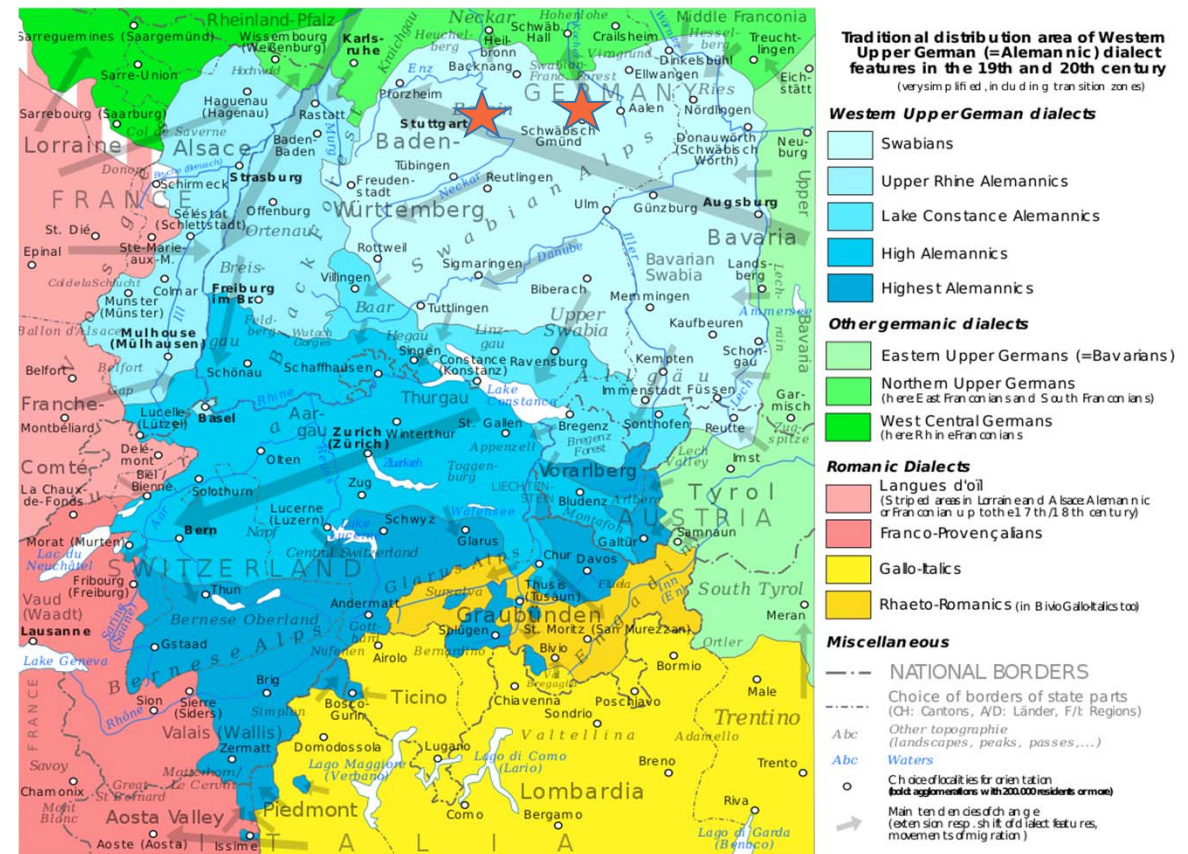
- De Vries (2002:14-15) offers the following “defining” properties of relative clauses:
 - a. a subordinated clause disambiguated in German by verb-final syntactic structure
 - b. “connected to surrounding material by a pivot constituent, a constituent semantically shared by the matrix clause and the relative clause.”
- An additional “essential” property of relative constructions is:
 - c. “the semantic θ -role and the syntactic role that the pivot constituent plays in the relative clause, are in principle independent of its roles outside the relative.”

Swabian

Swabian or **Schwäbisch** is a High German dialect, belonging to the Alemannic family, spoken by just over 800,000 people.

Two communities:

- Stuttgart area
- Schwäbisch Gmünd



Two Speech Communities



Swabian Attitudes – Loved or Loathed

von dem her war i mal typisch, und zum Glück nimme so arg, ... wer schwäbisch versteht, mã legt sich hin ... brutal.

‘at that time I was typical [Swabian], and luckily not so anymore ... those who understand Swabian, have to laugh ... brutal’

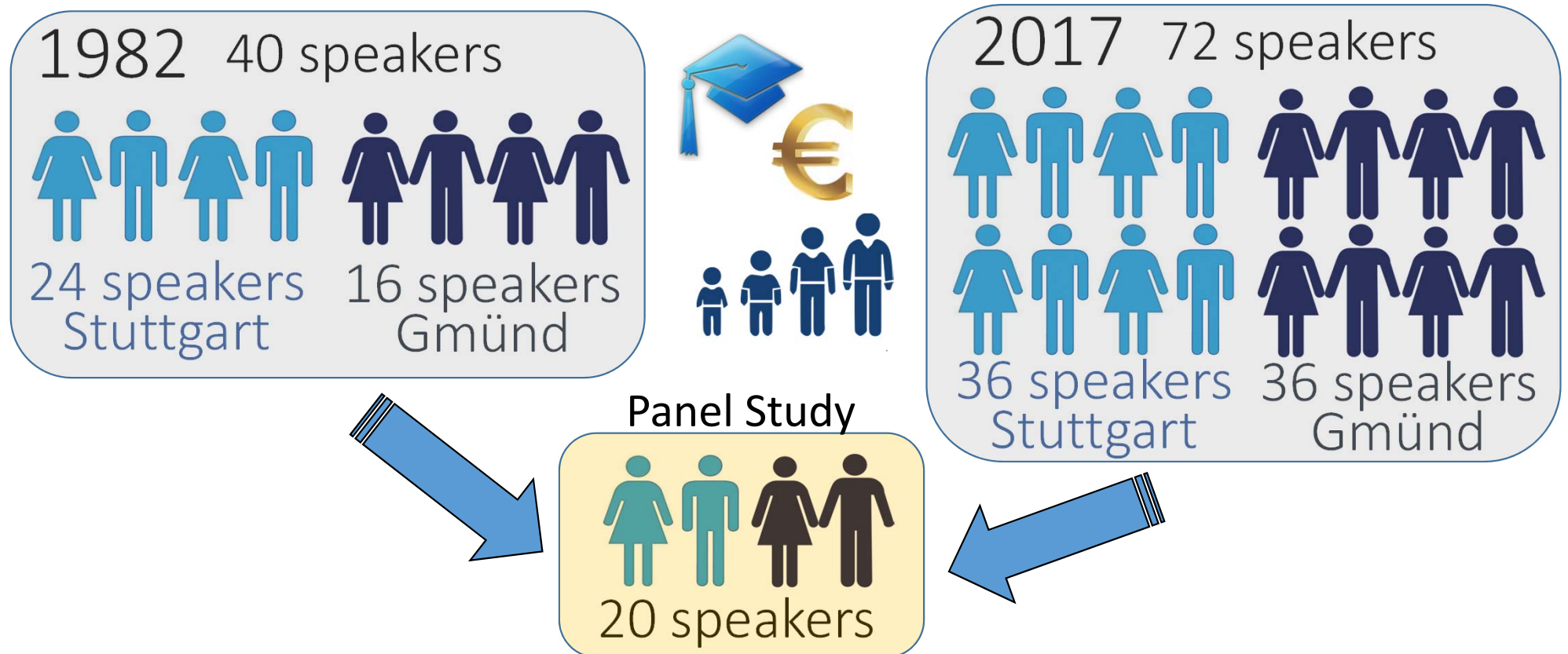
(Pepin-17)

wenn i Urschwâbe hör, also die mã gar ned versteht, des denkt mã immer, des isch e Fremdsprache ja, ... muss mã halt manchmal de Kopf schüttle, aber so find i des ... kôî schlimme Sprach ... i find e Dialekt isch nie schlecht

‘if I hear old-Swabian, that you can’t even understand, then you always think, that’s a foreign language, yeah, ... sometimes you have to shake your head, but I don’t think it’s a bad language ... I think a dialect is never bad.’

(Bertha-82)

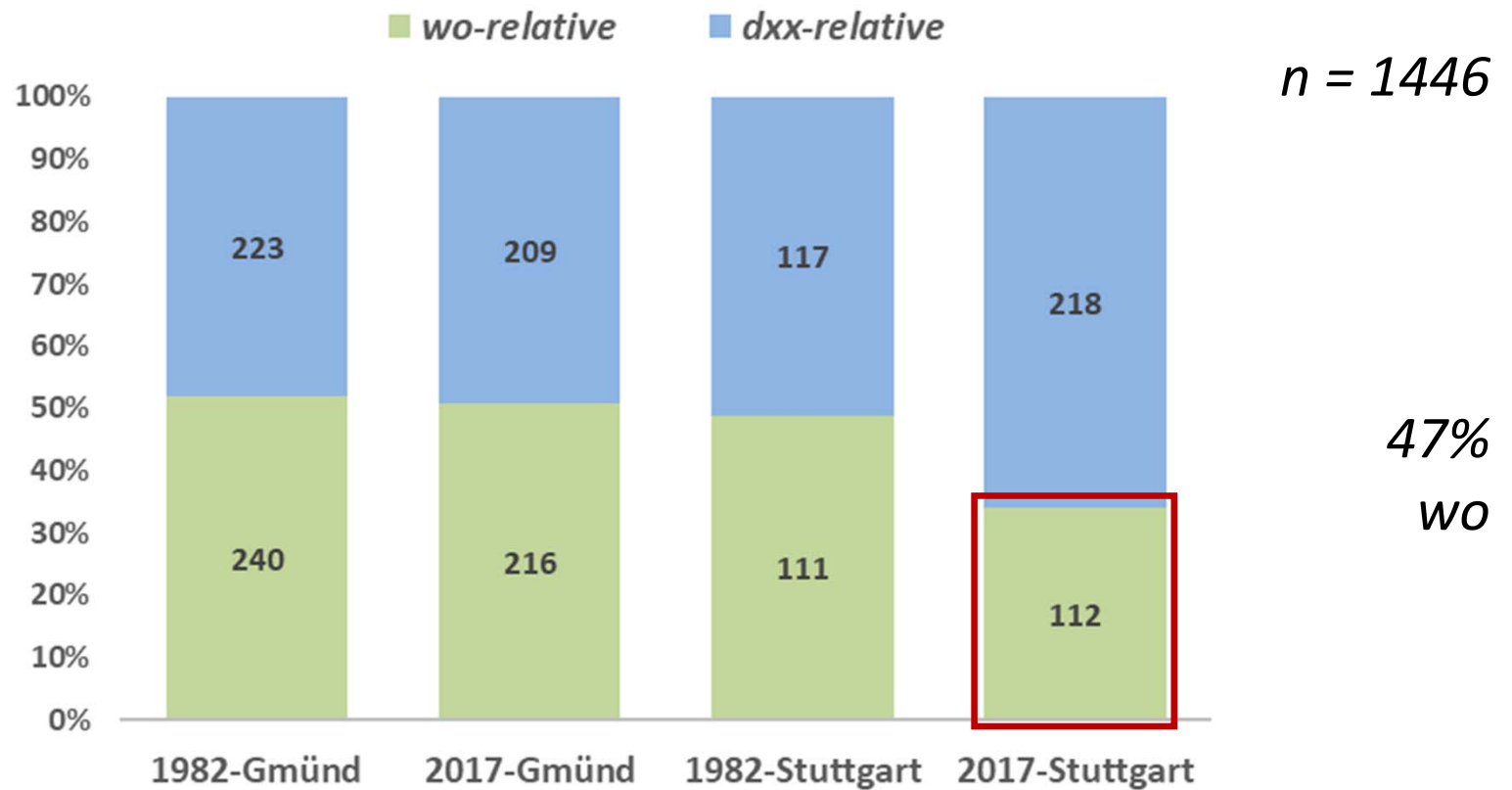
Corpus – Trend & Panel Study



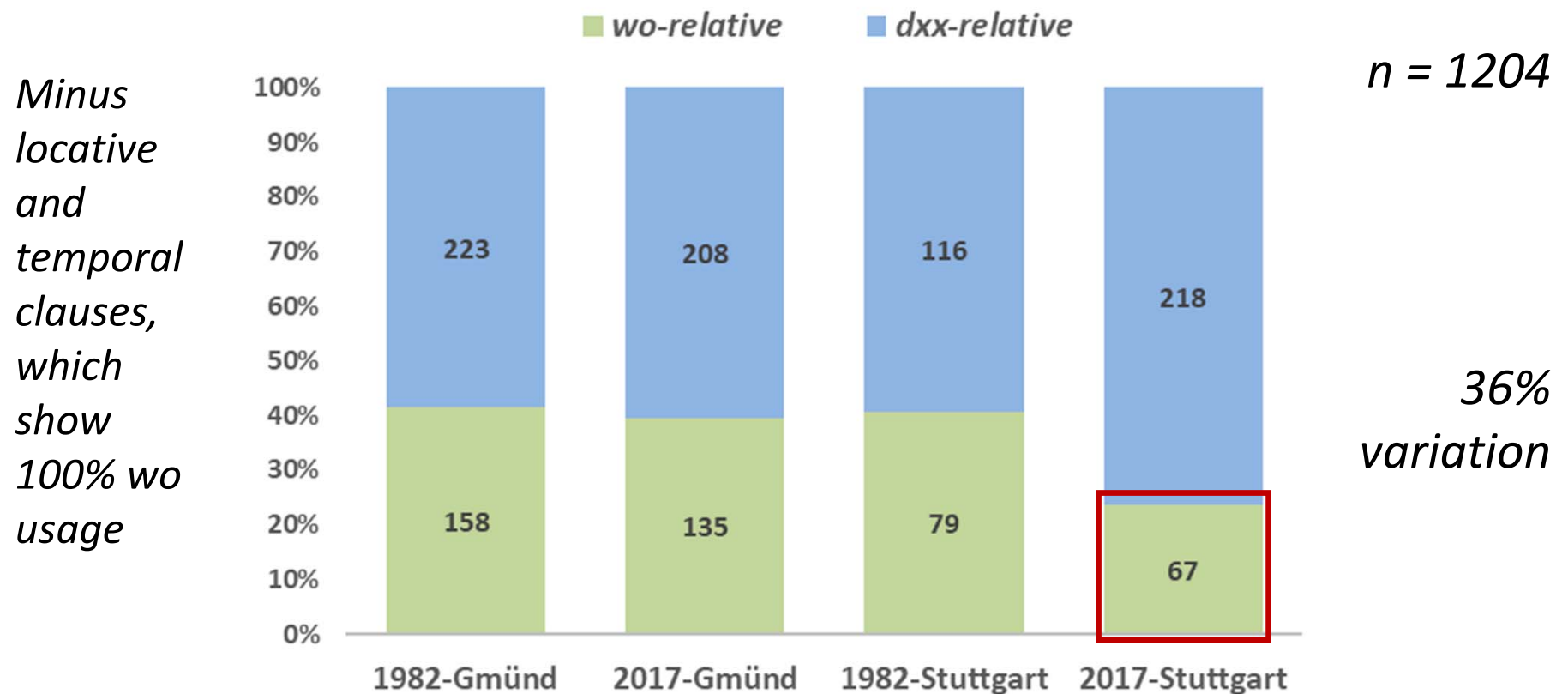
Methods

- **Sociolinguistic Interviews**
 - Labovian-style, casual interview questions
 - Same interview instrument used in 1982 and 2017
- **Transcription/Annotation**
 - Native Swabian speakers
 - Transcription Guidelines and Swabian Orthography
 - Reviewed/Corrected by Principal Investigator
- **Quantitative Analyses**
 - Frequency analyses
 - Generalized Linear Mixed Models with Random Effects (GLMER)

Corpus – Relative Pronoun Usage



Corpus – Relative Pronoun Usage



Restrictive versus Non-Restrictive

Type	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%wo</i>
Restrictive	434	749	1,183	37%
Non-Restrictive	5	16	21	24%
TOTAL	439	765	1,204	36%

Schwäbisch Gmünd:

Type	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%wo</i>
Restrictive	290	417	707	41%
Non-Restrictive	3	14	17	18%
TOTAL	293	431	724	40%

Stuttgart:

Type	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%wo</i>
Restrictive	144	332	476	30%
Non-Restrictive	2	2	4	50%
TOTAL	146	334	480	30%

Relatives by Case and Community

Case	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	<i>Total</i>	% <i>wo</i>
Nominative	161	564	725	22%
Accusative	86	136	222	39%
Dative+Genitive	192	65	257	75%
TOTAL	439	765	1,204	36%



Schwäbisch Gmünd:

Case	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	<i>Total</i>	% <i>wo</i>
Nominative	111	292	403	28%
Accusative	63	98	161	39%
Dative+Genitive	119	41	160	74%
TOTAL	293	431	724	40%

Stuttgart:

Case	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	<i>Total</i>	% <i>wo</i>
Nominative	50	272	322	16%
Accusative	23	38	61	38%
Dative+Genitive	73	24	97	75%
TOTAL	146	334	480	30%

Subject and Non-subject Relatives

n=1204

1982 Schwäbisch Gmünd:

Case	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	Total	% <i>wo</i>
Subject	78	155	233	33%
Non-Subject	80	68	148	54%
TOTAL	158	223	381	41%

2017 Schwäbisch Gmünd:

Case	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	Total	% <i>wo</i>
Subject	33	137	170	19%
Non-Subject	102	71	173	59%
TOTAL	135	208	343	39%

1982 Stuttgart:

Case	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	Total	% <i>wo</i>
Subject	36	94	130	28%
Non-Subject	43	22	65	66%
TOTAL	79	116	195	41%

2017 Stuttgart:

Case	<i>wo</i>	<i>dxx</i>	Total	% <i>wo</i>
Subject	14	178	192	7%
Non-Subject	53	40	93	57%
TOTAL	67	218	285	24%

Resumptive ‘wo’ in Decline

- Resumptive Relatives

*des seid die Faule-Weiber-Spätzle, **die wo** durch Press dorchdricket*
 ‘they are the lazy-wife-spätzle, **those that** they put through the press’ (Ema-82)

- Change from Above

Across both communities, resumptive relatives pronouns are in stark decline, largely influenced stigmatization and increasing levels of education

	1982		2017	
	Gmünd	Stuttgart	Gmünd	Stuttgart
all relatives	381	195	343	285
resumptive <i>wo</i>	34	22	9	7
% of <i>wo</i> -relatives	9%	11%	3%	2%

n = 1204

Internal Predictors Considered (1/3)

- **Restrictiveness:** restrictive (defining, essential, specifying, propositional information) or non-restrictive (non-essential, amplifying, supplementary, parenthetical information) (Tagliamonte et al. 2005; D'Arcy & Tagliamonte 2010; Cheshire, Adger, Fox 2013)
- **Place:** antecedent refers to a specific physical place (e.g., location) or to an abstract notion of place (e.g., in school, behind the house)
- **Time:** antecedent refers to a specific date or time or to an abstract notion of time (e.g., before, after, later)
- **Antecedent Category:** grammatical category of the antecedent head, e.g., noun, pronoun, adverbial, etc. (Tagliamonte et al. 2005; Tottie & Harvie 2000)
- **Antecedent Case** and **Relative Case:** nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, adverbial

Internal Predictors Considered (2/3)

- **Resumptive**: use of two relative markers, both a *d*-pronoun and the *wo* relative together
- **Animacy**: animate (living, ambulatory things (humans, animals, robots)) or inanimate (non-living, immobile things (plants, concepts))
- **Humanness**: human or non-human antecedent (D'Arcy & Tagliamonte 2010)
- **Definiteness (grammatical)**: definite (antecedent contains a definite article, demonstrative or possessive pronoun, numeral, proper name) or indefinite
- **Specificity (semantic)**: specific (a particular item(s), concept(s), people/person) or non-specific (some item(s), concept(s), person/people)

Internal Predictors Considered (3/3)

- **Concreteness:** concrete (specific, particular thing(s) or group(s), concept(s)) or abstract (possible, universal thing(s) or group(s), concepts(s))
- **Tangibleness:** tangible (physically visible and touchable) or intangible (non-visible, non-physical, non-touchable)
- **Structural Persistence:** same relativiser used previously to the current one or different relativiser used previously to the current one
- **Structural Count:** number of clauses since the last relative clause (for Structural Persistence)
- **Relative Clause Length:** number of words in the relative clause
- **Antecedent Length:** number of words in the antecedent
- **Antecedent Distance:** number of words between antecedent and relativiser

Internal Predictors Evaluated for wo-relatives

SIGNIFICANT:

- Relativiser case
- Animacy
- Definitiveness
- Place (abstract)
- Antecedent distance

NOT SIGNIFICANT:

- Restrictiveness
- Case matching
- Resumptive
- Specificity
- Concreteness
- Tangibleness
- Humanness
- Preceding relativiser
- Relative clause length
- Structural persistence

ELIMINATED:

- Place (physical)
- Time

BORDERLINE:

- Antecedent category
- Antecedent case
- Antecedent length
- Structural count

External Predictors Considered

- **Recording year:** 1982 or 2017
- **Speech community:** Stuttgart or Schwäbisch Gmünd
- **Speaker age:** continuous variable from 18 to 88
- **Speaker sex:** self-reported values: male or female
- **Sex of speaker and interviewer:** same sex or different sex
- **Speaker education:** university degree or no university degree
- **Speaker occupation:** managerial or non-managerial
- **Swabian orientation:** continuous variable from 1 to 5

External Predictors Evaluated for *wo*-relatives

SIGNIFICANT:

- Recording year
- Speech community
- Speaker education
- Speaker occupation

NOT SIGNIFICANT:

- Speaker age
- Speaker sex
- Speaker / interviewer same sex
- Swabian orientation

Multivariate Analysis – Main Effects

NOTES:

- *Positive estimates (high probabilities) favor wo-relatives*
- *Negative estimates (low probabilities) disfavor wo-relatives;*
- *Significance Levels:*
 *** 0.001
 ** 0.010
 * 0.050

PREDICTORS	values	estimate	probability	p-value	sig
Model intercept		-0.370	40.8%	0.436	
<i>INTERNAL:</i>					
Place	abstract	2.013	88.2%	0.001	***
Relativizer case	dative	2.817	94.4%	0.000	***
Definiteness	definite	0.593	64.4%	0.001	***
Antecedent distance	less	-0.454	38.8%	0.000	***
Animacy	animate	-0.302	42.5%	0.236	
<i>EXTERNAL:</i>					
Education level	university	-1.357	20.5%	0.000	***
Recording Year	2017	0.066	51.7%	0.862	
Community	Stuttgart	0.088	52.2%	0.903	

Multivariate Analysis – Interaction Effects

NOTES:

- *Positive estimates
(high probabilities)
favor wo-relatives*
- *Negative estimates
(low probabilities)
disfavor wo-relatives;*
- *Significance Levels:*
 - *** 0.001
 - ** 0.010
 - * 0.050

PREDICTORS	values	estimate	probability	p-value	sig
<i>INTERACTION EFFECTS:</i>					
Animate + Relative Case	nominative	-1.582	17.1%	0.000	***
2017 + Relative Case	dative	2.170	89.8%	0.000	***
2017 + Place	abstract	-1.954	14.0%	0.015	*
2017 + Community	Stuttgart	-0.160	46.0%	0.722	
2017 + Animate	Gmünd	-0.308	42.4%	0.451	
2017 + Animate	Stuttgart	-1.288	21.6%	0.008	**

Multivariate Analysis – Summary Statistics

<i>RANDOM EFFECTS:</i>		
Speaker	2.049	88.6%
<i>SUMMARY STATISTICS:</i>		
# of relatives (n)	1204	
# of speakers	20	
% correctly predicted	83.5%	
baseline %	64.0%	
concordance index	0.899	

Multivariate Analysis – Community Statistics

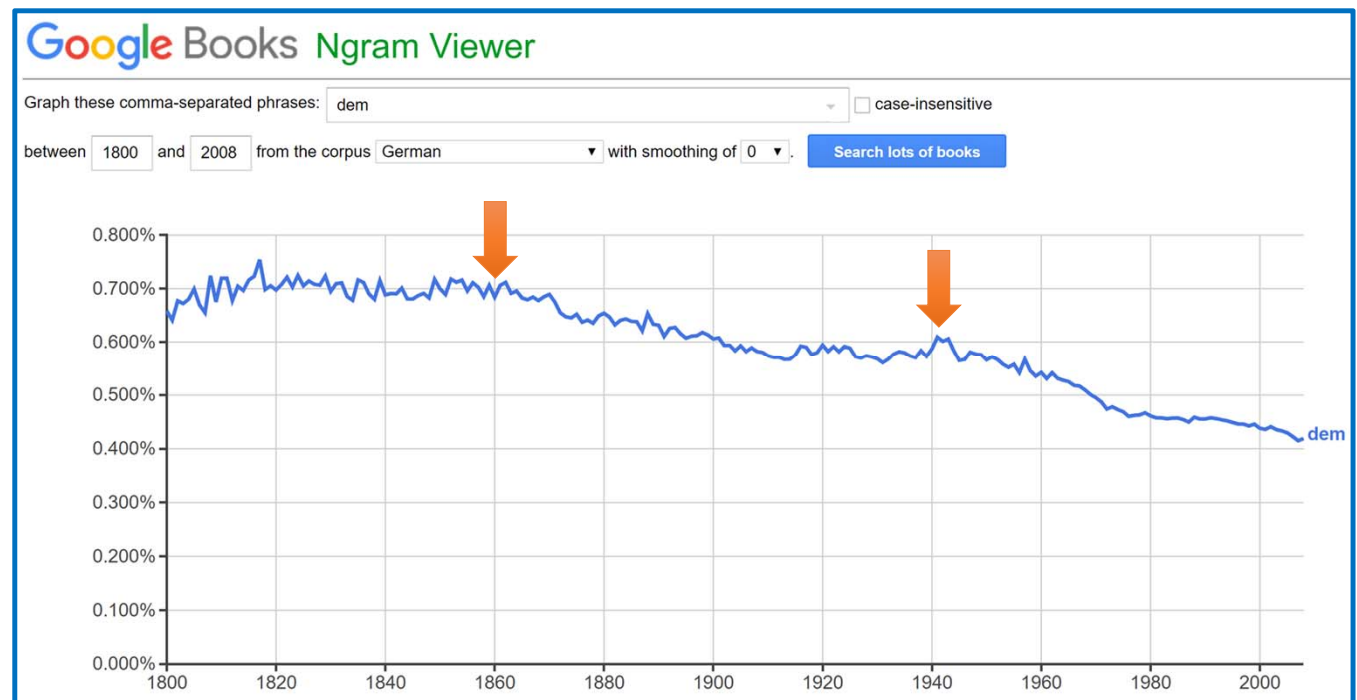
	Predictor Name	Schwäbisch Gmünd				Stuttgart			
		estimate	probability	% wo	n sig lvl	estimate	probability	% wo	n sig lvl
NOTES: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Positive estimates (high probabilities) favor wo-relatives</i> • <i>Negative estimates (low probabilities) disfavor wo-relatives;</i> • <i>Significance Levels:</i> *** 0.001 ** 0.010 * 0.050 	Year: 1982	-0.432	0.394	41.5%	381	-0.467	0.385	40.5%	195
	Year: 2017	-0.729	0.325	39.4%	343	-1.989	0.120	23.5%	285
	Education: no university	-0.322	0.420	43.3%	503	-0.433	0.394	39.3%	305
	Education: university	-1.144	0.242	33.9%	221	-3.004	0.047	14.9%	175 *
	Relativizer case: nominative	-1.393	0.199	27.5%	403	-2.283	0.093	15.5%	322
	Relativizer case: accusative	-1.017	0.266	39.1%	161	-1.604	0.167	37.7%	61 .
	Relativizer case: dative	1.966	0.877	74.8%	159 ***	1.991	0.880	77.7%	94 ***
	Animacy: animate	-1.182	0.235	31.6%	399	-2.362	0.086	17.7%	288
	Animacy: inanimate	0.175	0.544	51.4%	325 *	0.117	0.529	49.5%	192 ***
	Definiteness: definite	-0.283	0.430	44.7%	235	-0.571	0.361	40.3%	176
	Definiteness: indefinite	-0.713	0.329	38.4%	489 *	-1.833	0.138	24.7%	304 ***
	Place: abstract	2.495	0.924	87.3%	63	2.773	0.941	93.8%	32
	Place: no	-0.865	0.296	36.0%	661 ***	-1.666	0.159	25.9%	448 ***
	Antecedent distance: <=1 word	-0.529	0.371	42.1%	392	-1.374	0.202	28.6%	262
	Antecedent distance: 2-3 words	-0.047	0.488	44.4%	153 ***	-0.570	0.167	37.0%	108 .
	Antecedent distance: >=4 words	-1.120	0.246	33.5%	179 ***	-2.147	0.105	28.2%	110 ***

Multivariate Analysis – Community Statistics

	Schwäbisch Gmünd					Stuttgart				
	Predictor Name	estimate	probability	% wo	n sig lvl	estimate	probability	% wo	n sig lvl	
NOTES: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Positive estimates (high probabilities) favor wo-relatives</i> • <i>Negative estimates (low probabilities) disfavor wo-relatives</i> • <i>Significance Levels:</i> *** 0.001 ** 0.010 * 0.050 	1982 + Nominative case	-1.030	0.263	33.5%	233	-1.086	0.252	27.7%	130	
	1982 + Accusative case	-0.419	0.397	47.0%	66	-1.252	0.222	33.3%	21	
	1982 + Dative case	1.297	0.785	60.5%	81	1.736	0.850	81.8%	44	
	2017 + Nominative case	-1.891	0.131	19.4%	170	-3.093	0.043	7.3%	192 *	
	2017 + Accusative case	-1.433	0.193	33.7%	95	-1.789	0.143	40.0%	40	
	2017 + Dative case	2.660	0.935	89.7%	78 .	2.216	0.902	74.0%	50	
	1982 + Abstract place	3.146	0.959	88.5%	26	3.127	0.958	100.0%	18	
	1982 + Non-place	-0.694	0.333	38.0%	355 **	-0.832	0.303	34.5%	177 **	
	2017 + Abstract place	2.038	0.885	86.5%	37	2.319	0.910	85.7%	14	
	2017 + Non-place	-1.064	0.257	33.7%	306 **	-2.211	0.099	20.3%	271 ***	
	1982 + Animate	-0.882	0.293	35.6%	225	-1.086	0.252	28.7%	115	
	1982 + Inanimate	0.217	0.554	50.0%	156	0.424	0.604	57.5%	80	
	2017 + Animate	-1.571	0.172	26.4%	174	-3.210	0.039	10.4%	173	
	2017 + Inanimate	0.137	0.534	52.7%	169 .	-0.102	0.475	43.8%	112 *	
	Animate + Nominative case	-1.485	0.185	28.8%	292	-2.558	0.072	14.3%	245	
	Animate + Accusative case	-1.301	0.214	25.5%	47	-2.665	0.065	21.1%	19	
	Animate + Dative case	0.426	0.605	50.8%	59 **	0.212	0.553	54.5%	22 ***	
	Inanimate + Nominative case	-1.152	0.240	24.3%	111	-1.405	0.197	19.5%	77	
	Inanimate + Accusative case	-0.900	0.289	44.7%	114	-1.124	0.245	45.2%	42	
	Inanimate + Dative case	2.874	0.947	89.0%	100 ***	2.535	0.927	84.7%	72 ***	

Summary Findings and Discussion

- *wo*-relatives are favored:
 - in *dative* case



Summary Findings and Discussion

- *wo*-relatives are favored:
 - in *dative* case
 - in abstract notions of *place*

Wo versus So

1. *so*-relatives were widespread in the same area as the *wo*-relatives, Upper German dialect areas.
2. *wo*-relatives started appearing in the literature about the same time that *als* changed to *wie*.
3. *som*-relatives are found in other German and Scandinavian varieties.
4. *wo* as an equative particles provides an explanation for its use in both non-restrictive clauses and as a doubly filled complementizer.

Summary Findings and Discussion

- *wo*-relatives are avored:
 - in *dative* case
 - in abstract notions of *place*
 - with *definite* antecedents
- In Gmünd in 2017, *wo*-relatives are more strongly avored:
 - in *dative* case
- *wo*-relatives are disavored:
 - with *animate* antecedents
 - less antecedent *distance*
 - with higher levels of *education*
- In Stuttgart 2017, *wo*-relatives are more strongly disavored:
 - referring to a physical *place*
 - with *animate* antecedents

Conclusions

- ***German urban/rural divide***

- Stuttgart dialect has become more standardized (a developing Regiolect), while the Gmünder dialect has retained more traditional features

- ***Historical-comparative context***

- wo*-relatives developed from the ENHG complementizer *so*, which could explain the differing constraints from *d*-relativizers

- ***Emerging Stuttgart Ethnolect***

- Exceptionally high use of *wo*-relatives among Stuttgarter immigrants to the exclusion of *d*-relatives

- ***Education and prescriptivism***

- Higher levels of education suppress speakers' choice for non-standard variants

Thank you!

SPECIAL THANKS TO:

**Peter Auer, Harald Baayen, Jenny Cheshire, James Garrett,
Gregory Guy, Konstantin Sering, and Fabian Tomaschek**

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