

## 5 Central Franconian

G. Newton

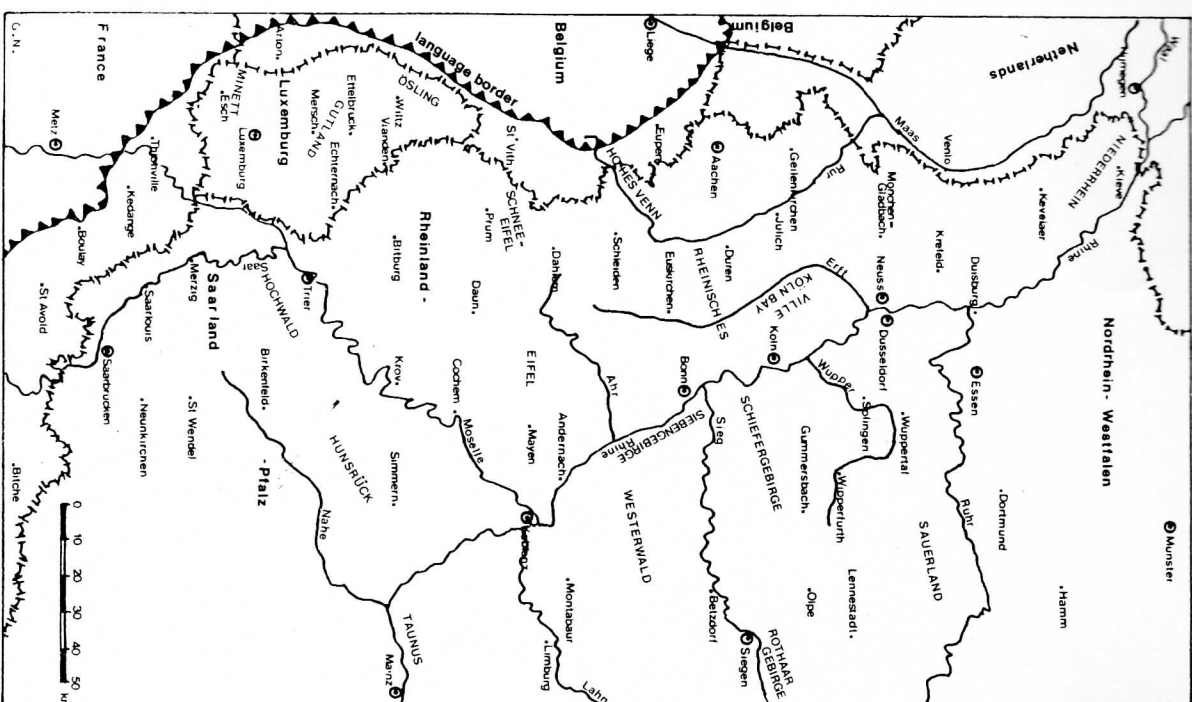
### 1 Geography of the Area

The Central Franconian (*Mittelfränkisch*) dialects are spoken in the two main areas of the Cologne Bay and the Rhenish Uplands (*Rheinisches Schiefergebirge*) (see Map 11). In the north, the territory runs out into the Low Franconian (*Niederfränkisch*) dialects of the lower Rhine Plain and the Westphalian Low German dialects beyond the chain of the Rothaargebirge mountains. In the south, it joins the Saar basin to form a transition zone into Rhine Franconian (*Rheinfränkisch*). Between these points, Central Franconian extends on an east-west axis from the Rhine gorge, east along the River Sieg and west along the Moselle. The Siebengebirge hills south of Bonn, together with the Eifel and the Hunsrück hills and the confluence of the Rhine and Ertf rivers south of Neuss, provide the great natural divisions of culture and language in the area. In Luxembourg, a similar division is formed by the Ardennes (*Östing/Éisleck*), which separate the territory from the central *Gutland/Bon Pays* and the south-eastern *Minett*.

Of the towns, Trier provides the focus of the Moselle valley. Here the River Moselle emerges from Lorraine and Luxembourg to join the lower Saar before flowing north-east towards its confluence with the Rhine at Koblenz, where the valley itself is linked by road, rail and river to the rest of the Federal Republic. East of Koblenz lies Siegen and the industrialized valley of the River Sieg, northwards Cologne, which since medieval times has occupied a position of prime economic and social importance along the Rhine. To the south and west, Cologne is flanked by the historically less important cities of Bonn and Aachen. North of Cologne lies Düsseldorf and the lower Rhine. To the east are the cities of the Ruhr, grouped mainly in the Low German area. Politically, the territory of Central Franconian is that of the former Prussian *Rheinprovinz*, now the *Rheinland* sections of *Nordrhein-Westfalen* and *Rheinland-Pfalz*.

Industrialization has been heavy around Cologne, and began in the late nineteenth century with the exploitation of the Cologne-Bonn lignite fields (*Ville*) and black-coal seams at Aachen. East of this, industry is further

Map 11: Central Franconian Area



Source: Dietcke, *Weltatlas*, scale 1:1,500,000.

concentrated along the valley of the River Wupper (*Wuppertal*, formed in 1929 from a link between Barmen and Elberfeld), while to the south the towns of Aachen, Thionville (Diedenhofen) and the Luxembourg Minet form the framework of the Belgian-French-Luxembourgish iron and steel works, with the Saar-Nahe coalfield and the attendant industry of the Saarland south of this.

## 2 Dialect Studies

Central Franconian is one of the most intensively researched of the German dialects. After early studies such as those by Becker (1799) and Rovenhagen (1860), the first scientific definition of the area came from Braune in 1874, followed closely by Wenker's *Rheinatlās* of 1878<sup>1</sup> and various dictionaries such as that of Wegeler for Koblenz from 1875 on. Finally, a definitive grammar of Ripuarian appeared in 1904 (Münch, still standard, reprinted 1970). From 1908, however, the approach to areal study moved over to the direct method, with the publication of the first in the Marburg series of *Deutsche Dialektgeographie*, which included a study by Ransisch on the dialect geography of the lower Rhine. Leihener's dictionary of Cronenberg (Wuppertal) followed in the same year (*DDG*, 2) and after this many other pioneering monographs (Frings 1913, 1916; Hanenberg, Lobbes, Neuse 1915; Greferath, Martin 1922). Medieval settlement and its implications for the Rhineland's position between High and Low German formed the subject of an essay by Frings in Aubin, Frings and Müller (1926), which for many years remained unchallenged (Bruch 1953). Aachen and the surrounding area was described in detail by W. Welter in 1929, 1933, 1938 and 1951; the Saar by Müller-Weingen (1930), Bach (1931), Will (1932), Kuntze (1932) and Labouvie (1938). Levy's study of German-speaking Lorraine appeared in 1929, and Guélen's of the same area in 1939. Bruch's main work on Luxembourgish came in 1953/4; Steltz's grammar of Saarbrücken in 1981, Ränge's survey of the Saar in 1982.

Major dictionaries of the area appeared in 1928 (*Rheinisches Wörterbuch*, 1928-71), 1932 (G. Heinzerling, Siegen), 1950 (*Luxemburger Wörterbuch*, 1950-77), 1956 (A. Wrede, urban Cologne), 1970 (Herzmann, Aachen), 1971 (Diener, Hunsrück), 1974 (Reuland/Rinnen, German to Luxembourgish), 1975 (Conrath, lower Saar/upper Moselle), 1980 (Reuland/Rinnen, French to Luxembourgish), 1982 (Christophory, English to Luxembourgish). The two major atlases are the *Luxemburgischer Sprachatlas* (1963) and the *Atlas de la Lorraine Germanophone* (Philippe, 1977). For further bibliography, see sections 5 and 6 below.

## 3 Medieval Settlement and Historical Cultural Geography

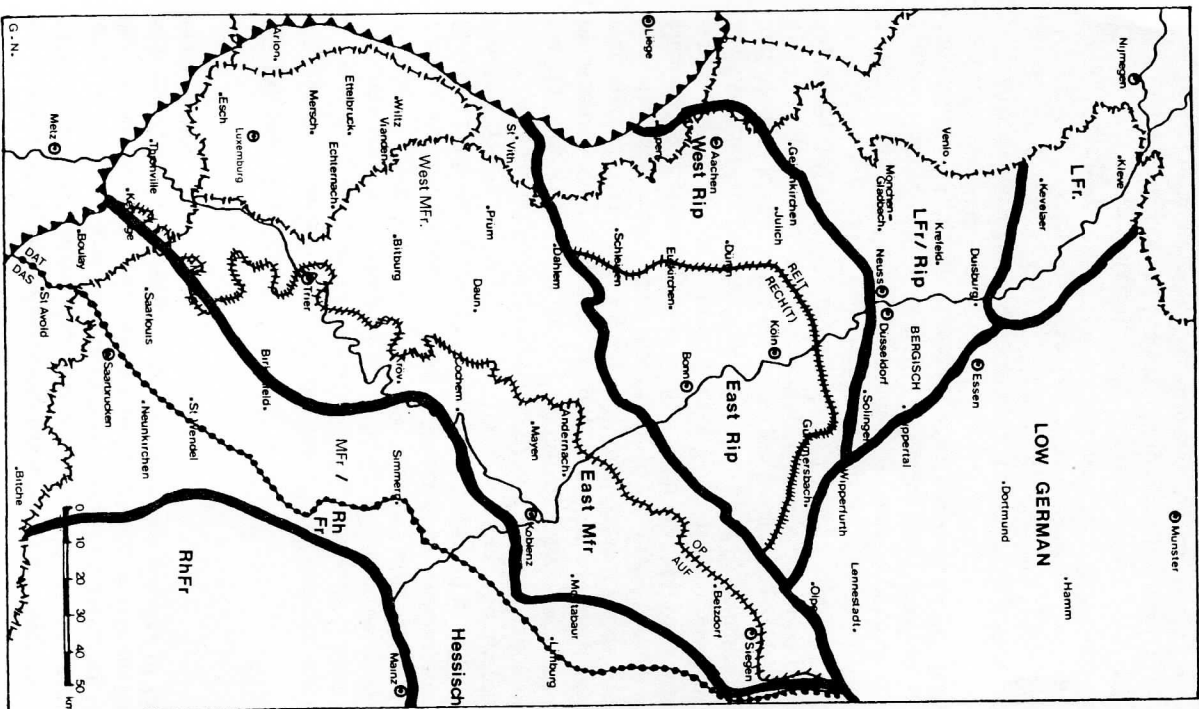
The current sub-division of Central Franconian into northern and southern varieties arose in the Middle Ages through the increasing influence of the cities of Cologne and Trier. Cologne in the north was sufficiently strong to provide a remarkably uniform area of linguistic dominance; Trier to the south less so, as there the bishopric was split into various smaller territorial units, which included, for example, Luxembourg. These have made the interpretation of the dialect landscape far more complex. Since the landscape is, however, based to a greater or less extent on the Moselle river, the Trier-orientated dialects have become known as Moselle Franconian, while the northern dialects grouped around Cologne are, in accordance with tribal settlement, referred to either as Ripuarian (Feist 1920, used by Goossens 1978, Althaus 1980) or Ribuarian (Ewig 1954, used by Schützeichel 1961ff). To the north of this area, sub-division of the transition zone passing into Low Franconian, which centres on the River Erft, is once more complex; so much so that it is defined according to agreement amongst dialectologists themselves (Mitzka 1943). At the same time, southern influences on Moselle Franconian (Wiesinger 1970, II, 328) have to some extent penetrated Central Franconian as a whole, making it increasingly remote from Low Franconian. The transitional zone between Ripuarian and Low Franconian was described extensively on a phonological basis by Wiesinger (1970). The Bergian dialects of the Mettmann area have also been described by him (1975, 1979). The Siegerland dialect was investigated by Möhn in 1962 and by Reuter (Heinzerling 1932-8).

The urban dialect of Cologne (*Stadtkölsch*) is generally closer to New High German than that of the area surrounding the city (*Landkölsch*): cf. Münch (1904), A. Wrede (1956).

## 4 Isoglosses and Dialect Divisions

F. Wrede's *DSA* 56 (dialect divisions — see Map 12) sees Low Franconian as a Low German dialect and distinguishes it from Low Saxon on the basis of the ending of the third person plural present indicative of the verb (LFr. *-e(n)*, LSax. *-et*), while it is distinguished from the Ripuarian/Westphalian transition zone by its use of *ow*, NHG *ouch* 'you' for the Rip./Westph. forms *auch*, *enk*, *ink*, *önk*. Within Central Franconian, Ripuarian is distinguished from Moselle Franconian/Westerwäldisch by the form *Dorp* (or *Dörp*), which contrasts with *Dorf* 'village'. It is further sub-divided into the Low Franconian/Ripuarian border dialect with *maken*, and Aachen-Cologne Ripuarian with *machen* 'make'. Within Aachen-Cologne comes the additional distinction West Rip. *reit*, East Rip. *rech(t)* 'right'. In Moselle Franconian/Westerwäldisch, the *auf* (*uff*, *off*) of East Moselle Franconian/Westerwäldisch is contrasted with West MFr. *op* 'up' and East

Map 12: Central Franconian Dialect Divisions



Sources: DSA Map 56; Wiesinger (1970); *Dialektologie*, 1, 2; LGL; Wiesinger (1975).

Moselle Franconian/Westerväldisch sub-divided into Saarlouis-Koblenz *gebroch* and Westerväldisch *gebroche(n)* 'broken'. West Moselle Franconian has two branches, the first being Luxembourgish, which also covers Thionville-Merzig, Saarburg-Prüm, with *hen* (acc.), and the second being others of the group with *he, er* (nom.) 'he', while through the whole territory, DSA 23 *fest* provides extra sub-division (East MFr. Bolchen-Birkenfeld *fescht*; West MFr. Thionville-Merzig *feschti*; Saarburg-Prüm *fest*).

The divisions form three major bundles of isoglosses (see Map 12):

(i) the Ertf Barrier between Low Franconian and Riparian; (ii) the Eifel Barrier between Riparian and Moselle Franconian; (iii) the Hunstrück Barrier between Moselle and Rhine Franconian.

(i) Bach (1950) lists the isoglosses of the Ertf Barrier as follows: *-en* (west)/-*ei* (east) (ending of the 3rd pers. pl. pres. indic.); *Hüs* (north)/*Hus* (south) 'house'; *ow* (north)/*öch* (south), NHG *euch* 'you'; NHG *Bruder* (north)/*Broder* (south) 'brother'; *ik* (north)/NHG *ich* (south) 'I', the Ürdingen Line; *wi* (north)/NHG *wir* (south) 'we'; *make* (north)/*mach* (south), the Benrath Line; *sess* (north)/NHG *secht* (south) 'six' (see Maps 13, 15, 19). Of these, Goossens (1965) considers *ow/öch* (Ramisch 1908) and the *seggen* (north)/NHG *sagen* (south) 'to say' Line (Frings 1913) to be more important for Low Franconian/Riparian divisions than either the Benrath or the Ürdingen Lines. Wiesinger (1970) bases his divisions of this area on vowel and diphthong development from medieval German, but is also aware of the importance of *-en/-ei* and other isoglosses (1, 24). Frings/Lerchner (1966) suggested that Low Franconian should be classified as a Netherlandic dialect only (Kleve became Prussian only in 1609; cf. Tervooren 1985). Eickmans (1980) on the other hand proposed the term 'Lower Rhenish' for German Low Franconian, keeping it separate from the Low Franconian dialects of the Netherlands and Belgium. For Lower Rhenish, however, Goossens (1965) uses the term *Kleiverländisch*.

(ii) The Eifel Barrier separating Riparian and Moselle Franconian has fewer divisions. Bach (1950) lists the isoglosses as *Kenk* (north)/*Kend* (south), NHG *Kind* 'child'; *Dorp* (north)/NHG *Dorf* (south) 'village'; *Hus* (north)/NHG *Haus* (south) 'house'; *us* (north)/*aus* (south) 'out' (see Maps 13, 14, 18). Of these, *Dorp/Dorf* is taken as the main division, also covering *hellepe* (north)/*hellefe* (south), NHG *helfen* 'help', and *werepe* (north, rural)/*werefe* (south), NHG *werfen* 'throw'.

(iii) The Hunstrück Barrier has four main isoglosses, which Bach (1950) lists as *dar* (north)/*das* (south) 'that (dem. pron.)'; *lêf* (north)/*lfb* (south), NHG *lieb* 'dear'; *Korf* (north)/NHG *Korb* (south) 'basket'; NHG *fest* (north)/*fescht* (south) 'firm' (see Maps 15, 16). Of these *dar/das* is the most important, also covering *wat/was* 'what' and *et/es* 'it' (cf. section 7.2.1.1). Diener (1971), however, considered vowel lengthening to be a

more prominent characteristic of Moselle Franconian in the Hunsrück area than *dar/das*, taking instead the Sobernheim Line (R. Martin 1922) between *Heerd* (north) and *Herrd* (south) 'shepherd'.

The transition zone to the north and south of *dar/das* (see Maps 12, 13) appears as such in Wiesinger (1970) and *LGL* (1980). The area was formerly designated Moselle Franconian north of *dar/das* and *Pfützisch* south of this (*LGL* 1973). In Wiesinger's interpretation it comprises the ninth of his Moselle Franconian divisions, 'Lower Saar/Upper Moselle, with West Lorraine'. Further explanation is given by Wiesinger in *Dialektologie*, pp. 855-9.

## 5 Rhineland Language and Society

The early studies of Central Franconian were concerned with establishing the characteristics of the language itself, its phonology, morphology and — less so — its syntax. Work after 1908 was concerned with establishing the exact areas of geographical distribution of the dialects. This combined with the history of the language and tribal history in the late 1920s to produce studies such as those of Frings, Bruch and Schützeichel.<sup>2</sup> The people who actually spoke the language and the situations in which they used the various registers of it, and the registers themselves, were not subjects for attention in any great detail. Even dictionaries such as the *Rheinisches Wörterbuch* were concerned with the logging of a body of material rather than with detailed listing of the situations in which it was used. Although occasional studies (Bach 1950, 1st edn. 1934) made reference to language use in society, no survey was undertaken specifically for this purpose in Germany until the late 1950s and early 1960s, reflecting increased awareness of industrial landscapes of language (Brepohl 1957, 1966; E. Hofmann 1963; Möhn 1963) and establishing rules for the best use of tape-recordings in such field work (Zwirner 1964).

### 5.1 The Erp Project

The linguistic-coding hypotheses developed by B. Bernstein in Britain in the 1960s had the effect in Germany of alerting educationalists to the value of such studies for the contrastive analysis of standard and dialect in schools. In 1970, Werner Besch was accordingly able to set up a major research project at the University of Bonn (*Institut für Geschichtliche Landeskunde*), the goal of which was to be an intensive survey of the language habits of all male residents aged between 21 and 65 in the conurbation of Erftstadt, situated some 35 km from Bonn, and incorporating the small town of Erp, after which the project was eventually named. Although Erp/Erftstadt had grown considerably in size since the 1950s, and commuting (mainly to the Cologne area) formed an important aspect of its culture, the view was nonetheless held that a study solely of the impli-

cations of commuting for the linguistic life of the community would provide an unbalanced overall result, and it was subsequent to this that the decision was taken to carry out a blanket survey of all males in Erp aged between 21 and 65 on 1 July 1971. Throughout, it was stressed that the survey was concerned with an analysis of language use only and was specifically not a dialect survey of the type which up till then would have been normal. Methodology also represented a further reversal of normal procedure; instead of examining speech habits associated with social background, the survey sought first of all to establish groups with similar speech habits and thereafter to specify social features common to these groups. For this to be successful, an elaborate interviewing structure had to be evolved, which, although proceeding from the techniques of Labov (1966), differed greatly from these in order to allow for the much wider gap in German between local dialect (*Ortsdialekt*) and standard language (*Standardsprache*), this being seen by the survey to comprise six practical working levels.

The results have shown that in actual figures, 70.2 per cent of the group surveyed described themselves as being able to understand and use dialect. The results also specified age-banding (21-31 years, 61.5 per cent; 32-42 years, 74.2 per cent; 43-53, 76.2 per cent; 54-65, 66.6 per cent) and social grouping (independent farmers, 82.2 per cent; skilled and semi-skilled workers, 73 per cent; middle and upper white-collar workers, 61.4 per cent; civil servants, 52.4 per cent; students, 20 per cent). The relatively small percentage within the 54-65 age-group of those who could understand and use dialect was attributed to refugee re-settlement after World War II.<sup>3</sup>

The Erp project has served to inspire several other surveys of language in the Rhineland (section 5.2). In addition, the series *Dialekt/Hochsprache-kontrastiv* owes a great deal to the Erp project (cf. *Rheinisch*, 1978), and provides guidance to teachers concerning dialect-based errors in schoolwork, which in dictation exercises in the Rhineland can reach as high as 25 to 30 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

### 5.2 Other Rhineland Projects

The Ruhr, which for over seventy years had been widely regarded as being linguistically unrepresentative and therefore not suitable for research because of the vast amount of industrialization and Polish immigration which had occurred there since the late nineteenth century (Klessmann, 1978), has also provided the basis for recent projects similar to those of Erp ('*Regionalsprache Ruhr*', Menge 1977; Harden 1981), while at the University of Bochum work has been careful to avoid the forced milieu of the schoolroom and has concentrated instead on the language of allotment gardeners (*Schreibergärtner*). Centring on Recklinghausen, the survey has been concerned to determine whether any locally recognizable variant of

the standard exists which could legitimately be called 'Ruhr German' (*das Ruhrdeutsche*), cf. Thies 1981; Mihm 1981.

At the lexical level, research is still in progress on the *Mittelrheinischer Sprachatlas* (cf. Bellmann, 1982), which although based in Mainz provides a survey of the *Rheinisch* area as far north as Neuenahr (Riparian), while at Bonn (*Ami für rheinische Landeskunde*) work is continuing on the *Handbuch der rheinischen Mundarten* (cf. *VRRM-Mitteilungen*, 2/1983, 12-21). Otherwise, language interest and comment is kept up throughout the Rhineland area by the various dialect societies (*Mundartvereine*), such as '*Mussel Speel*' (*Moselspiegel*, Mirror of the Moselle), organ of the Moselle Franconian dialect society of Koblenz. Information on the activities of all such societies is collated and published in *Volkskultur an Rhein und Maas* (formerly *VRRM-Mitteilungen*), Bonn. A survey of the relative extent to which dialect is used and understood in the three areas of Lower Rhine, Bergisches Land and Saar-Moselle appears in Macha (1986), Saar-Moselle showing the highest percentage and Bergisches Land the lowest. (Cf. also Hagen (1986) for Dutch Limburg.)

### 5.3 Kölsch

Much of what is characterized on radio and television and in the theatre as *Rheinisch* is in fact *Familienkölsch*. This is the most widely heard variant of the urban dialect of Cologne, very close to New High German, but none the less recognizable as *Kölsch* from its 'sing song' intonation (*Singsang*) and use of /j/ for initial /g/. A. Wrede (1956, 1, VI) comments that the actual appearance of *j* in texts, though present in speech, was still not considered *salonfähig* 'respectable' by many writers. (The selected text has used NHG *g*.) This variety of *Kölsch*, which was used by Adenauer and typifies the patrician family speech habits of Cologne, is also called *Hochdäitsch met Knubbel*, literally *Hochdeutsch mit Knubbeln* 'standard German with lumps in it'.

'Real *Kölsch*' (*Echt Kölsch*) is very much restricted in use compared with *Familienkölsch*, so much so that Hack in prefacing Hönig's *Wörterbuch der Kölner Mundart* (1905) saw the Cologne speaker of the future using *Höf* for *Hölp* 'help', *dies* und *das* for *dii* und *dar* 'this and that', and *söche* for *söke*, NHG *suchen* 'seek' (cf. 7.2.1.1). According to Schmitt-Rost (1974: 18), *Echt Kölsch* was, in the minds of the speakers, associated with the slums of the interwar years and generally held to be *schüüsig*, NHG *unfreundlich* 'unfriendly'. Münch (1904: 6) traces the development of *Familienkölsch* to the beginnings of commerce in the city and the introduction of the Early New High German written language in 1580.

Much variation is found in the spelling of *Kölsch*, and even within the same text spellings may fluctuate. New High German orthography usually serves as the model, although many writers now follow the spelling of A.

Wrede's *Neuer Kölnischer Sprachschatz* (1956). The spelling of Aachen is contained in Hermann's *Aachener Sprachschatz* (1970), while rules for the other areas are generally introduced by local newspapers or dialect societies (section 5.2).

## 6 Luxembourg

### 6.1 History of the Grand Duchy

Language in Luxembourg and the surrounding Belgian and French Moselle Franconian-speaking areas represents a different situation from the Central Franconian dealt with so far. Luxembourg is not dominated to the same extent by the German standard language.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg arose in consequence of the splitting up of Charlemagne's empire under the Treaty of Verdun. Luxembourg belonged originally to the Archbishopric of Trier. The site of the modern city was bought in 963 from the Archbishop by Siegfried, Count of Ardene.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the House of Luxembourg rose to power under the Emperors Henry VII, Charles IV, Wenceslas and Sigismund. The last member of the House actually born in Luxembourg was John of Bohemia (1296-1346), known as *blannen Jhang* 'John the Blind'. In 1328, it was John who for the first time allowed the use of German in official communications in the country. In 1340 he demarcated the territory of Luxembourg into a French-speaking *quartier wallon* and a German-speaking *quartier allemand*.

After John, however, the use of German receded and when in 1422 the country passed to Philip of Burgundy, French became the language of administration. It remained French subsequently under the empires of Spain and Austria. Direct French rule came under Louis XIV in the period from 1684 to 1697, and once more under Philip of Anjou between 1700 and 1711. Between 1795 and 1815, Luxembourg was occupied by French Revolutionary forces.

In 1815 Luxembourg was divided between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Rhineland-Prussia, receiving in the same year the title of 'Grand Duchy'. Prussia at this time annexed the Eifel Cantons of Bitburg, Neuenburg and St Vith. Luxembourg city itself, however, remained a garrison, manned for a short time by the Dutch (1831-9), and then by the Prussians, who maintained a force of some 6,000 Hessians in the city to protect it as a member of the German League. In 1867, after independence from Prussia, the Fortress was eventually razed (*die Schleifung*).

In 1839, as a consequence of the Belgian Revolution (1830), the French-speaking *quartier wallon* was ceded by the Netherlands to Belgium, and the *quartier allemand*, less the Eifel Cantons, continued as a Grand

Duchy under the House of Orange until 1890, whereafter a new Luxembourgish dynasty was founded under Grand Duke Adolphe.

The population in 1981 was 364,600 and the territorial extent 999 square miles. It is 98 per cent Catholic. The large part of the population resides in Luxembourg City or in the industrialized centres to the south of this (Esch-sur-Alzette, Dudelange), or in the centre (Diekirch, Ettelbruck). In the more rural parts (Wiltz, Clervaux, Vianden, Echternach), there has, since the late nineteenth century, been a thriving tourist industry.

## 6.2 The Luxembourg Language

Since Hardt's *Vokalismus der Sauermundart* of 1843, P. Klein's *Die Sprache der Luxemburger* (1855) and Follmann's *Die Mundart der Deutsch-Lothringer und Luxemburger* (1886) the language of Luxembourg has been studied extensively. The first dictionaries were those of Gangler (1847) and Weber (1870), with the main contributions coming in 1906 (M. Huss) and 1950–1978 (LWB).

The first essay on spelling appeared in 1855 (Dicks), and from that time Luxembourgish has developed a literature of its own classics (Lenz, Dicks, Rodange). Since 1894 it has had its own journal of history, art and literature (*Ons Hemecht*), while the first history of its own literature appeared in 1906 (N. Welter).

## 6.3 Language and the Luxembourg Constitution

The situation of language use in Luxembourg is particularly complex, and differentiation between spoken and written language is often paramount. At the spoken level, every Luxemburger is monolingual in *Lëtzebuergesch* (Luxembourgish), and learns German and then French at school as official languages (F. Hoffmann 1969, 1979, 1981, 1984a, 1984b, 1985; Bruch 1959; Verdoodt 1968; Hartung 1976; Nelde 1979b; Newton 1987).

The homogeneity of the language and its usefulness as a means of national identity first came into focus on separation from Belgium in 1839. From 1831 to 1948, however, the official and co-dominant languages of Luxembourg were French and German, not *Lëtzebuergesch*, which was regarded simply as a vernacular language, indominate and for the most part unwritten. Attempts at enforced Germanization during World War II produced a situation of national resistance in which the first impulse on Liberation was to reject German linguistic influence altogether. For a short time, English was used as a guide for Luxembourgish orthography (Yz Sprawch 1945), but English influence quickly receded under the traditional pressures of communication. In 1948 constitutional revisions deliberately left the language question open. This resulted in a state of affairs in which French tacitly became the dominant official language and German a working language with a higher incidence of use than French, while Luxembourgish functioned as the subordinate *written* national language, but

equally prestigious *spoken* official language, designated 'national language'. However, in the constitutional revisions of 1984 a new perspective was added: civil servants, when addressed in written *Lëtzebuergesch*, were to reply 'as far as possible' in the written form of that language. This has now given *Lëtzebuergesch* the status in part of third, almost equally accepted, official language of the country.<sup>5</sup>

## 6.4 The Luxembourg 'Koine'

The idea of a Luxembourg language has evolved slowly. Gangler (1847) referred to 'die Luxemburger Umgangssprache (wie sie in und um Luxemburg gesprochen wird)'; P. Klein (1855) talks about 'die Sprache der Luxemburger'; Follmann (1886) speaks in the singular of 'die Mundart der Deutsch-Lothringer und Luxemburger'. What is now generally designated as the Luxembourg 'koine' has also variously been called 'die allgemeine Luxemburger Landes-, Umgangs- oder Gemeinsprache', 'das Gemeinluxemburgische', or even 'basic Luxembourgish' (Bruch 1955).

Bruch (1953, 1955) describes the koine as having arisen since the early twentieth century as 'eine überregionale Verkehrssprache', not based directly on Luxembourg city, but on settlement along the valley of the Alzette river as it flows north from Dudelange to Schieren (south of Ettelbruck). Whether the existence of the koine can, however, actually be proven is something about which there has been much debate (N. Welter 1914; Bruch 1953, 1955; Felles 1954; P. Schmitt 1984). The effects of the koine none the less are being felt even in the traditionally remote areas such as Wiltz (Osling), through the pressure of education (i.e. loss of *néck*, NHG *nicht* 'not' in favour of koine *nët*: cf. 7.2.3.1). Luxembourgish radio and TV broadcasting is less influential, as announcers' *Lëtzebuergesch* cannot be taken as representative, and news bulletins particularly are influenced by the fact that incoming news is either in German or French and translation to *Lëtzebuergesch* improvised at the moment of going on air. Announcers, too, have developed their own intonation patterns, much flatter than the normal *Lëtzebuergesch Schaukelmelodie* (characteristic final high rise and fall intonation).<sup>6</sup>

## 6.5 Pays d'Arlon (Arelerland) and St Vith (Neubelgien)

In the surrounding area of Belgium and Lorraine, *Lëtzebuergesch* of a less innovative nature also continues to be spoken, particularly around Arlon (Arlon), in the Arelerland or pays d'Arlon, which is not identical in extent with the arrondissement of the same name, but is situated in the south-east of the Belgian Province de Luxembourg, extending from Tintange (Ténen) in the north, along the Belgian-Luxembourg frontier, as far as Athus (Atten) in the south, a distance of about 50 km. Part of *Albelgien*, it was separated from the Grand Duchy in 1839. Its border to the west is that with French, which leaves Belgium between Bartincourt (Beetem) and

Halanzy (Huelange). It represents the western limit of the Moselle Franconian dialects.

Since World War II, the dialect has been affected by the loss of German parallel classes in primary schools (French only, 1948). The use of German in the churches has also been discontinued, but Moselle Franconian still has around a thousand speakers in this region, and is supported by the journal *Revue Arelerland a Sprooch*, *Zäitschrieff vum Arelerland* (Arlon, 1976ff). For further detail, see Bettrang (1921, 1936); G. Fischer (1977); and *Cahiers de l'Académie Luxembourgeoise* (1982); also Nelde (1979a, 1979b).

The situation in *Neubelgien*, the Ripuarian area concentrating on St Vith, Malmédy and Eupen (conceded by Germany in 1918) is less under threat, as this is a German-speaking part of Belgium. It has been assessed by W. Welter (1929, 1933), Verdoodt (1968), Hecker (1972), Wildgen (1975), Nelde (1979a, 1979b), Cajot (1979, 1983).

#### 6.6 Lorraine Germanophone (Lorraine thioise; pays Francique)

German-speaking Lorraine comprises some 330,000 hectares east of the language boundary with French established by This (1887) and Toussaint (1955). In 1962, there were 360,000 speakers of the dialect in the Moselle Département (Philipp 1977), some of whom lived still in Metz, 20 km west of the language border.

The position of German in Lorraine is difficult, and more and more young speakers are turning to French, while the presence of Polish and Italian migrant workers in the area precludes the use of dialect. The journal *Hemehsland a Sprooch* was founded in 1975; the language of instruction is French, but the journal has concentrated on a series of learning exercises for children 'mir léieren äis Sprooch', NHG 'wir lernen unsere Sprache' 'we are learning our language'. The journal also has a literary supplement, *Hot a Mar*, NHG *heute und morgen* 'today and tomorrow' and is establishing a *Bibliothèque Francique*. It is supported by advertisements, some shops in the area of Thionville and Koenigsmacker carrying the words *hei gët op Platt geschwa*, NHG *hier spricht man Platt* 'dialect spoken here'. The situation has been described by Philipp (1978), Hoffmeister (1977) and J.P. Hoffmann (1985). Further background is provided in *Atlas linguistique et ethnologique de la Lorraine Germanophone* (1977).

#### 6.7 Luxemburg and Transylvania

Similarities between Luxembourgish and the language of Rumanian Transylvania (*Siebenbürgen*) were first pointed out by de Feller in 1820. Scientific research was begun by Kisch in 1905, the most persuasive arguments coming from R. Huss (1926). After World War II, research resumed with Schwarz (1955, 1957), Krauß (1957) and the publication in 1961/4 by K.K. Klein and L.E. Schmitt of the *Siebenbürgisch-Deutscher Sprach-*

*atlas* and an essay in 1966 by K.K. Klein. Work has continued with Schiltz (1976).

#### 6.7.1 Central Franconian in America

The Luxembourgish language in America has received little attention, even from Kriepe (1962) or Nilles (1983). One study does exist, however, for Ripuarian, *Dane County Kölsch* (McGraw 1979).

### 7 Geographical Distribution of Phonological Features

#### 7.1 Vowels and Accentuation<sup>7</sup>

The vowel systems of Central Franconian are characterized (i) by the presence in Ripuarian of long vowels corresponding to New High German diphthongs; (ii) by the redistribution in comparison with New High German of long and short vowels; (iii) by the redistribution in comparison with New High German of round and derounded vowels and of high and mid-tongue vowels. Explanations of these three major areas of contrast appear respectively in sections 7.1.3–5 of the general phonology here below.

A general correspondence chart appears as Table 5.1 and a list of types as Table 5.2. The spelling of Cologne examples is that of A. Wrede (1956) and of the Luxembourgish examples that of the *LWB* (1950).

##### 7.1.1 NHG *ei*, *au*, *eu* (MHG *i*, *ü*, *iu*; Table 5.2 Types 1, 3, 5)

The development of the MHG long-vowel series *i* – *ü* – *iu* before consonants (Wiesinger 1970: Maps 2, 3, 4) has allowed the division of Central Franconian into the two distinct areas, Ripuarian, which retains the long vowels, and Moselle Franconian, which has developed them into diphthongs (cf. Map 14): Cologne *Ies*, NHG *Eis* 'ice', *Huus*, NHG *Haus* 'house'; Lux. *Äis*, *Haus*. Except for the Central Saar region around Saarlouis, and in survivals in the Sterck area of Lorraine, where the diphthongization is to [ai], [au] as in New High German, Moselle Franconian diphthongization of *i* and *ü* has reached only [ei], [ou].

##### 7.1.2 Hiatus

In hiatus (Wiesinger 1970: Maps 5, 6), Rip. develops *i*, *ü* to [ei], [ou], and *iu* (long *ü*) to [øy]; MFr. develops *i*, *ü* to diphthongs of the NHG stage ([ai], [au]), while *iu* is generally derounded (see section 7.1.10) to [ai] (pockets may vary): Cologne *bei* 'by', *Bau* 'building', *neu* 'new'; Lux. *bei*, *Bau*, *nei*.

##### 7.1.3 NHG *ei*, *au* (MHG *ei*, *ou* Table 5.2 Types 2, 4)

In New High German the reflexes of MHG *ei* and *ou* have merged with

the better'; *wat m'ei domm*, *wat m'ei frech*, NHG *je dümmer, um so frecher* 'the stupider, the cheekier'.

### 7.3.2.3 Numerals and Indefinite Article

New High German *eins* 'one' appears in Riparian as *änt*, and the inflected forms as *än* (nom./acc., m. and nt.), *ään* (nom./acc., f.). The indefinite article is generally *e(n)* or *ene(n)*.

Reflexes of MHG *zweel/zwo/zwei*, NHG *zwei* (m., f., nt.) 'two' may also appear in conservative usage throughout Central Franconian (cf. LSA: Maps 96 and 140 *zwei*).

### 7.3.3.3 Pronouns

The merging of nominative/accusative which has occurred with the noun (see section 7.3.1.3) appears only in the third person of the pronouns in Luxembourgish. In Riparian it is not present at all. Luxembourgish has, however, generally preserved the genitive, while Riparian has not.

#### 7.3.3.3.1 *Personal Pronouns*

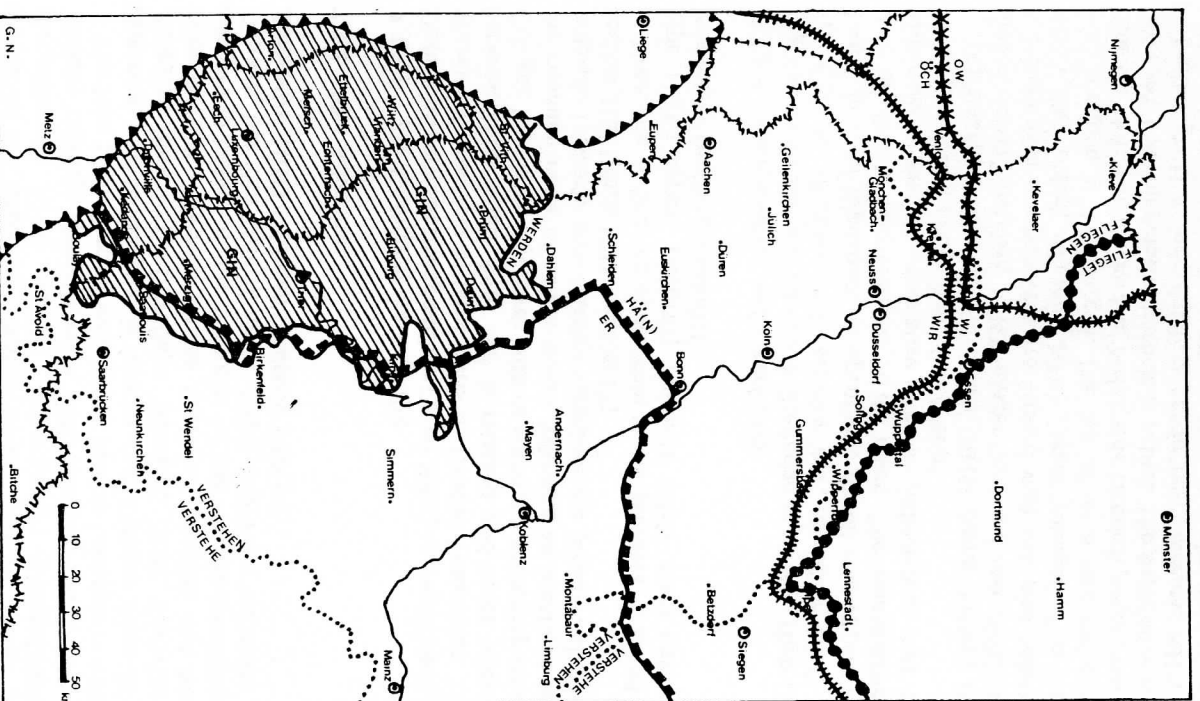
The forms are as follows (Ripuarian followed by Luxembourgish):

1st sg.	ich/ech	2nd sg.	du/dü	2nd pl.	ihr/dir
Nom.					
Acc.	mich/mech	oss/ons	dich/dech	üch/tech	
Gen.	– /menger	– /onser	– /denger	– /ärer	
Dat.	mir/mir	oss/ons	dir/dir	üch/tech	
3rd sg.					
Nom.	hā/hien	sei/si	ʔ/hatt	sei/si	
Acc.	en/hien	sei/si	ʔ/hatt	sei/si	
Gen.	– /senger	– /hirer	– /senger	– /hirer	
Dat.	em/him	ihr/hir	em/him	ihne/hinen	

reflexive: sich/sech (dat. and acc.)

- (i) The forms given are stressed; unstressed forms generally appear with /ə/, and (in Luxembourgish) with loss of initial /h/. The /h/ forms are current throughout Central Franconian (*DSA* 48 *er*; *LSA* 44 *hen*; Map 19).
- (ii) Luxembourgish forms ending in /n/ are mobile.
- (iii) The diphthongized forms *diech*, NHG *ich*, *dau*, NHG *diech*, *säich*, NHG *sich* occur in Echternach and the east of Luxembourg, and are common in east Moselle Franconian and the Saar (cf. *DSA* 4 *ich*, 25 *diech*; *LSA* 49 *ich*, *diech*, *mich*, *sich*; 83 *dau*; Bruch 1955: section 19, 2c; Map 7).
- (iv) The forms *mir* (*WDU* 120 *mir* = *wir*) and (*d*)*ir* with prothetic *d*, *ihr* occur throughout Central Franconian, though Aachen has *vür*, *ihv*. Generally the latter throughout Central Franconian stands as the pronoun

Map 19: Some Morphological Isoglosses in Central Franconian



Sources: Bach (1950: Figures 4, 10 and 20); Bruch (1953: Map 16)

of polite address. In Cologne and regional parts of Luxembourgish (Esch/Alzette, Echternach), the forms appear with lowering (*määr, där*).

(v) The Luxembourgish koine form *ons* is recent (Bruch 1955) and the older form is *eis*, with *is* on the eastern border (LSA 84 *uns*). For nasal loss, cf. section 7.2.5.4.

(vi) In Central Franconian, the neuter pronoun is used familiarly of girls, women and wives (cf. section 7.3.1(b)): Lux. *hatt as Meescher am Haus*, NHG *sie ist Meister in dem Haus* 'she's master in that house'.

(vii) The Luxembourgish genitive is still productive: *amplaz ménger*, NHG *statt meiner* 'instead of me'; *wéint ménger*, NHG *meinetwegen* 'as far as I'm concerned'. In Riparian, prepositional forms have replaced the genitive, though types such as Cologne *minger sess*, NHG *sechs meinsgleichen* 'six like me' may still occur.

(viii) In certain parts of the Central Franconian area (Aachen), the accusative has taken over the function of the old dative: *wenn ich dich dat sag*, NHG *wenn ich dir das sage* 'if I tell you that'. A disjunctive use of the accusative also occurs in Riparian: *wenn ich dich wär*, NHG *an deiner Stelle* 'if I were you'.

(ix) Throughout Central Franconian, subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns develop enclitic pleonastic /s/ when used with the second person singular pronoun: (Lux.) *dat as der geschitt*, *well s de ni oppass*, NHG *das ist dir geschehen*, *weil du nie aufpäßt* 'that happened to you because you never pay attention'. In Cologne, *dat s* may also appear as *datte*.

### 7.3.3.2 Possessive Pronouns

(a) The possessive pronouns of Central Franconian are derived from the old accusatives *minen* (m.), *mine* (f.), *min* (n.), which with *n*-loss and velarization have given the current Riparian forms *menge*, *meng*, *mi* (Cologne *minge*), NHG *mein* 'my'. Other forms are *denge/di*, NHG *dein* 'your' (sg.), *senge/si*, NHG *sein* 'his', *oss/ons*, NHG *unser* 'our', *ihr*, NHG *euer* 'your', *ihr*, NHG *ihr* 'her, their'.

(b) Luxembourgish forms have diphthongization and velarization of /n/, where intervocalic (or formerly so): *mäin*, *méng*, *mäin*; *däin*, *déng*, *däin*; *säin*, *séng*, *säin*, where /n/ is mobile. Other Luxembourgish forms (m.) are *eisen* or *onsen*, NHG *unser* 'our', *ären* NHG *euer* 'your', *hären*, NHG *ihr* 'her, their'.

### 7.3.3.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

(a) The demonstrative differs from the definite article (see section 7.3.1.3(d)) in showing lengthened vowels: (Lux.) *deen*, *däi*, *dat*, *däi*. Riparian distinguishes nominative and accusative masculine: /de:r de: (denə)/ (m.), /de:/ (f.), /dat/ (nt.). In both cases the form can further be strengthened by the addition in Riparian of *he*, NHG *hier*, 'here', and in

Luxembourgish of *hei*, NHG *hier*, or *elei*, NHG *allhier/do*, NHG *da* 'there' or *elo*, NHG *alda* 'there': Lux. *dee Mantel hei*, *deen elo*, NHG *dieser Mantel hier*, *der Mantel da* 'this coat here, that one there'.

NHG *dies(es)* is also used in Luxembourgish in the sense of 'this one here', and follows the adjectival declension: *däsen*, *däs*, *dés(s)t*; *däs*. In MFr. *sell* is also found: *ditt un sell*, Rip. *ditt un dat*, NHG *dies und das* 'this and that'.

(b) A partitive pronoun appears in Central Franconian, common in the plural with numerals and in the singular with *genug* 'enough', or as an independent pronoun. Luxembourgish has the forms *dars* (sg.) and *där* (pl.): Lux. *där an dat*, *an elauer dars*, NHG *dies und das und dergleichen mehr* 'this and that and a lot more of the same'; Cologne *ich han der jénock*, NHG *ich habe genug dieser Stoffe* 'I've got enough of those'.

In the Moselle Franconian construction *et senn ar Stecker sechs*, NHG *es sind ihrer ungefähr sechs* 'there are about six of them' (Conrah 1975), *ar* is a partitive plural.

(c) NHG *solch* 'such' is expressed in Central Franconian by NHG *also* 'so' plus an indefinite article: Lux. *sou eng Dommheer*, NHG *eine solche Dummheit* 'what stupidity'.

Note: Lux. *sëlleg/sëllechen* indicates NHG *viel*, *sehr* 'much, very': *e sëlleche Leut waren do*, NHG *viele Leute waren da* 'a lot of people were there'.

### 7.3.3.4 Interrogative Pronouns

(a) NHG *wer* 'who' in Riparian differentiates nominative and accusative: /we:r/(we:nə)/. Luxembourgish has a common nominative/accusative: *wien as do?*, NHG *wer ist da?* 'who's there?'. A dative *wen* appears, which has assumed a genitive function: Lux. *wiem säint as et?*, NHG *von wem ist das?* 'whose is it?'.

(b) NHG *was* 'what': Central Franconian has the form *wat*. NHG *welch* 'which' may have the form *wellech* or *weller*, but in Luxembourgish the equivalent of NHG *was* for generally functions instead: *wat fir ä Buch häss de gären?*, NHG *welches Buch hast du gerne?* 'which book would you like?'. *Fir wat* in Luxembourgish is also used for NHG *warum* 'why': *fir wat koun en nei?*, NHG *warum kam er nicht?* 'why didn't he come?'.

### 7.3.3.5 Relative Pronouns

Generally in Central Franconian, the demonstrative pronoun also functions as the relative: Lux. *dee Mann*, *deen dat Haus kaaft huet*, NHG *der Mann*, *der das Haus gekauft hat* 'the man who has bought that house'. In the neuter, *dat* may be replaced by *wat* (Rip. also): Lux. *dat Päerd*, *wat e kaaft huet*, NHG *das Pferd*, *das er gekauft hat* 'the horse that he has bought'. An indeclinable relative pronoun *wo* appears in southern Luxembourgish and the Saar: Lux. *d'Meedchen*, *wo säng Mamum dout as*, NHG *das Mädchen*, *dessen Mutter tot ist* 'the girl whose mother is dead'.

7.3.3.6 *Indefinite Pronouns*

- (a) NHG *etwas* 'something': Rip. *jet*; Lux. *eppes*.  
 (b) NHG *man* 'one': Rip. *mer*, Lux. *mer* (obsolescent). Luxembourgish now uses the formula *‘i këmmert ee sech net em hien*, NHG *es kümmert einer sich nicht um ihn* 'nobody bothers about him'. Replacement with NHG *du* 'you' also occurs. The old Riparian form *immes*, Lux. *ëmmescht* is obsolete.

(c) NHG *nichts* 'nothing': Rip. *nüss*, *noks*, Cologne *nix*; Lux. *nüsch*, cf. DSA 73.

(d) NHG *niemand* 'no one': forms of NHG *kein* are used: Lux. *dat do as kengem säint*, NHG *das gehört niemandem* 'that's no one's'. Rip. *nümmes*, Lux. *nëmmesch* are obsolete.

## 7.3.4 The Verb

Central Franconian has the present tense, and some preterite forms, although the latter is finding increasing replacement by perfects and pluperfects. Of the moods, the present subjunctive has, except for a few fixed survivals,<sup>9</sup> merged in form with the imperative, and in function with the conditional (preterite subjunctive), or an analytical form of this (see section 7.3.4.3(c)). A passive is still generally present.

7.3.4.1 *Verb Classifications*

Central Franconian verbs can be categorized as in New High German into strong verbs in which the root vowel is modified to produce tense differentiation, and weak verbs, in which the preterite and past participle is formed with a dental (NHG *-te*, Rip. *-de*, Lux. *-t*).<sup>10</sup>

7.3.4.2 *Verb Endings, Central Franconian*

(a) Present tense: the first person singular ends in *-en*, although in Riparian, unless part of the stem (*jon*, NHG *gehen* 'go'), the *-n* appears in enclitic position only, while in Luxembourgish it is mobile (see Map 19). The second singular ends in *-s*, the third singular in *-t*, though /t/ is generally absent in Riparian unless following vowels or /n, l, r/. Verb stems in /m, t/ are labialized in the second and third persons singular: Cologne *du nimps*, *hü nimp*, NHG *nimmst*, *nimm* 'take(s)'. The plural forms are *-e(n)*, first and third persons, *-t* second person. Monosyllabic verbs such as *jon* 'to go', *don* 'to do' have third person plural endings in *-nt*.

(b) In the strong preterite and conditional, the endings are as for the present, except that the first and third singular are without inflexion. In the weak preterite and conditional, the endings of Riparian are generally as the present, though preceded by a voiced dental plosive; in Luxembourgish the ending, which follows a voiceless dental plosive, may be absent (*ech soz*, NHG *ich sagte* 'I said'). If a verb already ends in a dental plosive, Riparian generally finds an alternative: *ich dät ärbede* (NHG lit. *ich tat*

*arbeiten*) 'I did work' for normal NHG *ich arbeitete* 'I worked', or *ich wor am ärbede*, NHG *ich war am Arbeiten* 'I was at work'. Luxembourgish would shift to the perfect *ech hu gearbecht*, or *ech war dran ze arbechen*, NHG *dran zu arbeiten*, or else *ech war am Gaang ze arbechen*, NHG *im Gange zu arbeiten* (*Schaffen* 'to work' would normally replace *arbechen* 'labour' in Luxembourgish.)<sup>11</sup>

7.3.4.3 *Forms of the Verb*

*The Infinitive.* The infinitive generally ends in *-e*, or *-en* (mobile *n*), or *-n* (mobile) in monosyllabic verbs. Purpose is expressed in Riparian by *om. . .zo*, NHG *um. . .zu*, in Moselle Franconian by *für. . .ze*, literally *für. . .zu* (varying): *‘i war eng Heiz für d'Aarbecht fäerdeg ze kréien*, NHG *es war eine Heize, um die Arbeit fertigzumachen* 'it was a rush to complete the work'. In Luxembourgish this is often wider in use than in New High German: *d'Gof fir logesch ze denken*, NHG *die Gabe, logisch zu denken* 'the ability to think logically'; *eng nei Maneier fir kënnschlecht Gelichts ze maachen*, NHG *ein neuer Weg, künstliches Licht zu machen* 'a new way to make artificial light'.

*Participles.* (i) Past participle: the strong past participle of Riparian ends in *-e*, that of Luxembourgish in *-en*, or has no ending (Bruch 1955: section 25, 7c): Cologne *jeblose*, NHG *geblasen* 'blown', *jebrode*, NHG *gebraten* 'roasted', Lux. *geboss*, *gebroden*. The weak past participle ends in *-t*: Lux. *gepleckt*, *gepfleckt* 'plucked'. In the case of *heieren*, NHG *hören* 'to hear' the infinitive functions as past participle: *ech hun heieren*, NHG *ich habe gehört* 'I have heard'.

The prefix *ge-* is absent in Central Franconian past participle forms of the following: *bleiben*, *bringen*, *finden*, *geben*, *gehen*, *gelten*, *kaufen*, *kennen*, *kosten*, *kommen*, *kriegen*, *treffen*, *gleichen*. It may, however, be present in the infinitive and present tense of *sehen* (Lux. *gesinn* 'to see').

(ii) Present participles are not found, adjectives serving instead (NHG *glühend* 'red-hot'; Lux. *glüddeg*).

*Conditional.* While conditional forms of many verbs are still in use (Münch. 1904: sections 223–33; Bruch 1955: section 25, 4), analytical forms can be made up with the conditional of 'to go' and 'to do' plus infinitive: NHG lit. *ich ginge/äite kommen*. In and around Luxembourgish (Map 19), the reflex of NHG *geben* 'to give' is used: Lux. (koine) *ech géif (gäbe) der et soe*, NHG *ich würde dir es sagen*. *Géif* is common in reported speech and in desideratives: *hie mengt, hie géif kommen*, NHG *er meint, er würde kommen* 'he thinks he might come'; *ech géif gäre bezuelen*, NHG *ich möchte gern bezahlen* 'I should like to pay'. It also occurs in optatives: *géif onser I'gott him d'eiweg Feier* (*en huet sech ënner esou*

gär gewiermt), NHG *Gott gebe ihm das Ewige Feuer* (er hat sich immer so gerne gewärmt) 'God grant him eternal fire (he never did like the cold)'.

**Passive.** In Riparian the actional passive (*Vorgangspassiv*) is formed as in NHG with *werden* plus past participle: Cologne *quittet wide*, NHG *quittiert werden* 'to be signed for'. In Luxembourgish, as with the conditional, the auxiliary is *gin* (Map 19): *si gouwen zum Doud verurteelt*, NHG *sie wurden zum Tode verurteilt* 'they were condemned to death'. (The verb *gin* is used to express NHG *werden* 'to become' in most senses: *eens gin*, NHG *einig werden* 'agree'.) *Kreien*, NHG *kriegen* 'to get' may also be used as a passive substitute: *hien huet e Medal iwwerrecht kritt*, NHG *ihm wurde ein Orden verliehen* 'he was awarded a medal'.

**Future.** The future is normally expressed in Central Franconian with present tense plus an adverb of time: Lux. *ech kommen dār Muergerter een*, NHG *ich werde an einem der nächsten Morgen kommen* 'I'll come along one of these mornings'. Occasional use is made of *geen*, NHG *gehen* 'to go'. NHG *werden* is being used in modern Luxembourgish in this sense also in the form *wärden*. Normally, however, it is used to express probability: *et wäerd gläich renen*, NHG *es wird wohl bald regnen*, 'it looks like rain'; *du wäers dat Keisblatt dach net lesen, gelt?*, NHG *du liest nicht dieses Käseblatt, oder?* 'you don't read this gutter-press rag, do you?'.

**Perfect/Pluperfect.** These are formed as in New High German with the auxiliaries *haben* and *sein* plus past participle. Pluperfects are also used in perfect tense narrative to highlight specific events ('The Trier Pluperfect', cf. Christa 1927: 14). Throughout Central Franconian pluperfects may also occur as supercomposites (double perfects): e.g. the construction *ich habe geholfen gehabt*, NHG *ich hatte geholfen* 'I had helped'.

**Modal Auxiliaries and Preterite-presents.** Most of the auxiliaries found in New High German are present in Central Franconian. The reflex of NHG *mögen* is, however, restricted in Riparian to appetite for food and drink (*hā mach*, NHG *er säuft* 'he drinks (alcohol)'); in Lux. *mögen* does not occur, except in the Germanism *et mag säin*, NHG *es mag sein* 'it may be' (normal Lux. inf. *sin*), the sense of NHG *ich möchte* 'I should like' generally being expressed by *ich géif gär* (cf. section 7.3.4.3(c)).

In MFr. *brauchen* is treated as a modal and is without endings in the first and third persons singular. All further forms of these verbs are given below in section 7.3.4.4.

**Negation.** Negation is generally as in New High German, but in Riparian the double negative of Middle High German survived until the late nineteenth century: Aachen *ich en lüg net*, NHG *ich lüge nicht* 'I'm not

lying': cf. Rovenhagen (1860), Münch (1904: section 245). The alternative negative, *jeen*, NHG *kein* 'no' (Dutch *geen*) is now also largely obsolete in Riparian.

#### 7.3.4.4 Selected Conjugations

The sequence of the following chart is infinitive — present singular — preterite — past participle, then (in parentheses) conditional, and any present subjunctive survival. Riparian is on the first of the paired lines, Luxembourgish on the second:

NHG geben	jeve; jeve/jib/jitt; jov; jejeve, older jejoove
'to give'	gin; gin/gēs/gēt; gouf; gin; (géif)
NHG gehen	jon; jon/jets/jelt; jing; jejange
'to go'	goen; gin/gees/geet; goung; gaang(en); (géing)
NHG haben	han; han/häs/hät; hatt; jehat; hät
'to have'	hun; hun/hues/huet; hat; gehat; (hätt; hief)
NHG können	künne; kann/künns/kann; kunt; jekunt
'to be able'	kënnen; kann/kanns/kann; konnt; konnt; (kënn)
NHG kommen	kumme; kumme/küb/kütt; kom; (je)kumme
'to come'	kommen; kommen/këns/kënn; koun; kom; (kéim)
NHG müssen	müsse; muß/muß/muß; moot; jemoot
'to have to'	musse; muss/muss/muss; must; (ge)musst; (mist)
NHG nehmen	nemme; nemme/nimps/nimp; nohm; jenomme
'to take'	huelen; huelen/hélt(s)/hëlt; hollt; geholl(t); (hëllt) <sup>a</sup>
NHG sehen	sin; sin/sihs/süht; soch; jesin
'to see'	gesinn; gesinn/gesäis/gesäit; gesouch; gesinn; (geséich)
NHG sein	sin; ben/bes/es; wor; jewäs; (wör)
'to be'	sin; sin/bas/as; wor; gewiesch; (wär; wir; sief)
NHG stehen	ston; ston/stes/stet; stund; jestande; (stünd)
'to stand'	stoen; stoen/stees/stect; stoung; gestan(en); (stéing)
NHG tun	dun; dun/deis/deit; dät; jedon; (dät)
'to do'	dun; dun/dees/deet; dout; gedon; (dét) <sup>b</sup>
NHG wollen	welle; well/wells/well; wolt; jewolt; (wöll)
'to want'	wëllen; wëll/wëlls/wëllt; wollt; gewollt; (wëllt)

Notes: <sup>a</sup>Luxembourgish uses *huelen*, NHG *holen* 'to fetch' in all senses of NHG *nehmen* 'to take'.

<sup>b</sup>Many variant forms: inf. *doen/dongen*; pret. *dung*; conditional *déng*; past participle *gedunn*; cf. LSA 158 'tun', 162 'tū'.

### 7.4 Syntax

#### 7.4.1 Word Order

The reduction in case forms has made Central Franconian syntax more rigidly dependent on ordering than New High German. Because of the lack of accusative/dative distinction, indirect objects in Luxembourgish, whether nouns or pronouns, always precede direct objects (Bruch 1955: section 31): (nouns) *de Jäer schéisst den Hues*, NHG *der Jäger schießt den Hasen*, 'the hunter shoots the hare', NHG *den Hasen schießt der Jäger* (inverted