

On the areal and syntactic distribution of indefinite-partitive pronouns in German: Methodological advances and empirical results within the project *Syntax of Hessian Dialects (SyHD)*¹

Thomas Strobel

Goethe University Frankfurt am Main

th.strobel@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de

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1. Introduction

It is uncontroversial by now that not only phonetic/phonological and morphological variation exhibits spatial structures, but that the same is true for syntactic variation. This finding appears to be confirmed by the different means of expression of partitive-anaphoric reference in the varieties of the Continental West Germanic dialect continuum.

Pronouns with – among others – partitive function such as French *en* and Italian *ne* are well-known from Romance languages and, within Germanic, from Dutch (partitive/quantitative *er* < ODu/OLF *iro*, MDu *er/re*). However, German dialects as well show a wide range of syntactic means to express pronominal partitivity and a lot of interesting (micro-)variation within the respective systems. The older system of partitive genitive pronouns inherited from Middle High German lives on in mostly phonetically reduced enclitic forms like *(d)(a)r(ə)*, *s(ə)n*, *as* (< OHG MHG *iro/ir(e)*, *sîn*, *ës*), but it finds itself under strong pressure from various – diachronically innovative – alternative strategies to refer to indeterminate partial quantities, such as Low/Northern and Standard German *we(l)k-/welch-*, Southeastern (Bavarian) *ein-* and the Southwestern (Alemannic) \emptyset -system. In recent dialects, relic areas of genitive pronouns can be found primarily in a strip between West Central German and East Franconian, but also in the very south of the German-speaking area (High/Highest Alemannic and South Bavarian).

The German state of Hesse – understood primarily as an administrative unit and thus being neutral with regards to traditional dialect classifications based predominantly on phonetic/phonological criteria – comprises all three main German dialect areas (Low, Central and Upper German) in the form of core and/or transitional zones. Large parts of Hesse represent one of the remaining core areas of partitive genitive pronouns. Due to its central position, the area is considerably influenced by the above-mentioned expanding circumjacent patterns of pronominal partitivity. Transition zones with mixed systems of coexisting types, already attested for subdialects of Central Hessian (gen./ \emptyset) and East

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Franconian (gen./*ein-*) among others (cf. e.g. Glaser 1993, 1995, 2008), are of special interest for (diachronic) investigation.

Focusing on the phenomenon of pronominal partitivity, this article presents methods and first results within the current DFG-funded research project *Syntax of Hessian Dialects* (SyHD, www.syhd.info), which is a cooperation between the universities of Frankfurt, Marburg and Vienna and follows the experiences of data collection of the *Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects* (SAND, Meertens Institute Amsterdam) and the *Syntactic Atlas of Swiss German Dialects* (SADS, University of Zurich).

2. The research project *Syntax of Hessian Dialects* (SyHD)

One of the central goals of this paper is to present and discuss the methodological advances in dialect syntactic fieldwork and first results within the ongoing research project *Syntax of Hessian Dialects* – SyHD (www.SyHD.info). I will do this mainly on the basis of the variable ‘pronominal partitivity’ in German dialects, which displays very interesting areal and syntactic structures.

The SyHD-project, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) for three years (June 1, 2010 – May 31, 2013), is a cooperation between the universities of Frankfurt am Main (Helmut Weiß), Marburg (Jürg Fleischer) and Vienna (Alexandra N. Lenz). It aims at collecting, processing, making available and analyzing for the first time in a systematic and spatially comprehensive way data on the outlines of German dialect syntax using the example of an entire state (Hesse). This will result in an ‘expert system’ and numerous analyses of Hessian dialect syntax. The ‘expert system’ will contain as its core elements a scientific database of Hessian dialect syntax as well as georeferenced language maps. The analyses will integrate different linguistic subdisciplines such as historical linguistics, variational linguistics and syntactic theory.

The empirical domains and investigated phenomena within SyHD range from verbal syntax (preterite loss, *kriegen*-passive, *tun*-periphrasis, *am*-progressive, Infinitivus Pro Participio etc.), word order/serialization (e.g. (clitic) pronouns: subject–direct object–indirect object, verbal clusters), sentence linking (Doubly-filled COMP, comparative clauses, relative clauses, final infinitives) and (pro-)nominal syntax (e.g. definite article with proper nouns, possessive constructions, reflexive pronouns) to doubling phenomena (double perfect/pluperfect constructions, pronominal adverbs, multiple negation etc.), the latter of which represents an important interface to the project ‘European Dialect Syntax’ (Edisyn, www.dialectsyntax.org).

The German federal state of Hesse as the area under investigation is taken as an administrative unit and is thus neutral in terms of traditional dialect classifications, which are of a predominantly phonological and, to a minor degree, morphological nature. Hesse does not only comprise Hessian dialects like North Hessian, Central Hessian and East Hessian. It contains all three main German dialect areas in the form of core and/or transitional zones (cf. figure 1): mostly Central German (next to the bulk of West Central German dialects including also parts of Rhine Franconian in the south of Hesse and a transitional zone to Moselle Franconian in the west there is a transitional area to Thuringian, i.e. to East Central German, too), but also Low German (Westphalian and Eastphalian) and Upper German (transitional zone to East Franconian). As a consequence, the dialectal situation within Hesse is (expected to be) far from homogeneous, also with regard to syntactic phenomena.



FIGURE 1. Administrative borders and dialect areas of Hesse (core and transitional zones)
 (Dialect classification according to Wiesinger 1983 – REDE Mapviewer:
www.regionalsprache.de)

In order to avoid simply transferring already existing dialect classifications to syntactic phenomena and for the purpose of getting a comprehensive network of exploration spots, Hesse was divided into 165 neutral grid squares to start with. On this basis, one location per grid square was singled out for data collection by following fixed criteria in the selection process, concerning for example the size of the place (rural/small-town structures: ca. 500 to 1,500 inhabitants) and other prerequisites, such as the existence of a ‘Wenkerbogen’, of dialectological literature relevant for syntactic studies and of previous audio recordings/spoken language samples. Hence, SyHD is collecting data in a total of about 170 locations. For reasons of comparison, 12 of them are situated outside Hesse, in an approximately elliptical line around its administrative borders (distance from the Hessian border: ca. 50–75 km). They are located in the neighboring dialect areas of Westphalian, Eastphalian, Westphalian–Eastphalian (transitional area), Thuringian, East Franconian, Swabian, Rhine Franconian, Moselle Franconian and Ripuarian.

The criteria for the subsequent selection of about 5–8 appropriate informants per location (NORMs & NORFs) included pre-eminently the controlled factors age (over 65 years, among others because of the increased mobility in younger generations) and mobility (preference for non-mobile speakers, i.e. locals/natives never having lived outside their hometown). During the process of acquiring informants sufficing these homogeneous criteria, a first contact was established via mayors and other town representatives (‘Ortsvorsteher’) as well as chairs/members of local associations, clubs and societies.

As far as its data collection method is concerned, SyHD applies a multivariate approach, combining the advantages of indirect and direct data collection methods. Thanks to the groundbreaking work of previous dialect syntax projects, SyHD can build upon the fruitful experiences of the *Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects* (SAND) and the *Syntactic Atlas of Swiss German Dialects* (SADS). At a first stage, dedicated to an extensive basic inquiry and to

the preparation of the subsequent direct inquiry, a total of four questionnaires with 25 questions each are sent out to the informants. All main inquiries are preceded by thorough pretests and all questionnaires are carefully adapted to the local/regional dialects of the exploration spots (17 dialectalized/regionalized versions within Hesse plus 12 outside Hesse). At a second stage, personal interviews are conducted. They are most appropriate to deepen the knowledge about syntactic distributions and to elicit possible structural alternatives for particularly interesting phenomena (deepening). The insights gained in the first period can help to improve the design of the interviews and to choose the “best” informants out of stage one (optimization). Furthermore, it will be possible to check the data from both stages against each other (validation).

The current first two project years have been dedicated to carrying out the indirect exploration. Various question types and tasks have been tested within pretests and were eventually applied in the main investigation rounds: acceptability/multiple choice questions, translation tasks, sentence completion tasks, “puzzle” tasks and descriptions of images or image sequences (see Fleischer/Kasper/Lenz, forthcoming, for a detailed account; moreover, cf. Bucheli/Glaser 2002 for the SADS). The order of enumeration chosen here reflects an increasing level of “freedom” in the informants’ answering behavior. Variation of question type is advisable, since there is no single type of question suitable for every phenomenon and since different tasks entail different advantages and disadvantages. In the best case, one and the same phenomenon should be elicited with different techniques. A subsequent comparison of the results might lead to interesting insights.

3. “Pronominal partitivity”: the phenomenon

Pronouns with – among others – partitive or quantitative functions such as Italian *ne* and French *en* are well-known from (and well investigated in) Romance languages. As for Germanic languages, it is commonly assumed that the Dutch pronoun *er* in its partitive/quantitative manifestation is quite a unique phenomenon:

[...] het is denkbaar dat de oorspronkelijke stoot, het ontstaan dus van *er* in zuiver partitieve constructies, aan beïnvloeding van (dan waarschijnlijk het literaire) Nederlands door Franse voorbeelden toe te schrijven is. Ten slotte gaat het hier om een vrij uniek feit in de Germaanse talen: het Engels heeft helemaal geen ekwivalent, en het Duitse *deren* (bv. ‘*er hat deren zwei zurückgefunden*’) is zo sterk gemarkeerd dat we het in deze discussie ook rustig opzij mogen schuiven. (De Schutter 1992: 23)

However, when dialectal data is taken into consideration, it turns out that several (High) German dialects do make use of an originally genitive pronominal form to refer to an indeterminate partial quantity. These pronouns – as well as the numerous alternative strategies of partitive-anaphoric reference in other dialect areas and in the standard language – have hardly ever been explored for German, except for the work by Elvira Glaser, who has published several very important papers on this topic (cf. Glaser 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 2008). The consideration of dialectal data – for German as well as, for example, for Dutch (cf. e.g. Kranendonk 2010) – does not only significantly extend the empirical basis for investigating pronominal partitivity. Due to the smaller syntactic differences between very closely related languages or dialects (microvariation), it allows a more fine-grained

investigation into potential (micro-)parameters and hence an answer to the question of the minimal units of syntactic variation (cf. Kayne 1996). Moreover, in consequence of the lack of a standardization process, dialects are not only richer in variants compared to standard languages, but as first order natural languages (N1 languages) they provide more natural and thus more reliable data (cf. Weiß *inter alia* 1998, 2004).

Taking Romance languages as a point of departure, one can observe that Italian and French partitive pronouns (< Lat. *inde* 'from there' > 'from that/it, of that/it') can be used together with numerals as in (1a) and (2a), but also without an indication of quantity, as in (1b). Furthermore, Italian *ne* and French *en* are also used in order to refer to mass nouns, as in (2b).

(1) a. Quanti anni ha? – Secondo me **ne** ha trentadue.
 how-many years has_{3SG} according-to me NE has_{3SG} 32
 'How old is s/he? – I think s/he's thirty-two.'
 [STANDARD ITALIAN]

b. Ho comprato delle mele e **ne** ho già mangiate.
 have_{1SG} bought of-the apples_{FEM.PL} and NE have_{1SG} already eaten_{FEM.PL}
 'I've bought some apples and I've already eaten some of them.'
 [STANDARD ITALIAN]

(2) a. Combien d'oranges est-ce que vous voulez?
 how-many of-oranges is-it that you want
 J'**en** voudrais trois.
 I EN would-like three
 'How many oranges would you like? – I'd like three.'
 [STANDARD FRENCH]

b. Il demande du pain; on lui **en** donne (du frais).
 he asks of-the bread we him EN give (of-the fresh)
 'He asks for bread; we give him some (fresh).'
 [STANDARD FRENCH]

The prototypical instance of Dutch quantitative *er* is its compulsory usage together with an indication of quantity, e.g. the numeral *twee* 'two' in (3a). But there are many more cases of obligatory or facultative usage of this pronoun, showing fascinating areal and distributional patterns of variation in Dutch dialects. The sentence in (3b) and (3c) respectively reproduces one of these cases, namely *er* referring to a mass noun like *koffie* 'coffee', which is not part of Standard Dutch, but of Southern, especially Belgian varieties.

(3) a. Hoeveel kinderen heb je? – Ik heb **er** twee.
 how-many children have you I have ER two
 'How many children do you have? I have two.'
 [STANDARD DUTCH]

b. Wil je nog koffie? – Nee, dank je, ik heb **(*er)** nog.
 [NORTHERN STANDARD DUTCH]

c. Wil je nog koffie? – Nee, dank je, ik heb **er** nog.
 want you still coffee no thank you I have (ER) still
 'Would you like some more coffee? – No, thank you, I still have some.'
 [BELGIAN (regional) varieties]

In German dialects such as Central Hessian, moreover, there does not only exist a partitive pronoun *ere*, which refers to plural entities and feminine singular mass nouns respectively, see (4a) and (4b), but there is also a masculine and neuter singular counterpart *sen*, referring to mass nouns such as *Fleisch* ‘meat’ in (4c).

- (4) a. Hei sein **ere!** [Pilze]
 here are ERE [mushrooms]
 ‘Here are some (of them)!’
 (SyHD E1_Dec_10: Q21) [CENTRAL HESSIAN]
- b. Mer hu ach Melch. Willst du **ere?**
 we have also milk want you ERE
 ‘We have milk, too. Would you like some?’
 (SyHD E2_Jun_11: Q22) [CENTRAL HESSIAN]
- c. Soll eich **sen** holle? [Fleisch]
 shall I SEN get [meat]
 ‘Shall I get some?’
 (SyHD E1_Dec_10: Q6) [CENTRAL HESSIAN]

Both German ((*a*)*r*(*a*) < PERS PRON 3rd Plur. Gen.: OHG *iro*, 3rd Fem. Sing. Gen.: OHG *ira/iru/-o*, MHG *ir(e)*; *s*(*a*)*n* < PERS PRON 3rd Masc./((Neut.) Sing. Gen.: OHG MHG *sîn*) and Dutch (*er* < PERS PRON 3rd Plur. Gen.: ODu/OLF *iro*, MDu *er/re*) partitive/quantitative pronouns are derived from third person genitive pronouns. In recent German dialects, these pronouns are mostly limited to a strip between West Central German and East Franconian. But they can also be found in peripheral areas of the very south of the German-speaking area, that is in High/Highest Alemannic and South Bavarian. In these High German varieties, the older system inherited from Middle High German lives on in mostly phonetically reduced enclitic relic forms. Apart from the above-mentioned forms (*a*)*r*(*a*) and *s*(*a*)*n*, one can also find d(emonstrative)-pronouns in this function (< DEM PRON 3rd Plur. Gen.: OHG *thëro/dëro*) and the masculine/neuter singular form *as* (< PERS PRON 3rd Neut./((Masc.) Sing. Gen.: OHG *ës/is*), for example in Moselle Franconian:

- (5) a. Ech hunn **der/där** (Pl.)genuch.
 I have (D)ERE enough
 ‘I have enough of them.’
 [LUXEMBOURGISH (MOSELLE FRANCONIAN)]
 (Schanen/Zimmer 2006: 93)
- b. Hcs dau **as** nah? [Zucker]
 have you ES still [sugar]
 ‘Do you still have any?’
 [MOSELLE FRANCONIAN: Hunsrück]
 (Reuter 1989: 267)

Apart from pronominal genitives, however, modern German dialects exhibit quite a wide range of different syntactic means to express pronominal partitivity, putting the older genitive system under strong pressure. The three most important innovative alternative strategies of partitive-anaphoric reference in German are (cf. Glaser *inter alia* 1993):

- the Southwestern, primarily Alemannic system of null anaphora, cf. (6). Typologically, this strategy is not unique; it can also be found for example in Russian, Spanish and Portuguese;

(6) I heet gɛɛɐn khɛɐfə, hɛdɐɐ Ø? Ja, doo sen Ø; nem dɛɐ Ø.
 I would like cherries have-you Ø yes here are Ø take you Ø
 'I'd like some cherries, do you have any? – Yes, here are some; take some (of them).'

[ALEMANNIC]
 (Glaser 1995: 69)

- the Southeastern, originally Bavarian system, making use of the indefinite pronoun *ein-*'one', cf. (7). This pronoun is also used in the other varieties of German in order to refer to a singular count noun. Note that Bavarian has not only extended its usage to mass nouns, but it uses *ein-* also for plural entities, wherever a plural form morphologically exists;

(7) Happts jö ði khafft? [Kartoffeln]
 have-you already EIN-_{PL} bought [potatoes]
 'Did you already buy some?'

[BAVARIAN]
 (Glaser 1993: 107)

- the Low/Northern and New High German system with the partitive-indefinite pronouns *we(l)k-* and *welch-* respectively, cf. (8–9), which are also used as interrogative and relative pronouns and presumably stem from their interrogative counterparts.

(8) De keen Sorgen hett, de maakt sik wölk(e).
 this/the no worries has this/the makes himself WELK-
 'Those who have no worries, cause some for themselves.'

[LOW GERMAN]
 (Thies 2010: 176 ff)

(9) Ich habe keine Zigaretten. Hast du welche?
 I have no cigarettes have you WELCH-
 'I don't have cigarettes. Do you have any?'

[STANDARD GERMAN]

The synoptic map in figure 2, taken from Glaser (2008), gives an excellent overview of the approximate areal distribution of the various syntactic strategies of partitive-anaphoric reference in the plural for the whole German-speaking area. It shows very clearly that pronominal partitivity in German is a syntactic variable with an areal/spatial pattern of distribution (see Glaser 2008). Regions with borders represented by dashed lines are not yet sufficiently explored. Instead of clear-cut isoglosses, one naturally has to assume broad zones of transition between the different systems.

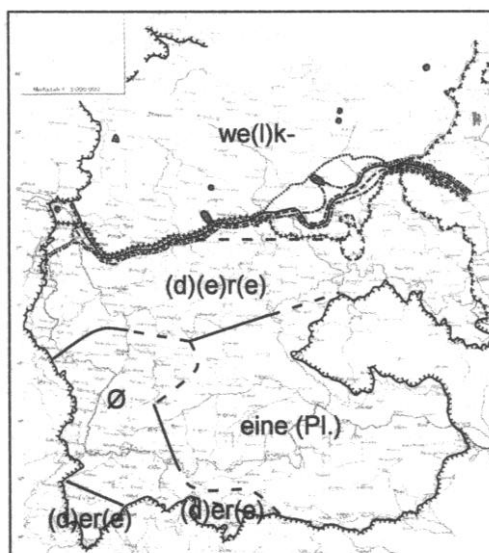


FIGURE 2. Partitive-anaphoric reference (plural) (Glaser 2008: 108)

Hesse, as one of the remaining core areas of partitive genitive pronouns, is particularly suitable for research on strategies of pronominal partitivity: Due to its central position, it is considerably influenced by the surrounding innovative patterns, which tend to spread. This situation has given rise to interesting transition zones with mixed systems of coexisting types. There are some very instructive “changes in progress”, which have to be explored in more detail.

4. Requirements and difficulties in the collection of data on partitive pronouns

It turned out to be extremely difficult to elicit empirically valid data concerning the areal and syntactic distribution of indefinite-partitive pronouns. First of all, this has to do with the requirement to embed the phenomenon in a suitable everyday situational context, easily intelligible and unambiguous, which has to be created artificially in the exploration situation by furnishing an introductory context description (cf. also Glaser 1995). In the case of indefinite-partitive pronouns, reference is made to a qualitatively determined entity, known from the situation or context, in a quantitatively undetermined manner, as Glaser (1993) points out.

Translation tasks are hardly applicable to this phenomenon, because there is a high risk that a given Standard German *welch*-sentence triggers standardlike answers or at least primes the informants in an unwanted way with respect to the actualized diatopic variety. As a result of the massive spreading of *welch*- into High German dialects in recent times, these forms might even be mistaken for vernacular ones. According to Glaser (1995), especially the younger generation in urban areas seems to be only familiar with this standard and widespread regiolectal form, even though the dialectal constructions continue to be used in some areas and are even absorbed into regional varieties sporadically, e.g. the genitive pronoun *ere* into the Thuringian regiolect (cf. Spangenberg 1998).

On the other hand, because of the relatively greater “openness” of a translation task in comparison to multiple choice questions, this question type is more likely to give rise to interesting alternative answers regarding both forms and word order. This became evident

in a pretest question, where previously unconsidered forms as well as unexpected word order patterns showed up. The translation of the standard stimulus sentence in (10) gave rise to dialectal answers like (10a-c) in one and the same location:

- (10) Willst du **davon** noch **welche**? [Ostereier]
want you of-them still WELCH- [Easter eggs]
'Do you want some of those yet?'

[STANDARD GERMAN]
(SyHD Pretest II 2008: Q5)

- a. Willst dou **dovo** ach noch **re**?
b. Willst du **dovo** noch **er** hu?
c. Willst dou **dovo ere** noach hu, ha?

[CENTRAL HESSIAN: Butzbach]

However, such peculiarities can also be expressed in acceptability tasks, namely in a special section dedicated to the informants' own variants within all multiple choice questions. That's where, for example, the very interesting "pleonastic" use of more than one partitive strategy appeared in some questions and places, cf. (11–12):

- (11) Du sei **ner welche**. [Pilze]
there are ERE WELCH- [mushrooms]
'There are some (of them).'

[CENTRAL HESSIAN-NORTH HESSIAN: Battenberg-Dodenau]
(SyHD E1_Dec_10: Q21)

- (12) Mai hon au Kardoffel. Wellste **ere doadoavo** au
we have also potatoes want-you ERE of-them also
noch **welche** hoa?
in-addition WELCH- have'
'We have potatoes, too. Do you want some (of them) as well?'

[EAST HESSIAN: Großenbach]
(SyHD Pt_E3_B_Aug_11: Q24)

Another possible problem concerning the collection of data on pronominal partitivity is that work tasks, i.e. all non-acceptability/multiple choice questions, are potentially too open to interpretation and hence to the application of "avoidance strategies". Instead of using the respective base dialectal strategies of partitive-anaphoric reference, some informants might switch to indefinite pronouns expressing small quantities or amounts such as *einige* 'a few' or *ein paar* 'a couple of' in the plural and *ein bisschen/ein wenig* 'a (little) bit' in the singular (e.g. *Soll ich ein bisschen/ein wenig holen?* instead of the targeted pronouns *sen/welch-*: *Soll ich **sen/welches** holen?* 'Should I get some?' [Fleisch, 'meat'], SyHD_E1_Dec_10: Q6). Furthermore, some might choose definite reference by means of the corresponding personal pronoun instead of indefinite reference (*Soll ich es holen?* 'Should I get it?'), others might repeat the noun (*Soll ich Fleisch holen?* 'Should I get meat?') or eventually just use alternative lexical means, avoiding the focused construction completely (*Soll ich einkaufen gehen?* 'Should I go and buy groceries?').

One of the most important advantages of the subsequent direct interrogations during the interviews in the second stage of the project is the possibility for the interviewer to react flexibly to the answers of the informants and ask follow-up questions. As Glaser (1995) already pointed out though, in this case perhaps it will not be achievable that the test sentences are completely identical, because the informants might react differently to a given situational context.

However, I was able to find an effective way to eliminate one interfering factor already within the indirect method: The number of answers with a mere repetition of the noun could be reduced decisively by inserting the noun also into the informants' responses. In a multiple choice question of the first questionnaire, where the noun was only part of the introductory situational context, but not of the test sentence itself, we got a total of 171 instances of the noun *Fleisch* 'meat' repeated instead of the intended use of a pronoun.

	TOTAL	Westph.	Eastph.	NHess.-Thur.	NHess.	NHess.-EHess.	EHess.	CHess.-NHess.	CHess.-MFr.	CHess.	CHess.-EHess.-EFr.	CHess.-MFr.-RhFr.	CHess.-RhFr.	RhFr.
<i>sen</i>	147	1	0	7	24	2	17	11	4	50	23	0	7	1
<i>welches</i>	347	52	9	32	74	31	14	12	11	33	7	23	11	38
∅	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	5	1	15
<i>(et)was*</i>	78	16	11	7	4	2	8	4	7	0	5	7	0	7
<i>es/das**</i>	74	1	2	2	5	1	6	5	8	11	1	8	2	22
<i>Fleisch (rep.)</i>	171	17	3	2	15	0	10	10	13	43	14	12	5	27

(et)was*: was/wat, ebbes; *es/das*: 's/t, es/et, das/dat

TABLE 1. Repetition of the noun instead of pronominal reference in the targeted sentence *Sollich **sen/welches** holen?* [Fleisch, 'meat'] 'Should I get some?' (SyHD_E1_Dec10: Q6)

In an optimized multiple choice question of the second questionnaire, where the noun *Geld* 'money' was part of the given set of answers and thus had to be used directly by the informants before referring to it with a pronoun, we got a splendidly low rate of only five answers in which the noun was repeated nevertheless:

	TOTAL	Westph.	Eastph.	NHess.-Thur.	NHess.	NHess.-EHess.	EHess.	CHess.-NHess.	CHess.-MFr.	CHess.	CHess.-EHess.-EFr.	CHess.-MFr.-RhFr.	CHess.-RhFr.	RhFr.
<i>sen</i>	157	1	0	1	26	5	16	18	4	54	23	1	8	0
<i>welches</i>	177	30	1	25	42	16	12	6	4	16	4	6	4	11
∅	113	1	0	0	1	0	3	1	8	16	6	16	5	56
<i>eines</i>	27	2	0	1	3	0	5	0	4	5	1	2	2	2
<i>(et)was*</i>	73	16	10	5	11	2	0	1	5	9	0	5	4	5
<i>Geld (rep.)</i>	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1

**(et)was*: was/wat, ebbes

TABLE 2. Repetition of the noun instead of pronominal reference in the targeted sentence *Ich habe auch kein Geld mehr, aber da liegt **sen/welches/∅/eines** auf dem Tisch.* 'I don't have any money left either, but there is some (lying) on the table.' (SyHD_E2_Jun_11: Q7)

5. Areal distribution of different strategies of pronominal partitivity in the dialects of Hesse

As we have pointed out in section 3, pronominal partitivity in German is a syntactic variable with a clear areal/spatial pattern of distribution. Glaser (2008) has already demonstrated this for the entire German-speaking area. But which spatial (and special) structures does this syntactic variable display within the dialects of Hesse? Having preserved partitive genitive pronouns in some cases and places up to the present day and being located right amidst

expanding younger systems for the expression of pronominal partitivity, the area under investigation seems to be most appropriate for questions concerning the decay process of the archaic partitive genitives, the spreading of innovative strategies and the role of language/dialect contact (dialect–dialect, dialect–standard). Roughly speaking, the dialects of Hesse – as they are spoken by the generation of 65+ at present – are conservative with regard to the expression of partitive-anaphoric reference in some (central) parts, preserving the pronominal genitive forms, and they are more innovative with respect to this syntactic variable in other (peripheral) areas, characterized by dialect contact with the circumjacent innovative patterns: *we(l)k-/welch-* in the North and through the standard language, \emptyset in the Southwest/South and *ein-* in the Southeast/East.

In order to find out more about the areal structures of pronominal partitivity within Hesse, in a first question we tested the reference to the plural entity *Pilze* ‘mushrooms’ through the pronouns *ere* or *welch-*. Figure 3 shows the distribution of the informants’ answers in form of a map. The red dots on the map reproduce the distribution of the partitive genitive pronoun *ere*, appearing mainly in Central and East Hessian as well as in their respective transitional zones to North Hessian, Moselle Franconian and East Franconian, and, to a minor extent, also in the adjacent Rhine Franconian area. The intensity of the colour red, i.e. the degree to which the circles are filled, represents the percentage of informants in a particular location who accepted the use of the genitive pronoun. The diameter of a circle represents the number of informants that sent back their questionnaires from that place, i.e. a bigger circle stands for a more substantiated and thus safer result. These principles of cartographic representation are maintained throughout the following SyHD-maps.

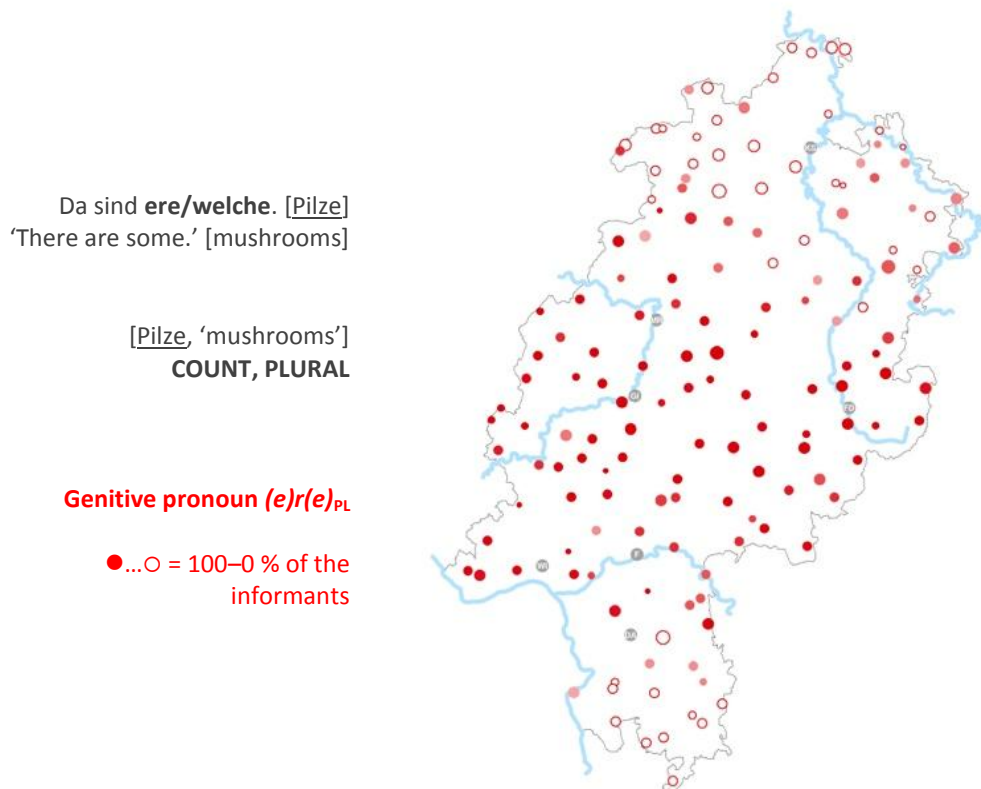


FIGURE 3. Areal distribution of the genitive pronoun $(e)r(e)_{PL}$ (SyHD_E1_Dec_10: Q21)

The genitive pronoun *ere* is nearly absent in the North of Hesse (Westphalian and Eastphalian) and in the southern part of Rhine Franconian. In line with our expectations, we find the alternative strategy of indefinite *we(l)k-/welch-* in these dialect areas. This holds true especially for the Low German-speaking part of Hesse, separated from High German by the Benrath line visible in bold print on the next map (figure 4). But this innovation clearly is not limited to Low German dialects: It has made its way to a great deal of North Hessian, North Hessian-Thuringian and North Hessian-East Hessian, and even – probably via the standard language – to Rhine Franconian and places all over the area.

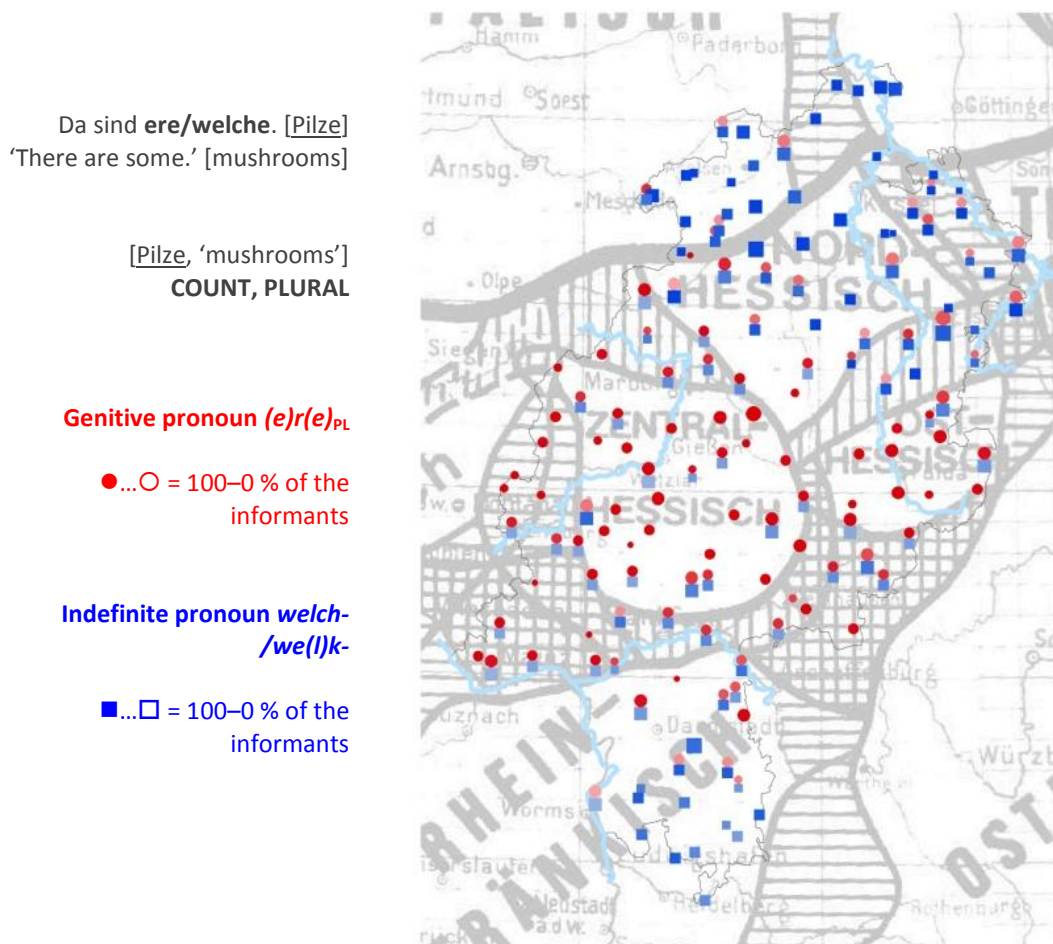


FIGURE 4. Areal distribution of the genitive pronoun *(e)r(e)_{PL}* and the indefinite pronoun *welch-/we(l)k-* (SyHD_E1_Dec_10: Q21, multiple selections possible)

As far as the masculine and neuter singular counterpart of the genitive pronoun is concerned, we can observe that *sen* is basically limited to a strip from the Northwest to the Southeast of Central Hesse, more precisely to Central and East Hessian – although it isn't omnipresent in these dialect regions either – as well as to their transitional zones to East Franconian and North Hessian (see figure 5).

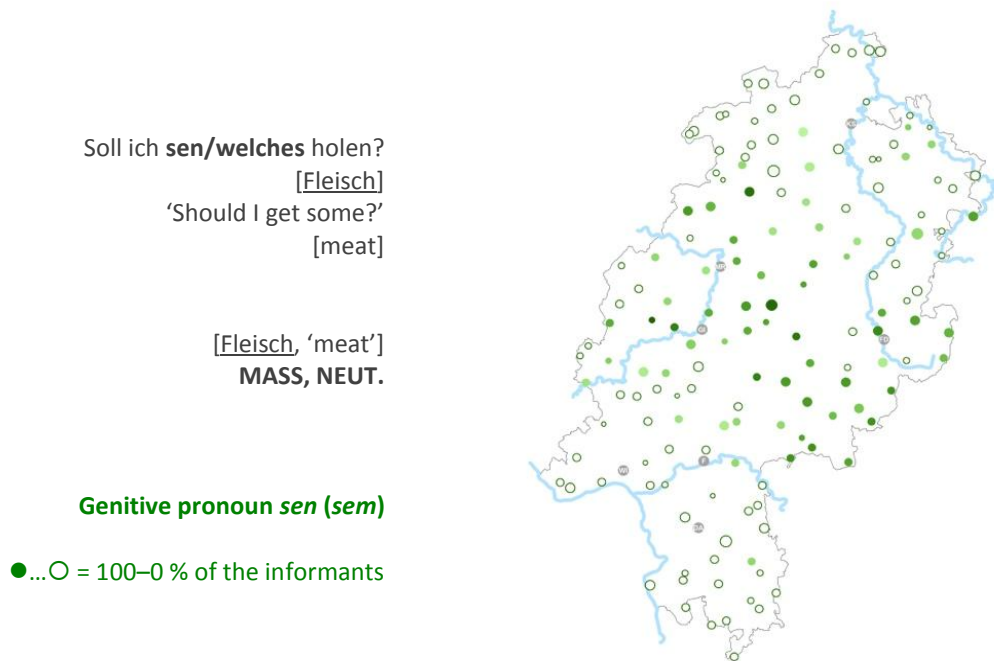


FIGURE 5. Areal distribution of the genitive pronoun *sen (sem)* (SyHD_E1_Dec_10: Q6)

The next map (figure 6) is an overlay of the singular genitive pronoun *sen* and the Northern/Standard indefinite pronoun *we(l)k-/welch-*, picturing the areal distribution of these two competing strategies.

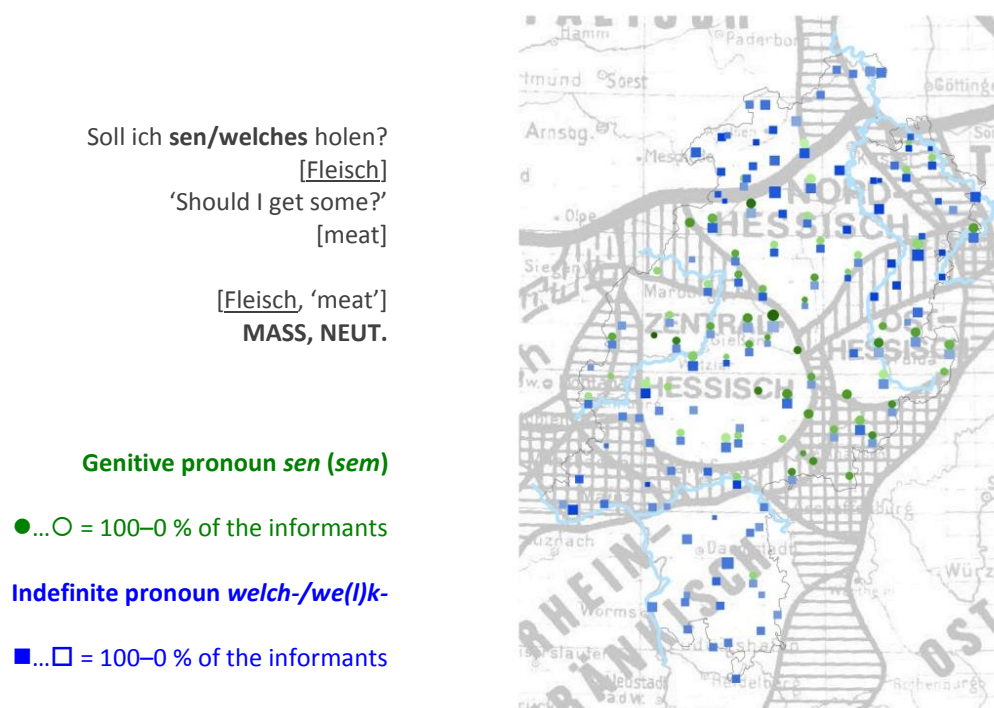


FIGURE 6. Areal distribution of the genitive pronoun *sen (sem)* and the indefinite pronoun *welch-/we(l)k-* (SyHD_E1_Dec_10: Q6, multiple selections possible)

For its feminine counterpart referring to mass nouns, the singular form *ere*, we find a more reduced area of diffusion: This form appears to be restricted to an even narrower strip from the Northwest to the Southeast of Central Hesse (see figure 7).

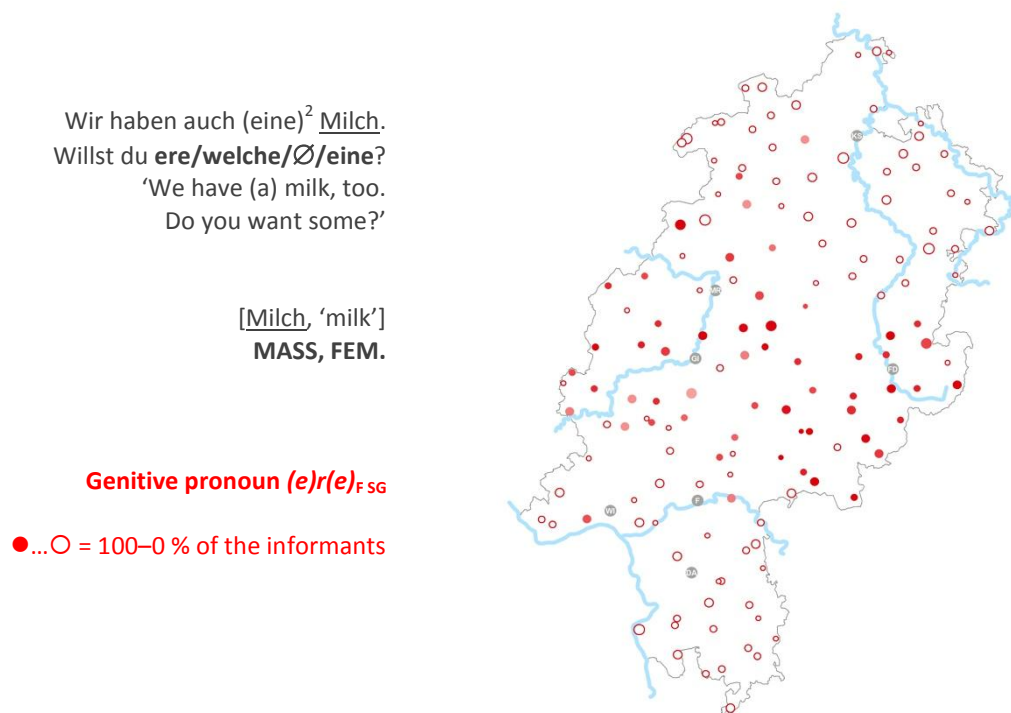


FIGURE 7. Areal distribution of the genitive pronoun *(e)r(e)_{FSG}* (SyHD_E2_Jun_11: Q22)

When we compare the diffusion of the feminine singular partitive genitive pronoun *ere* to that of the innovative Northern/Standard strategy *we(l)k-/welch-* (figure 8), it turns out that the two Low German varieties West- and Eastphalian form one common area together with

² The usage of the indefinite article together with mass nouns as in *eine Milch* 'milk' (literally 'a milk') would be expected to appear in dialects using the indefinite pronoun *ein-*, i.e. the Southeastern (originally Bavarian) strategy of reference. Therefore, the article was added in the answer variant testing for the indefinite pronoun *ein-*, in order to find out how far to the Northwest and thus into the Hessian area under investigation this strategy has already expanded.

The correlation between the indefinite pronoun *ein-* and the indefinite article together with mass nouns was discovered by Elvira Glaser. She found out that the dialect area using the indefinite article *ein-* with mass nouns includes and reaches beyond the area that employs *ein-* as an indefinite pronoun, the indefinite article with mass nouns turning out to be a necessary, but not a sufficient precondition of partitive-anaphoric *ein-*. In her 2008 paper on syntactic areal structures, she gives a sketch of the spatial distribution of the Southeastern dialects using the indefinite article before mass nouns. The area is confirmed by explorations within the *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache* (AdA) (III, 8d): http://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/lehrstuehle/germanistik/sprachwissenschaft/ada/runde_3/f08d/.

This shows that one can get important hints about potential correlations between phenomena by overlaying maps with distinct morphosyntactic variables showing similar areal distributions. The cartographic representation of syntactic variables and variants can be a very useful tool and serve as input to theoretical investigation (cf. Edisyn: Manual, Chapter 1, 2. Empirical interests).

North Hessian and its respective transition zones (North Hessian-Thuringian, North Hessian-East Hessian) across the Benrath line. This means that the syntactic isogloss between the two strategies partitive genitive and indefinite *welch-* does not coincide with this established cluster of phonological isoglosses as a separating line between High and Low German. On the other hand, we find that Central Hessian and East Hessian (plus the transitional zone Central Hessian-East Hessian-East Franconian) – the core areas of partitive genitives within Hesse – cluster in their shared use of genitive pronouns, roughly in all numbers and genders. This overall areal distribution supports the assumption of comparatively large-scale dialect syntactic areas. We will see below what alternative strategy is prevalent in the Southern, that is Rhine Franconian area, showing a noticeable gap on map 8.

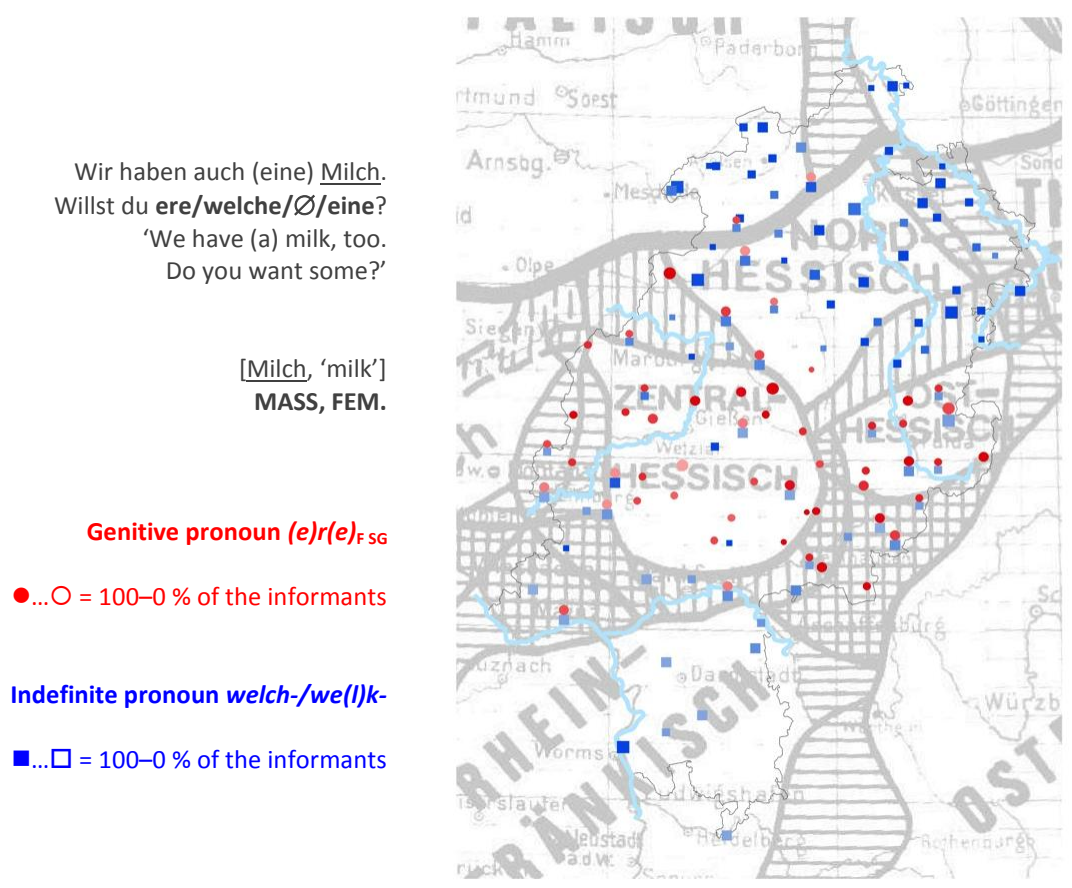


FIGURE 8. Areal distribution of the genitive pronoun (e)r(e)_{F SG} and the indefinite pronoun *welch-/we(l)k-* (SyHD_E2_Jun_11: Q22, multiple selections possible)

The overlay in figure 9 finally contrasts the vitality of the genitive pronouns *ere* for plural as well as for feminine mass nouns and *sen* for masculine/neuter mass nouns.

Da sind **ere/welche**. [Pilze]
 'There are some.' [mushrooms]

Ich habe auch kein **Geld** mehr, aber da
 liegt **sen/welches/Ø/eines** auf dem
 Tisch.
 'I don't have any money left either, but
 there is some (lying) on the table.'

Wir haben auch (eine) **Milch**.
 Willst du **ere/welche/Ø/eine**?
 'We have (a) milk, too.
 Do you want some?'

[Pilze, 'mushrooms'] **COUNT, PLUR.**
 [Geld, 'money'] **MASS, NEUT.**
 [Milch, 'milk'] **MASS, FEM.**

- Genitive pronoun (e)r(e)_{PL}**
 ●...○ = 100–0 % of the informants
- Genitive pronoun sen (sem)**
 ●...○ = 100–0 % of the informants
- Genitive pronoun (e)r(e)_{F.SG}**
 ●...○ = 100–0 % of the informants

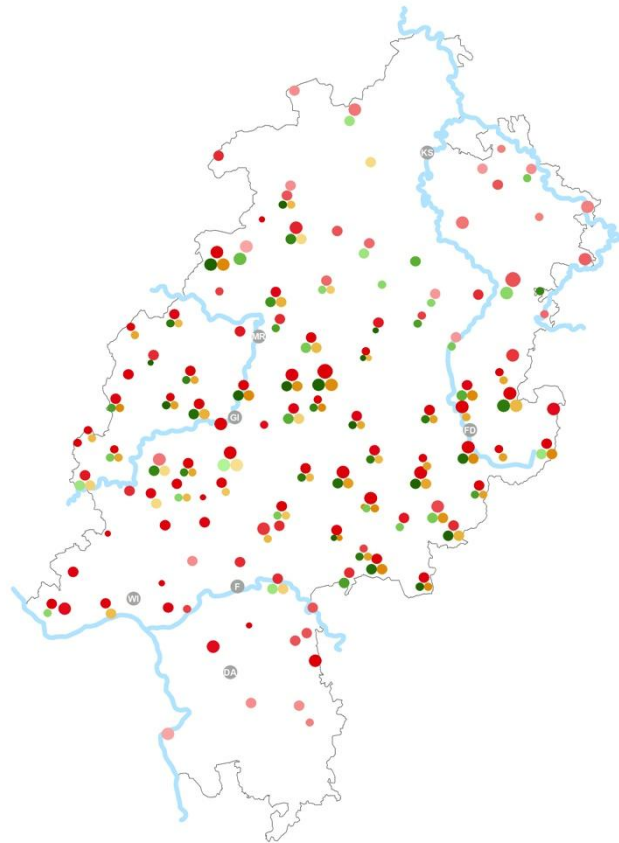


FIGURE 9. Areal distribution of the genitive pronouns $(e)r(e)_{PL}$, $sen (sem)$ and $(e)r(e)_{F.SG}$ (SyHD_E1_Dec_10: Q21; E2_Jun_11: Q7 & Q22)

Depending on their number/gender, partitive genitive pronouns in Hesse clearly differ with respect to their vitality. We can observe that, starting out from a core area in Central and Eastern Hesse – the “retreat area”, as it were, of partitive genitive pronouns, where the older system has survived longest –, the plural form extends further than the masculine/neuter singular form, which again extends further than the feminine singular form: distribution area of ere_{PL} > sen > $ere_{F.SG}$.

Based on this areal observation, we can conclude as a working hypothesis that the decline of the partitive genitive pronouns and the expansion of innovative strategies, which are two sides of the same coin, first occurs in the **singular** and only then in the **plural**,³ and that in several places it occurs in the **feminine singular** – being homonymous with the plural form –, before it affects the masculine/neuter singular. This categorial difference, which had not been observed previously, needs to be explained.

³ The preliminary finding of a few rare locations in the North where we encounter a singular genitive pronoun $sen/ere_{F.SG}$, without a plural form ere_{PL} , does not yet exclude the existence of the plural pronoun in these local dialects. For the time being, it only means that we didn't get the plural form in the answers to this specific question. If we want to be sure that there is no plural form in use, we will have to compare this result with other questions on the plural and/or get potential negative evidence from the interviews.

As far as the difference between singular and plural forms is concerned, an important reason for the observable progression of decay/spreading might lie in the higher markedness of the plural in relation to the singular. In general, plural morphology is more persistent, a case in point being the plural form of the pronominal genitive *ere*. Within one category, here number, marked forms are eventually assimilated to unmarked ones, i.e. the more persistent plural form is adapted to the innovative singular strategy. Within the singular, we must differentiate between two cases: On the one hand, there is a compact Northeastern area with several location spots featuring the pronoun *sen*, but not *ere*_{F.sg.}. This might be the result of the resolution of a homonymic conflict, keeping in mind that the form *ere* is not only used for feminine singular mass nouns, but also for plural entities. On the other hand, there are a few rather dispersed locations in southern Central Hessian and East Hessian with feminine singular *ere*, but without its masculine/neuter counterpart *sen*. This could be an instance of simplification of the lexicon. Thereby, only one form, i.e. *ere*, is maintained, at the expense of the form *sen*.

Let us have a closer look at the Southern dialects of Hesse now, where we had already come across the indefinite pronoun *welch-*, most probably introduced there by the standard language. In this area however, a much more dominant strategy of partitive-anaphoric reference is in use: the \emptyset -system of Alemannic origin. A first cartographic representation of the areal diffusion of the null anaphora referring to the neuter mass noun *Geld* 'money' and the feminine mass noun *Milch* 'milk' shows that this strategy, coming from the South, is at least in the singular clearly not limited to Rhine Franconian and its adjacent transitional zones (Central Hessian-Moselle Franconian-Rhine Franconian, Central Hessian-Rhine Franconian). It has already made its way into the southern part of Central Hessian and contiguous transitional zones (Central Hessian-Moselle Franconian, Central Hessian-East Hessian-East Franconian), and to a minor degree even into East Hessian (see figure 10).

Ich habe auch kein Geld mehr,
aber da liegt sen/welches/Ø/eines
auf dem Tisch.
'I don't have any money left either,
but there is some (lying) on the table.'

Wir haben auch (eine) Milch.
Willst du ere/welche/Ø/eine?
'We have (a) milk, too.
Do you want some?'

[Geld, 'money'] MASS, NEUT.
[Milch, 'milk'] MASS, FEM.

Null anaphora Ø (N.Sg.)
●...○ = 100-0 % of the informants

Null anaphora Ø (F.Sg.)
●...○ = 100-0 % of the informants

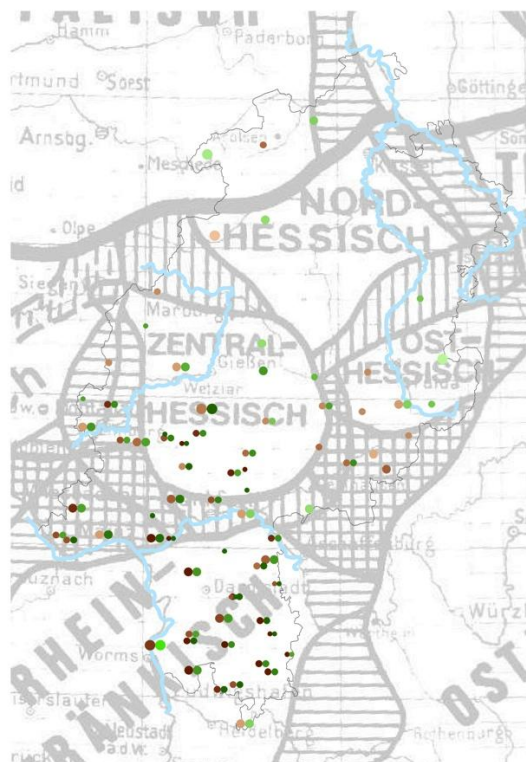


FIGURE 10. Areal distribution of the null anaphora Ø in the singular
(SyHD_E2_Jun_11: Q7 & Q22)

To conclude this section, I want to point out that there is another form that deserves at least a brief mention. A closer inspection of the neuter singular indefinite pronoun *(et)was* 'some, a little, a bit (of)' shows us that this pronoun appears almost all over the area in the regional variants *was/wat* and *ebbes*. Interestingly enough, however, it occurs with above average frequency in the Low German varieties East- and Westphalian as well as in the contiguous North Hessian and North Hessian-Thuringian transitional dialect areas. It even turns out to be the main strategy in Eastphalian, clearly ahead of its competitor *we(l)k-/welch-*. This means that the two Low German varieties within Hesse do not cluster completely with regard to the neuter singular strategy: one dialect area seems to give preference to *we(l)k-* (Westphalian), whereas the other one uses primarily *wat* (Eastphalian):

	TOTAL	Westph.	Eastph.	NHess.-Thur.	NHess.	NHess.-EHess.	EHess.	CHess.-NHess.	CHess.-MFr.	CHess.	CHess.-EHess.-Efr.	CHess.-MFr.-RhFr.	CHess.-RhFr.	RhFr.
<i>sen</i>	157	1	0	1	26	5	16	18	4	54	23	1	8	0
<i>welches</i>	177	30	1	25	42	16	12	6	4	16	4	6	4	11
Ø	113	1	0	0	1	0	3	1	8	16	6	16	5	56
<i>eines</i>	27	2	0	1	3	0	5	0	4	5	1	2	2	2
<i>(et)was*</i>	73	16	10	5	11	2	0	1	5	9	0	5	4	5
<i>Geld</i> (rep.)	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1

**(et)was*: *was/wat, ebbes*

TABLE 3. Spontaneous occurrences of the indefinite pronoun *(et)was* in the test sentence *Ich habe auch kein Geld mehr, aber da liegt sen/welches/Ø/eines auf dem Tisch*. 'I don't have any money left either, but there is some (lying) on the table.' (SyHD_E2_Jun_11: Q7)

6. Syntactic distribution of partitive/quantitative pronouns in Dutch and German dialects

A close comparison between partitive genitive pronouns in German dialects and quantitative *er* in Dutch (standard language and dialects) can be very instructive. The microvariational data from the fieldwork carried out within SyHD and its application to the analysis of pronouns in quantificational constructions as developed for example by Kranendonk (2010) for Dutch *er* (weak pronoun, pro-nP) can contribute to improve our knowledge about the syntactic structure of the nominal domain. There are three interesting contexts I want to present briefly to this end: (1) co-occurrence with numerals/indications of quantity; (2) inflected numerals (distribution of schwa); (3) co-occurrence with (numerals plus) adjectives.

6.1. Co-occurrence of partitive/quantitative pronouns with numerals or indications of quantity

In Standard Dutch and the majority of Dutch dialects (except in the Northeast), quantitative *er* appears obligatorily in the context of numerals and other indications of quantity, cf. among others Kranendonk (2010: 28, 135):

In Standard Dutch, quantitative *er* obligatorily appears under the following conditions:

- (i) the noun is unrealized [...];
- (ii) there is no adjective [...];
- (iii) the noun phrase as a whole is indefinite [...]

Er is obligatorily present with a bare numeral.

[Standard Dutch and Southern Dutch]⁴

(13) a. Ik krijg **(*er)** vier boeken ('books').

[STANDARD DUTCH]

b. Ik krijg ***(er)** vier ('four').

(14) a. Heeft u nog van die handige kleine doosjes ('small boxes')? –

Ja, ik heb **er** nog **een paar** ('a few').

[STANDARD DUTCH]

b. Hoeveel kinderen ('children') hebben ze? –

Ze hebben **er** wel **een heleboel** ('a good deal').

c. Heb jij ook een kat ('cat')? –

Nee, ik heb **er geen** ('none').

By contrast, the data on Hessian dialects show a tendency for the partitive pronouns *ere* and *sen* to be far less frequent in this context. At least, German partitive genitive pronouns are apparently optional in this context, not obligatory as in Dutch. This can be deduced from the following SyHD test sentences:

⁴ For (a subset of) Northern Dutch dialects, Kranendonk (2010: 137) claims in a simplifying way: "*Er* is **optional** with a bare numeral."

(15) Im Keller stehen **(ere)** noch **drei** ('three'). [Weinflaschen, 'bottles of wine']
(SyHD E1_Dec_10: Q15)

(16) Geschwister ('siblings')? Ich habe **(ere)** **fünf** ('five').
(SyHD Pt_E3_B_Aug_11: Q20)

(17) Ich will keinen Kaffee ('coffee') mehr. Ich habe **(sen)** noch **ein bisschen** ('a bit').
(SyHD Pt_E3_A_Aug_11: Q30)

Table 4 reproduces the results of test sentence (15) on the usage of *ere* together with the numeral *drei* 'three'. The pronoun seems to be optional even in dialect areas with an otherwise constantly strong presence of pronominal genitive forms, especially in the plural.⁵

	TOTAL	Westph.	Eastph.	NHess.- Thur.	NHess.	NHess.- EHess.	EHess.	CHess.- NHess.	CHess.- MFr.	CHess.	CHess.- EHess.- EFr.	CHess.- MFr.- RhFr.	CHess.- RhFr.	RhFr.
<i>(drei davon)</i>	(540)	(57)	(14)	(33)	(77)	(16)	(30)	(30)	(25)	(108)	(28)	(27)	(15)	(80)
ere drei	176	7	0	13	17	12	36	6	13	39	15	11	5	2
<i>drei</i>	97	13	6	7	12	5	1	4	3	11	3	9	1	22

TABLE 4. Presence (+**ere**) vs. absence (-**ere**) of the partitive genitive pronoun in the dialects of Hesse in the context of a numeral: *Im Keller stehen (ere) noch drei*. 'There are still three (of them) left in the cellar.' [(Wein-)Flaschen, 'bottles (of wine)'] (SyHD_E1_Dec_10: Q15)

There is an even sharper contrast between Dutch *er* and Hessian *ere*, when it comes to the numeral or indefinite pronoun *ein-* 'one'. We included two relevant questions in a recent pretest and got the overall pattern of zero occurrences for *ere* together with *ein(e)s/einen* in the whole area under investigation (see table 5: *Autos* 'cars' and table 6: *Äpfel* 'apples'). In contrast, the equivalent Dutch quantitative pronoun *er* once more would be obligatorily present in these cases.

	TOTAL	Westph.	NHess.- Thur.	NHess.	EHess.	CHess.	CHess.- EHess.- EFr.	CHess.- MFr.- RhFr.	RhFr.
ere ein(e)s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(sen ein(e)s)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
<i>ein(e)s</i>	38	6	2	10	3	5	4	4	4

TABLE 5. Presence (+**ere**) vs. absence (-**ere**) of the partitive genitive pronoun in the dialects of Hesse in the context of the numeral *ein-*: *Die Nachbarn haben zwei Autos, wir haben (*ere) nur ein(e)s* [NEUT.]. 'The neighbors have two cars, we have only one (of them).'

(SyHD_Pt_E3_C_Aug_11: Q1)

⁵ Note that the values for the bare numeral without the partitive pronoun tend to be lower here, because this option wasn't given in the present multiple choice question. However, in 97 cases it was added spontaneously as an "own variant" by the informants.

	TOTAL	Westph.	NHess.- Thur.	NHess.	EHess.	CHess.	CHess.- EHess.- EFr.	CHess.- MFr.- RhFr.	RhFr.
<i>ere einen</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>(sen einen)</i>	(2)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
<i>einen</i>	36	5	2	9	3	5	4	4	4

TABLE 6. Presence (+*ere*) vs. absence (-*ere*) of the partitive genitive pronoun in the dialects of Hesse in the context of the numeral/indefinite pronoun *ein*-. *Willst du einen Apfel? Du kriegst (*ere) natürlich einen* [MASC.]. ‘Do you want an apple? You’ll get one (of them), of course.’ (SyHD_Pt_E3_C_Aug_11: Q27)

6.2. Partitive/quantitative pronouns and inflected numerals (distribution of schwa)

A second issue for promising contrastive research on Dutch and German dialects concerns the appearance of a schwa on bare numerals in the context of NP-ellipsis. While in Standard Dutch there is never a schwa on numerals, irrespective of the realization (18a) or non-realization (18b) of the noun they modify, Kranendonk (2009, 2010) found inflected numerals in the context of quantitative *er* in 16 out of 53 dialects investigated within the DiDDD-project (‘Diversity in Dutch DP Design’, Universiteit Utrecht), cf. e.g. (19b) for Giethoorn Dutch. According to Kranendonk (2010: 74), these dialects are situated “in the Northeast of the Netherlands (roughly the Saxonian area) and in the Southwest of the language area (Zeeland and Flanders)”. However, the presence of an adjective after the numeral blocks the appearance of schwa, cf. (19c). Attributive numerals do not bear schwa either in Standard Dutch (18a) or in the examined Dutch dialects (19a).

- (18) a. Hij heeft vier(*e) auto's (‘cars’).
 b. Hij heeft er vier(*e) (‘four-e’).

[STANDARD DUTCH]
 (Kranendonk 2009)

- (19) a. Hie het vier(*e) auto's (‘cars’).
 b. ... ik hèn w’r viere (‘four-e’).
 c. ... ik hèn vier(*e) oude (‘old (ones)’).

[GIETHOORN DUTCH]
 (Kranendonk 2009)

As to German dialects, I’m thankful to Elvira Glaser (p.c.) who made me aware of an example of co-occurring partitive genitive pronoun and schwa on the bare numeral *saggsch* ‘six’ in the Walser dialect of Bosco Gurin, see (20):

- (20) schij sen **eru saggschi** (‘six-e’)

[HIGHEST ALEMANNIC: Bosco Gurin]

The Hessian data, by contrast, seem to exhibit a complementary distribution of the pronoun *ere* and schwa on numerals. While test sentence (21) was designed to explore the areal distribution of schwa on numerals under NP-ellipsis without a partitive pronoun (see table 7 for the results), (22) aimed at gathering data on a potential co-occurrence of the partitive genitive pronoun and schwa (see table 8).

(21) Hat Simon heute bloß fünf Stunden ('hours') gearbeitet? –
Nein, **acht(e)** ('eight-e').

(SyHD Pt_E3_C_Aug_11: Q8)

(22) Geschwister ('siblings')? Ich habe **(ere) fünf(e)** ('five-e').

(SyHD Pt_E3_B_Aug_11: Q20)

	TOTAL	Westph.	NHess.- Thur.	NHess.	EHess.	CHess.	CHess.- EHess.- EFr.	CHess.- MFr.- RhFr.	RhFr.
<i>achte</i>	11	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
<i>acht</i>	25	1	0	9	3	5	3	4	0

TABLE 7. Distribution of inflected numerals (appearance of schwa on bare numerals) in the dialects of Hesse: *Hat Simon heute bloß fünf Stunden gearbeitet? – Nein, acht(e).* 'Did Simon only work five hours today? – No, (he worked) eight(-e).' (SyHD_Pt_E3_C_Aug_11: Q8)

	TOTAL	Westph.	NHess.- Thur.	NHess.	EHess.	CHess.	CHess.- EHess.- EFr. ⁶	CHess.- MFr.- RhFr.	RhFr.
<i>ere fünfe</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>ere fünf</i>	6	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	0
<i>fünfe</i>	8	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
<i>fünf</i>	24	0	0	7	7	6	1	2	1

TABLE 8. Distribution of the partitive genitive pronoun *ere* (\pm *ere*) and a schwa on bare numerals in the dialects of Hesse: *Geschwister? Ich habe (ere) fünf(e).* 'Siblings? I've got five(-e) (of them).' (SyHD_Pt_E3_B_Aug_11: Q20)

Contrary to the above-mentioned Dutch dialects, the partitive genitive pronoun *ere* did not co-occur with an inflected numeral in any of the dialects investigated in the (reduced sample of the) SyHD-pretest, *ere* plus schwa having been rejected unanimously (zero occurrences in the entire area under investigation, cf. table 8). The existence of numerals bearing schwa (without a partitive pronoun) is essentially restricted to dialects in the North and South of Hesse (cf. tables 7 and 8), whereas the plural pronoun *ere* can be found distinctly in a central strip, i.e. in Central and East Hessian plus adjacent dialect regions (cf. also figure 3 above). This seems to point to a complementary distribution of *ere* and schwa on numerals in the dialects of Hesse. However, since up to now we only have the preliminary results from a reduced sample of locations within a recent pretest at our disposal, this issue has to be investigated more thoroughly in the following main inquiry.

6.3. Co-occurrence of partitive/quantitative pronouns and (numerals plus) adjectives

A third syntactic context introduced here is a well-known pattern in the research literature on Dutch quantitative *er*. The pronoun doesn't co-occur with adjectives in Standard Dutch, neither with nor without an additional numeral. Kranendonk (2010: 135) states about the

⁶ In the transitional dialect region of Central Hessian-East Hessian-East Franconian, partitive *ere* without a schwa on the numeral (*ere fünf*) and schwa without a partitive pronoun (*fünfe*) were selected by *different* speakers. One informant accepted the numeral both with and without the schwa (*fünf(e)*).

use of *er* together with adjectives: “*Er* is obligatorily absent with a numeral plus an adjective [...]” [(NORTHERN) STANDARD DUTCH].⁷

In contrast to that, one can find facultative *er* in such cases in many Dutch dialects and regiolects, mostly in Belgian Dutch varieties – especially in Brabantish, to a minor degree in Flemish and Limburgish dialects –, sometimes even in the standard language use of Belgium (cf. among others ANS 1997; De Rooij 1991; De Schutter 1992). Compare the following sentence from Northern Standard Dutch and East Flemish (Kranendonk 2010: 134–137).

(23) (He has five red apples)

a. ... en ik heb (***er**) **vier groene** (‘four green (ones)’).

[NORTHERN STANDARD DUTCH]

b. ... en ik hè (**der**) **vier groene** (‘four green (ones)’).

[EAST FLEMISH: Schellebelle]

The *Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects* (SAND) contains two test sentences on the usage of quantitative *er* in combination with a numeral and an adjective.

(24) a. Robert heeft één groene appel (‘apple’) weggegeven,
en nu heeft hij **er** nog **twee rode** (‘two red (ones)’).

(SAND 516)

b. Robert heeft drie groene appels (‘apples’),
en Marie heeft **er** **drie rode** (‘three red (ones)’).

(SAND 517)

In the literature on German dialects, so far I have only found evidence for the use of partitive genitive pronouns together with adjectives in Hodler’s rich *Bernese German Syntax* (1969: 401 ff, 420). In the cited Alemannic dialects, the partitive pronoun (*d*)*ere* seems to be perfectly able to co-occur with adjectives, see (25). A combination of numeral plus adjective is not mentioned though.

(25) a. Wi gseh d’Öpfel (‘apples’) us? –
Es hat **ere** **schöni** (‘fine (ones)’),
aber es syn **ere** **fuli** (‘rotten (ones)’) drunder.

b. Was sy das für Bire (‘pears’)? –
Es sy **dere** **wörggige** (‘sickening (ones)’).
Es git da **dere** **chlyne** (‘small (ones)’), **zuckersüeße** (‘sugar-sweet (ones)’).

[ALEMANNIC: Bernese German]

An interesting parallel between these Swiss German and the Belgian Dutch varieties is the fact that both areas are in a language contact situation with the Romance languages French plus Italian and French respectively, and hence with the (less restricted) usage of the Romance partitive pronouns *en* and *ne*. That doesn’t necessarily mean, though, that the grammaticality of partitive pronouns together with adjectives is a consequence of this language contact. Apart from external explanatory approaches, this property could also be due to language-internal causes (cf. De Rooij 1991 vs. De Schutter 1992 for Belgian Dutch).

⁷ For (a subset of) both Southern and Northern Dutch dialects, Kranendonk (2010: 137) claims: “*Er* is **optional** with a numeral plus an adjective.”

What about the dialects of Hesse? Within SyHD, the following sentences have been tested until now, both with and without a numeral in front of the adjective:

(26) a. Ich habe keine grünen Äpfel ('apples') mehr,
aber hier sind (**ere**) **vier rote** ('four red (ones)').

(SyHD Pt_E3_C_Aug_11: Q11)

b. Dort drüben gibt es schöne große Erdbeeren ('strawberries').
Hier sind (**ere**) nur **kleine** ('small (ones)').

(SyHD Pt_E3_C_Aug_11: Q17)

	TOTAL	Westph.	NHess.- Thur.	NHess.	EHess.	CHess.	CHess.- EHess.- EFr.	CHess.- MFr.- RhFr.	RhFr.
ere vier rote	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>vier rote</i>	37	5	1	10	3	5	4	6	3

TABLE 9. Co-occurrence of *ere* + numeral + adjective in the dialects of Hesse: *Ich habe keine grünen Äpfel mehr, aber hier sind (*ere) vier rote*. 'I don't have any green apples left, but here are four red ones.' (SyHD_Pt_E3_C_Aug_11: Q11)

	TOTAL	Westph.	NHess.- Thur.	NHess.	EHess.	CHess.	CHess.- EHess.- EFr.	CHess.- MFr.- RhFr.	RhFr.
ere kleine	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
<i>kleine</i>	33	5	1	10	3	4	3	3	4

TABLE 10. Co-occurrence of *ere* + adjective in the dialects of Hesse: *Dort drüben gibt es schöne große Erdbeeren. Hier sind (ere) nur kleine*. 'Over there are beautiful, big strawberries. Here are only small ones.' (SyHD_Pt_E3_C_Aug_11: Q17)

According to the informants' answers to these pretest questions, *ere* does not co-occur with a numeral plus an adjective in any of the included Hessian dialects (cf. table 9), paralleling (Northern) Standard Dutch and most of the Dutch dialects north of the "large rivers". On the other hand, *ere* plus adjective, i.e. without a numeral, has been accepted three times after all (versus a vast majority of 33 times without the genitive pronoun *ere*, cf. table 10). Thus we might get interesting variation patterns with respect to (26b) in the next main inquiry, where the question is included and which is sent out to the entire area under investigation. The evaluation and interpretation of its results will certainly provide us with more details on potential areal patterns.

7. Summary

Dialect syntactic areas appear to be comparatively large-scale, at least with regards to the phenomenon of pronominal partitivity. Westphalian and Eastphalian plus North Hessian turned out to form one common area, making use of the indefinite pronoun *we(l)k-/welch-*. Central Hessian and East Hessian constitute the core area of the partitive genitive pronouns *ere* and *sen*. From the South, the null anaphora is making its way into the dialects of Hesse, already stretching beyond the Rhine Franconian dialect region. The observation that the two Low German varieties Westphalian and/or Eastphalian often form a common area together

with North Hessian – plus occasionally the transitional zones North Hessian-Thuringian and North Hessian-East Hessian – across the Benrath line, appears to hold also for other phenomena, as Kasper (2011) pointed out in a recent talk e.g. for the *tun*-periphrasis. At the same time though, West- and Eastphalian do not seem to cluster with respect to the neuter singular form of partitive-anaphoric reference: While in Westphalian *we(l)k-* has been applied by a majority of the informants, in Eastphalian *wat* turned out to be the predominant strategy of reference. Kasper (2011) as well gives examples for a divergent picture of the two Low German varieties (e.g. *tun*-periphrasis, to some extent also the “recipient” passive). All things considered, we can observe that syntactic isoglosses do not necessarily coincide with the isoglosses of traditional dialect classifications like the one provided by Wiesinger (1983), which are based on phonological and – to a lower degree – on morphological features. These first general observations, however, are still based on quite a limited amount of data.

As to the recorded strategies of partitive-anaphoric reference in German dialects in general and in Hessian dialects in particular, many interesting “changes in progress” are currently taking place in the course of the decay of the partitive genitive forms *ere/sen* and the expansion of innovative means of expression. Within the dialects of Hesse, the indefinite pronoun *we(l)k-/welch-* is making its way into the dialects of the North in particular, and – through Standard German – also into the whole area under investigation. The \emptyset -system in the South is not limited to the Rhine Franconian dialect area, but has already intruded into (southern) Central Hessian plus the adjacent transitional zones. In terms of vitality, the different surviving pronominal genitive forms vary considerably along the features number and gender. The observation that their present areal diffusion proves to be $ere_{pl.} > sen > ere_{F.sg.}$, suggests that the decline of the partitive genitive pronouns and the expansion of innovative strategies first affects the singular – more precisely the feminine before the masculine/neuter – and only then the plural. Insights from these ongoing changes would also be of great importance for historical linguistics.

Last but not least, a comparative approach to partitive/quantitative pronouns in Dutch and German dialects can be very fruitful, especially with respect to the three presented contexts of co-occurring quantifiers, inflected numerals (distribution of schwa) and co-occurring adjectives (with or without numerals).

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