Contact-induced variation in Transylvanian Saxon verb clusters

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This article illustrates two-verb clusters in Viscri Saxon, a dialect of Transylvanian Saxon (TrSax) spoken in Viscri, Romania, along with Romanian and Standard German. The orders found in Viscri Saxon verb clusters are encountered in West Germanic varieties related to TrSax (e.g. Moselle Franconian, Luxembourgish), but the distributions differ from the ones discussed in other varieties (Dubenion-Smith 2010, Wurmbrand 2017). I argue that word-order variation in Viscri Saxon is the result of syntactic transfer from Standard German, and show that there is flexible distribution between possible word orders. Furthermore, speakers with different linguistic profiles use the available constructions to different degrees, thus illustrating the roles of German and Romanian in the progression of contact-induced changes in Viscri Saxon.

Keywords: verb clusters, Transylvanian Saxon, contact-induced language change, word-order variation

1. Introduction. The present article contributes to the literature on verb clusters in West Germanic varieties by documenting and analyzing two-verb clusters in Transylvanian Saxon (hereafter TrSax), an endangered Germanic language spoken in Romania and diasporic communities in Germany. Because TrSax has been transmitted orally over the centuries, diachronic data for any dialect of TrSax is scant, and to my knowledge, verb clusters have not been analyzed in TrSax thus far. While I focus on accounting for synchronic word-order variation in this study, I also provide an overview of TrSax verb clusters from a diachronic perspective, based on information from previous work on TrSax and recordings collected in 1966. More specifically, I discuss studies that account for the native constructions in TrSax and argue that word-order variation in TrSax verb clusters is the result of syntactic transfer from Standard German.

There are about 240 dialects of TrSax, distinguished through phonological, lexical, and/or morphosyntactic characteristics. This study focuses on Viscri Saxon, a dialect of TrSax spoken in Viscri, Romania. Throughout the article, I use the term 'TrSax' when describing patterns that are found in other TrSax dialects and the term 'Viscri Saxon' when showing examples and results from the target community. The data is drawn from a corpus of naturalistic speech provided by eight Viscri Saxon native speakers, who also use Standard German and/or Romanian to different degrees. By focusing on how speakers with different linguistic profiles use possible verb clusters, I show that contact-induced language change is in progress in Viscri Saxon and that there is currently variation between native and transferred constructions from German. More specifically, I show that speakers who use more German in their daily lives use more German-type constructions than speakers who use more Romanian in their daily lives. Furthermore, I compare the constructions and distributions encountered in Viscri Saxon to those in related dialects and languages to show that verb clusters pattern differently in Viscri Saxon than in related varieties.

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A syntactic characteristic that many West Germanic languages share is the clustering of two or more verbs in constructions that do not display a rigid word-order pattern: that is, the verbal elements can undergo reordering (Wurmbrand 2017:5). Two-verb clusters consist of an auxiliary/modal (Aux/Mod) and a lexical nonfinite verb (V) that are strictly adjacent and clause-final. In main clauses the finite verb is fixed, and only nonfinite verbs occur in the right periphery of the clause (Olthof et al. 2017:36). I thus abstract away from main clauses in this article and focus only on subordinate clauses without V-to-C movement. I follow a common notation practice in works on two-verb clusters: the finite verb (the structurally highest verb) is indexed with 1, and the nonfinite verb (the next highest verb) is indexed with 2.

There are two possible orders for two-verb clusters in Viscri Saxon: one in which the linear order of verbs follows the hierarchical order, with the finite Aux/Mod preceding the nonfinite verb, as in 1, and one in which the linear order of verbs is opposite to the hierarchical order, with the nonfinite verb preceding the Aux/Mod, as in 2.[1] These examples come from a recording, conducted in Viscri in 1966 (available through the ASD corpus),[2] of a twenty-six-year-old speaker telling the story of Sleeping Beauty.

(1) wä der Kiënyng daut **hatt$_1$** **ge-hyir-t$_2$** (1-2)
when the king that have.3SG.PST PTCP-hear-PTCP
'When the king heard that (…).'
(Viscri Saxon; ASD|Deutsch-Weisskirch|23f|1709b-15|41)

(2) allest wuot dä em **ge-woanjsch-t$_2$** **hatten$_1$** (2-1)
everything that they it PTCP-wish-PTCP have.3PL.PST
'Everything that they had wished her (became true).'
(Viscri Saxon; ASD|Deutsch-Weisskirch| 23f|1709b-15|45)

According to Holzträger (1912:27–28), the 1-2 order is the original order in TrSax and the 2-1 order came into TrSax through the influence of Standard German, a language that not only is typologically close to TrSax, but also has been used and regarded as a prestige language in TrSax communities over the centuries.

Variation between the 1-2 and the 2-1 order is present in West Germanic varieties related to TrSax, such as Luxembourgish and Moselle Franconian, and in the Middle High German predecessors of TrSax, but there is a preference toward the 2-1 order in those varieties (É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk 2004, Dubenion-Smith 2010, Sapp 2011). Linguistic factors such as the type of syntagm (auxiliary-participle cluster or modal-infinitive cluster) or the subordinating conjunction have been shown to condition word-order variation in related languages. For example, auxiliary-participle constructions have a more flexible distribution between the two orders, while modal-infinitive constructions favor the 1-2 order in languages such as Dutch or West Flemish (Olthof et al. 2017, Wurmbrand 2017). Furthermore, Sapp (2011) found that the 1-2 order was preferred when particle verbs with separable prefixes were part of a two-verb cluster in

[1] Transylvanian Saxon does not have a conventionalized writing system. For uniformity purposes, I use the orthography guidelines proposed by Hanni Markel in 2008 for TrSax when showing TrSax examples from different sources. More details about TrSax orthography can be found here: https://www.siebenbuerger.de/portal/daten/dokumente/rechtschreibvorschlaege-siebenbuergisch-saechsisch.pdf.

[2] A digitized corpus of TrSax recordings collected in Romania from 1960–1975 is available through the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, Germany. Examples shown from the corpus follow the citing conventions proposed at http://www.asd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/. The location where the recording was taken is shown first, followed by age and gender of the participant. The numerical code (1709b-15) indicates the participant and can also be used to search for the recording. The final number indicates the line in the transcript where the example comes from. The main purpose of the recordings was to build a dictionary of the TrSax dialects and an archive of speech samples from different dialects (Klaster-Ungureanu 2015:18–21).

Middle High German, a predecessor of TrSax. Thus, the type of auxiliary/modal is an important predictor that is considered in this study, and special attention is also given to particle verbs, because they exhibit variation in Viscri Saxon as well.

There are two particle-verb constructions used in Viscri Saxon two-verb clusters: in clusters with 1-2 order the Aux/Mod is placed between the particle (P) and the verb, as in 3, and in clusters with 2-1 order the particle verb occurs as a unit before the Aux/Mod, as in 4. The two particle-verb examples shown below come from the corpus I collected in Viscri and were produced by the same participant, P2.

(3) wä mer **u_P were$_1$ kun$_2$** (P-1-2)
when we on be.1PL.PST come.PTCP
'When we arrived (in Mălâncrav) … ' (Viscri Saxon; P2)[3]

(4) wuat en de **u_P-ge-banj$_2$ eas$_1$** (P-2-1)
what there over up-PTCP-tie.PTCP be.3SG.PRS
'(We inherited the dog) that is tied up over there.' (Viscri Saxon; P2)

The pattern shown in 4 has not been previously exemplified in the literature and may have been a subsequent change in TrSax dialects, such as Viscri Saxon, that display regular use of the 2-1 order. Given the intense language-contact situation in the village, with many speakers being fluent TrSax-German-Romanian trilinguals, word-order variation in Viscri Saxon is analyzed in connection to equivalent constructions in Standard German and Romanian.

In Standard German subordinate clauses, the finite Aux/Mod follows the nonfinite verb, resulting in the 2-1 order (as in 5), and this rule is invariable (Sapp 2011:1).

(5) sie sagt [dass er ein Buch **ge-lesen$_2$ hat$_1$**] (2-1)
she says that he a book PTCP-read.PTCP have.3SG.PRS
'She says that he read a book.' (Standard German)

While Romanian is not a verb-clustering language, it can still serve as a source of transfer, because Aux/Mod-V constructions in Romanian have some shared properties with verb clusters. The Aux/Mod and the nonfinite verb are strictly adjacent and cannot be separated by other elements (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:9), a property that Romanian shares with Germanic languages and not with other Romance languages (Monachesi 2005: 138). The example in 6 shows the invariable rule in Romanian subordinate clauses, with the Aux/Mod preceding the lexical verb.

(6) ea zice că [el **a_{AUX} citit$_V$** o carte] (Aux-V)
she says that he have.3SG.PRS read.PTCP a book
'She says that he read a book.' (Romanian)

Much of the previous work on verb clusters has focused on identifying linguistic or areal factors that can account for the distribution of each word order. By working with a small number of speakers I can draw on their social and linguistic backgrounds to analyze how such factors, in addition to grammatical factors, can account for word-order variation. In the section that follows (§2) I discuss important background information about the Transylvanian Saxons and the languages they use. I also discuss contact-induced language change, with a focus on factors facilitating syntactic transfer. Section 3 elaborates on TrSax verb clusters and word-order variation in related West Germanic languages. The methodology is described in §4, which outlines how the data was collected, transcribed, and coded and gives information on the participants and the analy-

[3] Examples labeled as Viscri Saxon come from the corpus I collected during my fieldwork in 2015. The participant who provided the example is shown in parentheses.

sis used in accounting for word-order variation. I then present the results of the data analysis and summarize the findings of this study (§5), and finally discuss future research avenues and conclude (§6).

2. The transylvanian saxons and their language(s). Transylvanian Saxons came to Transylvania as colonists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD. At the time the region was inhabited by Hungarians and Romanians. There are many indications that the colonists came from the Rhine and Moselle regions in Germany, Luxembourg, and Flanders. There is a consensus that TrSax dialects are closely related and exhibit many similarities to Middle and Moselle Franconian and Luxembourgish (Schullerus 1906:15, Klein 1961:44–67, Haldenwang 2013:137). Even though colonists came from a few different areas, once they settled in Transylvania they organized themselves into seven main regions, established their main administrative and religious center in Sibiu, and lived in close proximity and contact with each other. This led to the development of a mixed, more uniform language out of their different dialects (Ney 1984).

The well-educated Transylvanian Saxons studied at German universities in Halle, Leipzig, and other cities as early as the fifteenth century AD, thus reinforcing the contact between TrSax and German among the elites. While official documents were kept in Latin at first, German was adopted as an official written language with the Reformation and the founding of the Lutheran church (sixteenth century). The German language found in written documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Transylvania is characterized as having Middle High German (MHG) sentence construction and Early New High German (ENHG) phonological characteristics, combined with phonological and lexical characteristics of the local TrSax dialects. The German spoken in Romania continues to exhibit influences from the TrSax dialects, along with characteristics of East and West Middle German, throughout the nineteenth century. A circular decree imposed the replacement of any variety used for official purposes with Standard German between 1846 and 1848 (Dogaru 2007:4). Thus, contact between TrSax and Standard German intensified when Standard German became the only accepted literary language in TrSax communities, and the official language imposed in church and school. When exactly written TrSax was given up entirely is not clear, because Transylvanian Saxons had their own literature both in German and in TrSax at the beginning of the twentieth century (Ney 1984:15–16). None of the TrSax speakers I interviewed in 2015, including the oldest speaker (seventy-eight years old), had learned how to write in TrSax, but some remember having seen old written documents.

More recent events, starting with the end of World War II, led to the decimation of TrSax inhabitants in Romania. Due to their German heritage, many Transylvanian Saxons were sent to Russia to work as a war debt paid by Romania, others retreated with the German army, and many more left Romania in the years immediately after the revolution in 1989.

With the industrialization process started by the communist regime in Romania, many people from the villages, including Transylvanian Saxons, mobilized to the cities for work, which put their local dialects in a transitory phase. On the one hand, we see a more intense contact with Romanian: Transylvanian Saxons were sent to work on cooperative state farms, where they come in closer contact with Romanian speakers (McClure 1973). On the other hand, in larger cities, speakers of different TrSax varieties came together, and there was a trend for speakers to adopt German (Isbăşescu & Mantsch 1975:175), but this differs from case to case.

For example, Custred (1989) reports on a language-use survey he administered to fifty-seven TrSax speakers (different social classes were represented) from thirteen dif-

ferent localities in 1986. Some speakers reported that the dialects from northern Transylvania were so different from the dialects in the south that speakers used Romanian, not German, to better understand each other. Custred (1989) found this surprising at first because all speakers of TrSax learn Standard German, but explains that farmers prefer to speak Romanian because it is less formal than Standard German. They see Romanian as the language of the people because they learned it in interactions with servants in their households or other farmers in the field.

In contrast, participants from Viscri report that in the 1970s and 1980s, when Transylvanian Saxons were the numerically dominant ethnic group in Viscri, ethnic Roma and ethnic Romanians who helped out around the house would learn TrSax, not the other way around. Overall, it seems that men had more contact with Romanian than women did, because they had to join the army and were deployed in various locations. Furthermore, the village was divided into neighborhoods: Transylvanian Saxons lived in the center of the village, while ethnic Roma and ethnic Romanians lived at the peripheries. Thus, ethnic groups were separated by the layout of the village and came together only in cases where they needed to help each other (for example, for funeral proceedings), but would not celebrate cultural or religious events together. Furthermore, intermarriage was strictly frowned upon, which may have led to the successful preservation of the local dialects.

Participants from Viscri also report that languages were strictly compartmentalized in the village, illustrating a triglossic situation. TrSax was the dominant language in the village, used in various interactions with villagers and especially in the home/family domain, German was learned when children started kindergarten (though most participants report that the teacher would use TrSax in the first years), and Romanian was used in limited interactions with the wider community.

However, the language dynamics have changed since 1989, when a considerable number of Transylvanian Saxons left the village. Currently participants use Romanian in more frequent interactions, and some use Romanian even in the home. While German still has an important place in the TrSax community in Viscri, participants report using it mostly for writing and reading. The German school no longer exists in Viscri, and church services are irregular and rare in the Lutheran church.

Having laid out the linguistic background of TrSax communities and especially the linguistic ecology in Viscri, I now discuss how contact-induced changes occur in situations where multiple languages coexist.

2.1. CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE. When two or more languages come into contact, the transfer of linguistic features from one or more source languages to one or more receiving languages is likely. As a consequence, one or more of the languages involved in the contact can experience some degree of change in patterns of construction and use (Winford 2003, O'Shannessy 2011). In this article I use Thomason's (2001:62) definition for contact-induced change, namely: 'any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation'. I also use the term TRANSFER (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2005, Meakins & O'Shannessy 2012) to refer to linguistic features, such as a single form or a pattern, that are incorporated from a source language into a receiving language.

Perhaps one of the most common types of syntactic transfer is the transfer of sentential word order, because basic word-order patterns across languages (e.g. SVO, SOV, VSO) fulfill the same function, namely to distinguish between the arguments of the verb in the sentence (Thomason 2014:206). For example, Haig (2006) compared the construction of three different minority languages, Laz, Kurmanji, and Zazaki, in con-

tact with Turkish in Anatolia, Turkey. He found that there were some similarities among the four languages when it came to the alignment of larger syntactic units, but Turkish influenced each language differently. Kurmanji and Zazaki are Iranian languages and are structurally very different from Laz (a Kartvelian language), which shares many structural similarities with Turkish. Laz has gradually moved closer to Turkish, not only aligning constituents after the Turkish pattern, but also replicating Turkish phrase construction and morphemes, while Kurmanji and Zazaki have experienced changes only in larger syntactic units, that is, at clause level. Because these languages have been in contact for about 500 years in Anatolia, Haig (2006) concludes that language typology plays a role in facilitating contact-induced change (i.e. in the case of Laz and Turkish). However, prolonged contact can lead to similar results in cases where typologically distinct languages are in contact (i.e. Kumanji, Zazaki, and Turkish).

Intensity of contact, assessed by degree of bilingualism and the relative sizes of the groups coming into contact, is another strong predictor of whether structural transfer will occur (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:65–66). For example, Backus, Doğruöz, and Heine (2011) show that contact between Turkish and Dutch resulted in an innovative determiner pattern in the Turkish spoken by second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands. The contact between Dutch and Turkish, a minority language in the Netherlands, is not more than fifty years old. One of the outcomes of this contact is an innovative determiner used in Netherlands-Turkish, which is attributed to syntactic transfer from Dutch. Bilingual Turkish speakers who learned Dutch along with Turkish use the indefinite article *bir* 'a/one' with specific referents in contexts where monolingual Turkish speakers would not use an article at all, but Dutch speakers would. Based on their evidence from Turkish-Dutch contact, Backus et al. show that syntax can be replicated in contact situations that involve a short contact duration, but argue that the syntactic change is not completed because speakers use both the new constructions and the native constructions (Backus et al. 2011:745).

Interestingly, variation in forms is not uncommon in cases of contact-induced changes (cf. Nadkarni 1975, Jendraschek 2007), and a possible source of variation is the differential adaptation of transferred forms into the receiving language by members of the community, depending on degree of bilingualism (Heath 1984:371). Differential use of transferred and native patterns is especially common when it comes to different-generation bilinguals in cases of minority-language speakers (cf. Clyne 2003, Meyerhoff 2015). Subsequent generations tend to be more proficient in the dominant language of the community and thus show more influences in their heritage language. Otheguy, Zentella, and Livert (2007) showed that contact between Spanish and English in New York resulted in lower rates of null subjects in the Spanish of speakers who were born and raised in New York as compared to the Spanish spoken by speakers who immigrated after the age of sixteen. Overt subject pronouns are much more frequent in English than in Spanish, the latter being a pro-drop language that allows high levels of variability in the use of null and overt pronouns in specific syntactic environments. The cross-generational differences in the use of null subjects in the Spanish spoken in New York show that contact-induced changes can advance rapidly in cases of bilingualism and that such changes can come in the form of the overgeneralization of certain forms already present in a language (cf. Baptista et al. 2016).

While we cannot discount the role of the factors discussed so far in shaping the possible outcomes of language contact, the social settings of the languages in contact and speakers' attitudes have the ultimate say in whether contact-induced changes will ad-

vance in a language (Thomason 2010:46). Nagy and Kochetov (2013) analyzed heritage language (HL) production data from different-generation speakers of Italian, Russian, and Ukrainian living in Toronto. They found that HL speakers with positive attitudes toward and increased use of the HL were able to withstand influences from English, the dominant language in the community. In another study, Nagy, Iannozzi, and Heap (2017) analyzed null subjects in several varieties of Faetar (Francoprovençal, Italy) and compared the homeland variety to the HL variety in Toronto, Canada, in order to detect contact-induced changes in each. The influence of Italian would be reflected in a high rate of null subjects, while influences from English would be reflected in a high rate of overt subjects. They found that both homeland and heritage Faetar were moving in the same direction—toward a lower rate of null subjects—and that the grammatical factors included in the analysis had similar effects in both varieties. A generational difference was detected, but in the opposite direction of what Otheguy et al. (2007) found: young speakers in both sites were distancing themselves from Italian (which is also widely spoken in the Faetar community in Toronto) and from English in order to mark their Faetar identity by staying faithful to Faetar grammar.

The studies discussed so far show that there are various factors that can influence the outcomes of contact-induced changes. However, analyzing variation in an endangered language, such as in the case of TrSax in Viscri, poses several challenges, as diachronic data is scant and the number of speakers is too small to enable us to determine if generational differences can account for changes in the language. To better understand word-order variation in Viscri Saxon verb clusters it is important to understand the community that uses the language and the multilingual setting in which this variation exists (Kantarovich & Grenoble 2017). Both prolonged and intense contact between Viscri Saxon and German and the typological similarity between the two languages set the stage for intense syntactic transfer. However, TrSax and Romanian have been in prolonged contact as well, and Transylvanian Saxons in Viscri have increased their use of Romanian in the past thirty years, resulting in increased trilingualism among the remaining TrSax speakers.

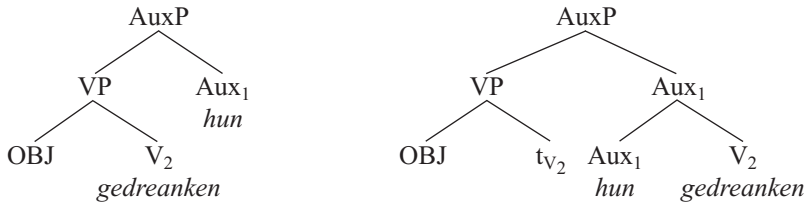
3. Two-verb clusters in TrSax and related languages. A central issue in Germanic syntax is the ordering of verbs in a cluster, because many languages and dialects allow for order variation without obvious semantic or pragmatic effects. For instance, Seiler (2008) shows that there is considerable variation among dialects of Swiss German and word-order preferences can be arranged along an areal continuum: dialects in the West have a strict 1-2 ordering of elements, dialects in the East have a strict 2-1 ordering of elements, and central dialects allow both orders. Furthermore, order variation in verb clusters can deliver insights into the directionality of syntax, but there are still open questions around why verbs cluster and what exactly motivates movement (Wurmbrand 2017).

A shared property of verb-clustering languages is that they are OV languages (but see É. Kiss & van Riemsdijk 2004 for a discussion on verb clusters in Hungarian). Thus, assuming a head-final base structure with the verb generated to the right of its complement, the standard approach is to consider the 2-1 order the basic structure and the 1-2 order the structure derived through syntactic movement. Consider the examples in 7 and 8, which show the possible word orders in Viscri Saxon two-verb clusters. Both examples were produced by the same participant and show the same auxiliary (‘have’) and participle verb (‘drank’), with the 1-2 order in 7 and the 2-1 order in 8.

(7) wot de Guoiss-malsch **hu$_1$** **ge-dreank-en$_2$** (1-2)
that the goat-milk have.3PL.PRS PTCP-drink-PTCP
'(There were families) that drank the goat milk.' (Viscri Saxon; P5)

(8) datt se Wasser **ge-dreank-en$_2$** **hat$_1$** (2-1)
that she water PTCP-drink-PTCP have.3SG.PRS
'(It was her bad luck) that she drank the water.' (Viscri Saxon; P5)

No movement is required for the 2-1 order, while the 1-2 order is derived through movement of the verb *gedreanken* 'drank', as illustrated in Figure 1. For simplicity's sake, I assume that verb cluster reordering involves head movement rather than (remnant) phrasal movement, but nothing rests on this issue.



a. Head-final structure b. Head movement (head-final)

FIGURE 1. Verb movement in a head-final construction, following the analysis shown in Wurmbrand 2017:31.

Further word-order variation is encountered within two-verb clusters when the nonfinite verb is a particle verb. The P-1-2 construction, where the finite Aux/Mod is placed between the particle and the nonfinite verb (shown in example 3 above), was attested as early as the fifteenth century, and Holzträger (1912) suggests that this is the original TrSax construction he encountered in written documents and in survey data. He describes the rule as follows: in subordinate clauses containing a separable particle verb and an auxiliary/modal, the tensed auxiliary occurs between the particle and the verb, as exemplified in 9.

(9) wai se fort$_P$-**worn**$_1$-ge-lufm$_2$ (P-1-2)
as they away-be.3PL.PST-PTCP-run.PTCP
' … as they ran away.' (TrSax; Holzträger 1912:32)

Holzträger (1912) claims that this rule is invariable, but in a more recent study based on data from the ASD corpus, Sift (2015) shows that particle-verb constructions exhibit some variation among dialects when used in subordinate clauses. He notes that German-type constructions where the Aux/Mod follows the particle verb, that is, P-2-1 (shown in example 4 above), were rarely encountered in subordinate clauses with a particle verb in a verb cluster, and that the preferred order was finite Aux/Mod-nonfinite verb (i.e. 1-2 order) when a particle verb was in such a two-verb cluster.[4] Standard German requires the particle verb to remain as one unit in a two-verb cluster and to be placed before the Aux/Mod. The example in 10 shows the Standard German equivalent of the construction shown in 9.

[4] I refer the reader to Sift 2015 for detailed examples on particle-verb constructions in TrSax, as the majority of his examples are based on Wenker sentences that are not relevant to the present discussion on verb clusters or to the patterns encountered in Viscri Saxon. In the data he presents, variation is present in the way the particle verb is split in subordinate clauses, but not in the placement of the finite and nonfinite verb.

(10) wie sie **fort$_P$-ge-laufen$_2$** **waren$_1$** (P-2-1)
as they away-PTCP-run.PTCP be.3PL.PST
' … as they ran away.' (Standard German)

While Sift does not show any examples of such German-type constructions, the Viscri Saxon recordings from the ASD corpus contain such an occurrence. The example shown in 11 comes from the same recording as the examples shown in the introduction.

(11) datt em et **af$_P$-ge-woick-t$_2$** **heut$_1$** (P-2-1)
that one it up-PTCP-wake-PTCP have.3SG.PRS
'(The king was very happy) that someone woke her up from her sleep.'
(Viscri Saxon; ASD|Deutsch-Weisskirch| 23f|1709b-15|122)

Current Viscri Saxon data shows that German-type constructions are used in the area of particle verbs as well, and this change may have been triggered as the 2-1 order became more common. Diachronic data from other TrSax dialects shows that the 1-2 order was the preferred order, and it has been argued that the 2-1 order is a Standard German rule that transferred into TrSax.

For example, McClure (1973:340) points out that in Vingard Saxon the finite Aux/Mod always precedes the nonfinite verb (i.e. 1-2 order), unlike in Standard German where the Aux/Mod always follows the verb (i.e. 2-1 order). Example 12 shows a subordinate clause construction as exemplified by McClure for Vingard Saxon, where the auxiliary *hu* 'have' precedes the participle verb *gesan* 'seen'.

(12) det Mächen dot iach **hu$_1$** **ge-san$_2$** (1-2)
the girl that I have.1SG.PRS PTCP-see.PTCP
'The girl that I have seen.' (Vingard Saxon; McClure 1973:332)

Based on McClure's (1973) analysis and examples, it seems that the 2-1 order did not occur in Vingard Saxon subordinate clauses, and rightward movement of the nonfinite verb was obligatory. This may be due to the fact that McClure worked with elicited data, or it could be that Vingard Saxon speakers had a strong preference toward the 1-2 order. Anecdotally, when I consulted an older speaker from Viscri (who was also involved in TrSax language documentation in the 1970s) about when it is appropriate to use the 1-2 order and the 2-1 order, he pointed out that the 1-2 order is viewed as the 'correct' order in Viscri Saxon, but people use the 2-1 order because they want to display their Standard German skills.

It has been argued in previous work that verbal constructions typical for German (e.g. 2-1 order) have entered various dialects of TrSax through speakers who were in close contact with German and that such constructions are commonly encountered in the city varieties, but less so in the villages (Holzträger 1912, Isbăşescu & Mantsch 1975). Studies on TrSax suggest that, in general, TrSax dialects in the cities exhibit more German influence than dialects in the countryside, where Transylvanian Saxons rely mainly on their dialect for communication and rely on German for limited purposes only (Custred 1989).

Holzträger (1912) delivered a syntactic analysis of several dialects from the Bistrita area (northern Romania). He reports on data he collected through surveys and data from documents written in TrSax from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He found that when looking at subordinate clauses in the written documents the auxiliary or modal would always precede the participle/infinitive verb, and he suggests that this was the original order in TrSax subordinate clauses at least until the sixteenth century. Holzträger (1912:27–28) notes that such constructions (i.e. Aux/Mod-V) were very common in the dialects spoken in the countryside in the survey data, but points out that Standard German order was also possible and present predominantly in the city varieties, where peo-

ple had more contact with German. However, he does not show any examples of German-type constructions in his data.

Isbăşescu and Mantsch (1975:181) also suggest that in TrSax subordinate clauses containing more than one verb, the finite Aux/Mod does not come last, as in German, but is placed before the nonfinite verb (thus resulting in the 1-2 order). They argue that the 1-2 rule in subordinate clauses has changed in TrSax under the influence of German, so that the finite Aux/Mod can occur both before and after the nonfinite lexical verb to the same extent. Again, concrete examples of the 2-1 word order in subordinate clauses are not provided.

While it is difficult to determine when exactly the 2-1 order became possible in TrSax dialects, it is worth noting that TrSax and (different stages of) German have been in prolonged contact, and the 2-1 order did not become the only grammatical order until Modern Standard German (Sapp 2011:102). However, the 2-1 order was the dominant order in varieties in contact with TrSax, such as MHG and ENHG. Sapp (2011) investigated verb clusters in subordinate clauses in a corpus of MHG prose texts and determined that the 2-1 order was favored, but the 1-2 order was present in close to 30% of the subordinate clauses. Sapp (2011:21–22) also points out that the trend was for the 1-2 order to occur more frequently in MHG in constructions with infinitives, and for the 2-1 order to occur when participles were involved. These trends were fairly similar in ENHG texts (fifteenth to seventeenth centuries), with the 1-2 order occurring about 27% of the time and the 2-1 order 73% (Sapp 2011:52–54).

Furthermore, other West Germanic varieties that are related to TrSax, such as Moselle Franconian, Luxembourgish, and West Flemish, display variation in the use of the 2-1 and the 1-2 orders based on syntagm type. Moselle Franconian allows both the 2-1 and the 1-2 order in auxiliary-participle constructions and modal-infinitive constructions, though 2-1 order is used more commonly overall (Dubenion-Smith 2008: 147). Luxembourgish allows both the 2-1 and the 1-2 order in auxiliary-participle constructions, but requires the 1-2 order in modal-infinitive constructions (Bruch 1973:92–94). West Flemish allows only the 2-1 order in auxiliary-participle constructions and the 1-2 order in modal-infinitive constructions (Wurmbrand 2017:10). Table 1 summarizes the options available in the languages and varieties discussed so far for each type of construction and includes the Standard German options as well.

LANGUAGE	AUXILIARY-PARTICIPLE	MODAL-INFINITIVE	SOURCES
Middle High German	2-1 / 1-2	2-1 / 1-2	Sapp 2011:21
Luxembourgish	2-1 / 1-2	1-2	Bruch 1973:92–94
Moselle Franconian	2-1 / 1-2	2-1 / 1-2	Dubenion-Smith 2008:78–79
West Flemish	2-1	1-2	Wurmbrand 2017:10
Standard German	2-1	2-1	Sapp 2011:1

TABLE 1. Word orders based on construction type in West Germanic two-verb clusters.

Summing up the verb cluster distributions in Table 1, the languages discussed above can be grouped into three categories: languages with optional reordering (or syntactic movement) regardless of syntagm, languages with optional reordering in auxiliary-participle clusters but obligatory reordering in modal-infinitive clusters, languages with no reordering in auxiliary-participle clusters but obligatory reordering in modal-infinitive constructions, and languages with no reordering regardless of syntagm. As I show in the following sections, Viscri Saxon is a TrSax dialect with optional reordering regardless of syntagm.

4. Data and methodology.

4.1. Participants. There were only fifteen TrSax speakers left in Viscri at the time of my investigation.[5] Eight speakers, thirty to seventy-eight years old, were recorded in sociolinguistic interviews (see Tagliamonte 2006) conducted by a TrSax research assistant. Participants were recruited using a snowball technique: an initial contact identified potential participants, who in turn identified other participants. The main selection criteria were that participants were born in Viscri, had learned TrSax as their first language, and were comfortable holding a one-hour long conversation in TrSax. The bilingual language profile (BLP) questionnaire (Birdsong et al. 2012) was also used in a separate interview (conducted by me in Romanian or German) to collect data on each participant's linguistic background and additional sociolinguistic information. A submodule of the questionnaire was used to calculate language-use scores for German and Romanian. Participants report how much they use each language per week for different activities in percentages, and the BLP computes the answers into scores. Scores can range from 0–54, and in general the higher the score for a language, the more a participant uses that language.[6]

Six of the eight participants (P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, and P8) learned German as a second language and Romanian as a third. They all followed the educational path traditional in TrSax communities in Romania, whereby children start learning German in kindergarten or first grade, and learn Romanian as a foreign language starting with second grade. Because Transylvanian Saxons are considered a German minority in Romania, it is very common for them to attend schools where the language of instruction is German. Romanian is offered as a foreign language in such schools, and instruction in Romanian is available from two to four hours per week.

One participant, P1, had very sporadic contact with Romanian throughout her life. Her family immigrated to Germany when she was six years old, but she would spend her summers in Viscri on vacation. At the time of the investigation, P1 had returned to live in Viscri with her partner. Another participant, P7, grew up TrSax-Romanian bilingual and never learned German in a formal setting, unlike the rest of the participants. He comes from a mixed family: his mother was TrSax and his father was Romanian. P7 did not go to German school, but attended a Romanian school instead. None of the participants had formal instruction in TrSax; they acquired it solely through speaking, and they are not literate in TrSax. The language used for writing (e.g. for notes, letters, grocery lists, etc.) is German for all participants, except P7, who uses Romanian. A more detailed overview of the participants and their linguistic backgrounds is provided in Table 2. The first column gives information about each participant's gender and occupation and the third column summarizes relevant information collected through the questionnaire and the interviews. I include information about the languages used at home, with family and friends, and at work and indicate if participants use TrSax with their children where applicable. This information is meant to deliver a more holistic picture of the status of TrSax in Viscri, and it clearly shows that at the time of my investigation in 2015 the youngest speakers were thirty years old, and no children were learning TrSax.

4.2. Methodology. The TrSax production data was transcribed by a native TrSax speaker in ELAN (Wittenburg et al. 2006), and the transcribed data was used to identify

[5] More detailed information about the demographics in Viscri are available in Corsale & Iorio 2014.

[6] These scores are included in the results section.

PARTICIPANT	BIRTH YEAR & PLACE	REPORTED LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE HISTORY
P1 (female) Teacher	1985 Viscri, RO	- Learned TrSax since birth (both parents TrSax) - Uses TrSax with parents, siblings, relatives - Uses English and (some) Romanian with partner - Uses German for work and with friends - Learned German starting age three - Moved to Germany when she was six years old - Received education in Germany (college degree) - Had sporadic contact with Romanian throughout her life - No children
P2 (female) Consultant	1985 Viscri, RO	- Learned TrSax since birth (both parents TrSax) - Uses TrSax with parents and relatives - Uses Romanian with partner - Learned German at age three; received education in German in Romania and attended college in Germany (four years) - Learned Romanian starting age six in the village and in school - Uses mainly English for work (and German and Romanian) - No children
P3 (male) Farmer	1975 Viscri, RO	- Learned TrSax since birth (both parents TrSax) - Uses TrSax with siblings & other speakers in the village - Uses Romanian with partner and at work - Uses German rarely for church visits or other gatherings - Learned German starting age three (up to tenth grade) - Learned Romanian starting age seven in school (two hours/week) - No children
P4 (female) Entrepreneur (tourism)	1968 Viscri, RO	- Learned TrSax since birth (both parents TrSax) - Uses TrSax with parents and relatives - Uses German with partner - Uses Romanian and German for work - Learned German at age five; received education in Standard German (SG) in Romania up to twelfth grade - Lived in Germany for twelve years - Learned Romanian starting age seven in school (two hours/week) - No children
P5 (female) German teacher	1957 Viscri, RO	- Learned TrSax since birth (both parents TrSax) - Uses TrSax with spouse and family - Received education in SG in Romania first through twelfth grades - Uses German for work (German teacher) - Learned Romanian starting age seven in school (two hours/week) - Uses Romanian occasionally in limited interactions - Children and grandchildren speak TrSax
P6 (female) Entrepreneur (tourism)	1957 Viscri, RO	- Learned TrSax since birth (both parents TrSax) - Uses TrSax with acquaintances in the village - Uses Romanian with spouse - Uses Romanian and German for work - Received education in German in Romania (first through twelfth grades) - Learned Romanian starting age seven in school - Children speak Romanian and do not speak TrSax
P7 (male) Carpenter	1955 Viscri, RO	- Learned TrSax since birth (mother TrSax, father Romanian) - Uses TrSax with siblings & other speakers in the village - Uses Romanian with spouse and for work - Uses German a handful of times a year - Learned German at the age of thirty-five working in Germany - Learned Romanian since birth and received education in Romanian (up to tenth grade) - Children speak Romanian and do not speak TrSax

(TABLE 2. *Continues*)

PARTICIPANT	BIRTH YEAR & PLACE	REPORTED LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE HISTORY
P8 (female) Retiree/ Volunteer tour guide	1937 Viscri, RO	- Learned TrSax since birth (both parents TrSax) - Uses TrSax with children, grandchildren, and relatives - Uses German and Romanian for work - Learned German starting age eight in school - Learned Romanian starting age nine in school (two hours/week) - Children and grandchildren speak TrSax

TABLE 2. Participant overview.

target constructions. All subordinate clauses that contained two-verb clusters and were introduced by a subordinating conjunction or a relative pronoun were selected and coded for linguistic factors that might explain the variation between 1-2 and 2-1 word order. Generalized mixed-effects models (glmer) were performed in R to test the effect of several linguistic and social factors on word order.[7] I included the following grammatical factors as fixed effects based on previous work analyzing such variation.

- Type of construction: in some languages modal-infinitive constructions require 1-2 order, while auxiliary-participle constructions show more variation
- The presence of a particle verb in a cluster (cf. Sapp 2011)

The following social factors were also included as fixed effects in the analysis.

- Age
- Age of acquisition for German and Romanian
- Time spent in Germany (as an indicator of higher proficiency in German)
- Language-use scores for German and Romanian calculated based on responses to the BLP questionnaire

Because the language-use scores for German and Romanian are highly correlated—that is, a high score for Romanian/more use of Romanian corresponds to a low score for German/less use of German—I included these as a ratio of German score : Romanian score. I ran one model with the language-use score and one without. The individual speaker was included as a random effect in each model, so that any speaker whose performance is dissimilar from the other speakers will not skew the distribution.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION. This section is organized as follows: I first present the general patterns encountered in the data and the effect each grammatical factor included in the generalized mixed-effects model has on word-order choice. I then discuss the effect of the social factors included in the analysis.

Both the 1-2 and the 2-1 order could be identified in subordinate clauses containing two-verb clusters in Viscri Saxon, and each word order was possible in auxiliary-participle and modal-infinitive clusters. The following two examples show both constructions used by the same participant, P6. First, in 13 the auxiliary *hun* 'have' precedes the participle verb *gebreicht* 'needed', thus illustrating a subordinate clause with 1-2 order.

(13) wuat mer hun$_1$ ge-breich-t$_2$ (1-2)
that we have.1PL.PRS PTCP-need-PTCP
'(We brought everything) that we needed.' (Viscri Saxon; P6)

Second, in example 14 the participle verb *verkeuft* 'sold' precedes the auxiliary *hun* 'have', showing a subordinate clause with the 2-1 order.

[7] I thank a referee for suggesting this route and pointing out the grammatical and social factors that could influence word order.

(14) datt ech sa verkeuf-t_2 hun$_1$ (2-1)
that I them sell-PTCP have.1SG.PRS
‘ … that I sold them.’ (Viscri Saxon; P6)

Table 3 sums up all of the verb clusters encountered in the data and shows the distribution of each word order for each participant.

PARTICIPANT	# OF TOKENS	1-2 ORDER	2-1 ORDER
P1	43	0	43
P2	24	10	14
P3	14	5	9
P4	26	12	14
P5	48	11	37
P6	26	20	6
P7	24	23	1
P8	12	5	7
TOTAL	*217*	*86*	*131*
TOTAL %	100%	40%	60%

TABLE 3. Two-verb clusters in subordinate clauses.

The final row in Table 3 shows that 40% of all subordinate clauses with two-verb clusters show the 1-2 order and 60% show the 2-1 order. This indicates that the 2-1 order is used to a degree comparable to that of the 1-2 order in Viscri Saxon. The two shaded rows, for P1 and P7, indicate two participants who had very few or no instances of one of the two constructions: P1 uses only the 2-1 order in her utterances, while P7 displayed an overwhelming preference toward the 1-2 order, with only one instance of the 2-1 order in his twenty-four utterances. These results can be further broken down by type of construction. Table 4 shows the distribution of different possible word orders in two-verb clusters, categorized by type of construction. Number of tokens is shown for each participant for each construction, and percentages for the total number of tokens are shown in the last row.

PARTICIPANT	AUX-PTCP	PTCP-AUX	MOD-INF	INF-MOD	# OF TOKENS
P1	0	29	0	14	*43*
P2	10	5	0	9	*24*
P3	4	3	1	6	*14*
P4	5	11	7	3	*26*
P5	9	22	2	15	*48*
P6	16	3	5	2	*26*
P7	14	0	9	1	*24*
P8	4	4	1	3	*12*
TOTAL	*62*	*77*	*25*	*53*	*217*
TOTAL %	29%	35%	12%	24%	100%

TABLE 4. Two-verb clusters by type of construction (raw numbers).

Overall, 64% of the tokens occur in auxiliary-participle clusters, and 36% of the tokens occur in modal-infinitive clusters. At first glance it may seem that the 2-1 order is favored with modal-infinitive constructions and that both orders are equally favored in auxiliary-participle clusters, but this might be due to the nature of the spontaneous speech. Results of the generalized mixed-effects model (see Table 5) show that the type of construction has no significant effect on word order. Only a marginal effect was found for auxiliaries, namely that there is a higher likelihood for the 2-1 order to occur when an auxiliary is present in the cluster ($p < 0.1$).

FIXED EFFECTS	EST	*SE*	*z*-VALUE	Pr(>|z|)
(intercept)	−2.0587	1.8741	−1.098	0.2720
Age	0.2945	0.5944	0.495	0.6203
Age of acq. German	0.2928	1.0885	0.269	0.7879
Age of acq. Romanian	−3.5878	3.9803	−0.901	0.3674
Time spent in Germany	0.1521	0.6813	0.223	0.8234
Auxiliary vs. modal	0.6806	0.3703	1.838	0.0661
Presence of particle verb	0.3564	0.4392	0.812	0.4171
RANDOM EFFECT: Speaker	Variance: 0.295	*SD*: 0.5432		
N = 217, Speakers = 8				

TABLE 5. Generalized linear mixed-effects model for word order.

A further categorization of the two possible word-order options was made by type of auxiliary, that is, *senj* 'to be' and *hun* 'to have', and type of modal. The results are shown in Table 6. There were only three tokens with the auxiliary *waurden* + participle, and these are not included in the table.

CONSTRUCTION	1-2	2-1	TOTAL TOKENS
PTCP + *senj*	52%	48%	38
PTCP + *hun*	46%	54%	103
INF + *keunnen*	28%	72%	37
INF + *mossen*	33%	67%	12
INF + *seullen*	42%	58%	13
INF + *wallen*	43%	57%	11
TOTALS	43%	57%	214

TABLE 6. Two-verb clusters by type of auxiliary and modal.

Raw percentages show that there is a relatively even distribution between word orders for each type of auxiliary. The auxiliary *senj* 'to be' occurs 52% of the time in clauses with 1-2 order and 48% of the time in clauses with 2-1 order, while *hun* 'to have' occurs 46% of the time in clauses with 1-2 order and 54% of the time in clauses with 2-1 order. While the number of tokens is small for each of the modal verbs that occur in the data, the distributions in Table 5 show that both the 1-2 and the 2-1 order occur with each type of modal and that there is a preference toward the 2-1 order (72%) in clusters with the modal *keunnen* 'can'.

Another grammatical variable that was included in the analysis to test whether it has an effect on word order in two-verb clusters is the presence of a particle verb (cf. Sapp's 2011:30 findings for MHG). Results of the generalized mixed-effects model shown in Table 5 indicate that the presence of particle verbs in a cluster has no effect on word order. However, a brief overview of how particle verbs pattern in verb clusters is given below, because they show some variation when they occur in two-verb clusters, and the variation is between TrSax (P-1-2) constructions in clauses with the 1-2 order (as in 15) and Standard German (P-2-1) constructions in clauses with the 2-1 order (as in 16).

(15) wa se de Staull **oh** hatte$_1$ **ge-dreh-n$_2$** (P-1-2)
when they the stable off have.3PL.PST PTCP-take-PTCP
'(The rocks are from the stables), from when they took down the stable.'
(Viscri Saxon; P2)

(16) ech dinkan niet datt em daut **af-ge-schriw-an$_2$** hat$_1$ (P-2-1)
I think.1SG.PRS not that one that on-PTCP-write-PTCP have.3SG
'I don't think that they used to write that down.' (Viscri Saxon; P4)

The construction in 16 is shown in Standard German in 17 for comparison.

(17) ich glaube nicht dass man das **auf-ge-schrieb-en$_2$** hat$_1$ (P-2-1)
I think.1SG.PRS not that one that on-PTCP-write-PTCP have.3SG
'I don't think that they used to write that down.' (Standard German)

The Viscri Saxon particle verb *ohdrehn* 'to take down/demolish' in 15 occurs with the auxiliary *hatte* 'had' intervening between the particle *oh* 'off' and the verb *drehn* 'to bring'. In contrast, the Viscri Saxon particle verb *afschreiwen* 'to write down/record' in 16, composed of the particle *af* 'on' and the verb *schreiwen* 'to write', remains as one unit when the auxiliary *hat* 'has' follows it.

The construction seen in 15 occurs in the ASD corpus recordings, thus indicating that this construction was already possible in Viscri Saxon in the 1960s. However, the Standard German construction has not been exemplified in previous studies that look at recordings of TrSax dialects (i.e. Sift 2015) or data from the beginning of the twentieth century or earlier (i.e. Holzträger 1912). These studies describe the P-1-2 construction with the auxiliary or modal verb intervening between the particle and the verb as the typical pattern for TrSax subordinate clauses. This TrSax construction is overall more common in the data: out of thirty tokens containing particle verbs in a two-verb cluster, seventeen (62%) are used with the 1-2 order and thirteen (38%) are used with the 2-1 order. Furthermore, P1 uses only the P-2-1 construction (i.e. the pattern typical for Standard German), while P7 uses only P-1-2, that is, the typical TrSax construction. The other six speakers show instances of both constructions, and each construction is possible with both auxiliary and modal verbs. Examples 18 and 19 show subordinate clauses with particle verbs occurring in a two-verb cluster that contains a modal verb. First, in 18 the particle verb *eaufuhren* 'to bring in/introduce' is split by the modal *seull* 'should', such that the particle *eau* 'in' is stranded before the modal and the verb *fuhren* 'to bring/lead' follows the modal.

(18) datt am Wasser **eau** seull$_1$ **fuhren$_2$** en da Gemujn (P-1-2)
that one water in should.3SG.PRS bring.INF in the community
' … that they should bring in water in the community.' (Viscri Saxon; P4)

Second, example 19 shows a similar particle verb, *eualuiden* 'to introduce' with the particle *eau* 'in' and the verb *luiden* 'to lead', occurring as one unit before the modal *siellen* 'should'.

(19) gloat dai wan det Wasser **eau-luiden$_2$** seullan$_1$ (P-2-1)
just then when the water in-lead.INF should.3PL.PRS
' … just then, when they were supposed to introduce the water'
(Viscri Saxon; P4)

Further grammatical factors that could explain word order but were not included in the analysis are verb type and type of subordinating conjunction or relative pronoun. These were excluded from the generalized linear mixed-effects model because each variable has too many unique tokens. There are 108 different types of verbs and twenty-one different subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns. However, examples in the data show that the same verb can be used in an auxiliary-participle and a modal-infinitive cluster and both orders are possible for each syntagm. For example, the modal *keunn* 'can' and the verb *machen* 'to do/make' occur in a 1-2 order cluster in 20 and in a 2-1 order cluster in 21.

(20) wa em daut keunn$_1$ machen$_2$ (1-2)
how one that can.3SG make.INF
'(Because I don't know) how that could be done.' (Viscri Saxon; P6)

(21) wa long ech daut neuch machen$_2$ keunn$_1$ (2-1)
how long I that still make.INF can.3SG
'(I really don't know) how long I can still do that.' (Viscri Saxon; P8)

The same verb *machen* is used in subordinate clauses, with the auxiliary *hun* 'have' preceding the verb in 22 and following the verb in 23.

(22) wa dai et hun$_1$ ge-mauch-t$_2$ (1-2)
how they it have.3PL PTCP-made-PTCP
'(I don't know) how they did that.' (Viscri Saxon; P4)

(23) wot ais Groissoaldjern och Oaldjern ge-mauch-t$_2$ hun$_1$ (2-1)
what our grandparents and parents PTCP-do-PTCP have.3PL
' … what our parents and grandparents did.' (Viscri Saxon; P4)

Turning to subordinating conjunctions or relative pronouns introducing the subordinate clause, results indicate that the same subordinating conjunctions or relative pronouns that are found for one order can be encountered with the other order as well. For example, the subordinate clauses shown in 20 and 21 above are introduced by the same relative pronoun *wa* 'how'. The clause in 20 displays the 1-2 order, while that in 21 displays the 2-1 order.

To sum up the results presented so far, Viscri Saxon displays flexible word order in subordinate clauses, alternating between the 1-2 and the 2-1 order, and none of the grammatical factors (the presence of an auxiliary vs. a modal, type of Aux/Mod, the presence of a particle verb) included in the generalized linear mixed-effects model has an effect on word order. Thus, current data shows that rightward head movement of the nonfinite verb is now optional in two-verb clusters in Viscri Saxon, and this contrasts with data available from other TrSax dialects, where rightward movement of the nonfinite verb is obligatory. For instance, the data described by McClure (1973) for Vingard Saxon indicated that rightward movement of the nonfinite verb was obligatory as the 1-2 order was required in subordinate clauses.

The distribution between the two orders also sets Viscri Saxon apart from related languages and dialects, due to the fact that each order occurs to comparable degrees and none of the analyzed grammatical factors have an effect on word order. This contrasts with other West Germanic languages and earlier stages of German (i.e. MHG) that allow variation between the two possible options but favor the 2-1 order overall. Furthermore, some languages related to TrSax, such as Luxembourgish and West Flemish, tend to favor or require the 1-2 order in modal-verb constructions, but do allow flexible order in auxiliary-verb constructions (Sapp 2011, Wurmbrand 2017); Viscri Saxon, however, allows flexible distribution for both word orders. The distributions discussed so far are summed up in Table 7.

LANGUAGE	AUXILIARY-VERB	MODAL-VERB	SOURCES
Viscri Saxon	2-1 / 1-2	2-1 / 1-2	
Standard German	2-1	2-1	Wurmbrand 2017:10
Vingard Saxon	1-2	1-2	McClure 1973:340
Luxembourgish	2-1 / 1-2	1-2	Dubenion-Smith 2008:35–36
Middle High German	2-1 / 1-2	2-1 / 1-2	Sapp 2011:21
West Flemish	2-1	1-2	Wurmbrand 2017:10

TABLE 7. Attested word orders in two-verb clusters.

Having discussed the distributions of the 1-2 and the 2-1 order in Viscri Saxon, I now turn to discussing the effect of the social factors included in the analysis. While gram-

matical factors did not have an effect on word order, there are noticeable differences in how individual participants use each construction, and these can be explained by social factors.

5.1. DIFFERENTIAL OUTCOMES AMONG SPEAKERS. The social factors that were included in the generalized linear mixed-effects model as fixed effects were Age, Age of acquisition of each of the languages the participants speak (Viscri Saxon, German, Romanian), Time spent in Germany (as an indicator of higher proficiency in German), and the BLP language-use scores for German and Romanian. These were included as a proportion—German score : Romanian score—because they are highly correlated. In addition to these social factors, the grammatical factors discussed so far were also included in the model, and speaker was included as a random effect. I ran one model without the language-use scores and one with the scores. The results of the first model are shown in Table 5 above. None of the social or grammatical factors included had an effect on word order, but the individual speaker had an effect in that the variance in the data could be accounted for through the individual speaker. Once I included the language-use scores in the model, the individual speaker effect was not present, but the score ratio had a significant effect ($p < 0.001$) on word order. An increase in score translates to a higher German score and leads to a higher likelihood of the 2-1 order, which is also the German-type order. These results are shown in Table 8.

FIXED EFFECTS	EST	*SE*	*z*-VALUE	Pr(>|z|)	
(intercept)	−7.0746	2.6510	−2.669	0.00762	**
Age	1.5320	0.6955	2.203	0.02761	*
Age of acq. German	−2.1971	1.4172	−1.550	0.12106	
Age of acq. Romanian	−12.3692	5.3595	−2.308	0.02101	*
Time spent in Germany	0.1275	0.4515	0.282	0.77764	
Auxiliary vs. modal	0.6644	0.3777	1.759	0.07859	
Presence of particle verb	0.3421	0.4442	0.770	0.44118	
Language-use score	−1.4387	0.3661	−3.930	8.51e-05	***
RANDOM EFFECT: Speaker	Variance: 0	*SD*: 0 (no speaker effect)			
$N = 217$, Speakers = 8					

TABLE 8. Generalized linear mixed-effects model for word order with language-use score as an additional fixed effect. Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Note that once the language-use score is added to the model, Age and Age of acquisition for Romanian also become significant predictors for word order. These results must be treated with some caution, as the participant sample is small and each new factor introduced in the analysis can lead to changes in the results. Furthermore, there are significant correlations between language-use score and the factors that have a significant effect in the new model. There is a significant negative correlation between the language-use scores and age (Pearson's $r = -0.539$)—that is, a lower language-use score (less use of German) correlates with a higher age. There is also a significant correlation between the language-use scores and Age of acquisition for Romanian (Pearson's $r = 0.510$)—that is, a higher language-use score (more use of German) correlates with a later age of acquisition of Romanian.

Table 9 gives an overview of how the available constructions pattern among the individual speakers and shows the language-use scores (as included in the model) in the second column. The closer the score is to 1, the more balanced the use between the two languages. Scores closer to 0 indicate that the speaker had a high score for Romanian and a low score for German, while scores higher than 1 indicate that the speaker had a

high score for German and a low score for Romanian. The third column shows the two possible word orders in two-verb clusters in percentages, the third and fourth columns show the distributions of each order, and the fifth column shows which particle-verb constructions are in two-verb clusters, where P-2-1 corresponds to the German-type pattern and P-1-2 corresponds to the TrSax pattern.

	GERMAN : ROMANIAN	SUBORDINATE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS		
PARTICIPANT	SCORE	1-2 ORDER	2-1 ORDER	PARTICLE VERBS
P1	20.00	0%	100%	P-2-1
P2	1.20	42%	58%	P-1-2 / P-2-1
P3	0.05	36%	64%	P-1-2 / P-2-1
P4	0.84	46%	54%	P-1-2 / P-2-1
P5	12.50	23%	77%	P-1-2* / P-2-1
P6	0.30	77%	23%	P-1-2
P7	0.00	96%	4%	P-1-2 / P-2-1
P8	1.60	42%	58%	P-1-2 / P-2-1

TABLE 9. Patterns of variation at the individual level (* indicates cases where only one such construction was encountered).

A broad generalization can be made when combining the different distributions of word orders across speakers. It appears that speakers who use Viscri Saxon, (Standard) German, and Romanian (i.e. P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, and P8) display variation in each area, using both the 1-2 and the 2-1 order and P-1-2 and P-2-1 constructions in two-verb clusters, while the two participants (P1 and P7) who use only two of the languages do not display the same distributions. P1 is the only speaker who does not use the 1-2 order or P-1-2 constructions in subordinate clauses. P1 is also the only participant who spends most of her time in Germany, learned Romanian after the age of twenty, and is not a fluent speaker of Romanian. Additionally, she has the highest language-use score out of all participants and uses the 2-1 order most. Thus, it appears that her Viscri Saxon constructions are heavily influenced by her German, and in her case the contact-induced change involves the loss of head movement of the nonfinite verb.

In contrast, P7, who acquired German after the age of twenty and uses German only on limited occasions (only a few times per year), barely uses German-type constructions, such as the 2-1 order and P-1-2 constructions. This is also reflected in his low score (0) for German, the lowest of all the participants. The results for these two participants could be compared to Otheguy et al.'s (2007) findings. In that case, Spanish-English bilinguals who learned English before the age of three had a high rate of overt pronouns in Spanish compared to speakers who learned English later in life. The results from Otheguy et al. 2007 indicate that contact-induced language changes can occur in the form of enhancement of shared features in a receiving language under the influence of a source language. Since both the 1-2 and the 2-1 order were present in the language as all participants acquired Viscri Saxon, what we see is an increased use of the 2-1 order in speakers who are German-dominant, and an increased use of the 1-2 order for speakers who are Romanian-dominant.

This is further supported by the results of participants P5 and P6: P5 has a strong preference toward the 2-1 order (77%) and a high language-use score (12.5), while P6 has a strong preference toward the 1-2 order and a low language-use score (0.3). P5 is a German teacher and thus uses German on a frequent basis, and P6 uses Romanian as her home language.

While the increased use of the 2-1 order in speakers with high language-use scores (increased use of German) can be explained as the enhancement of a shared feature be-

tween Viscri Saxon and German (cf. Baptista et al. 2016), increased use of the 1-2 order in Romanian-dominant speakers could be explained in two ways. On the one hand, it could be the result of feature enhancement, as Romanian requires the Aux/Mod to precede the verb and the transfer of a syntactic pattern is a likely outcome in cases of intense language contact (if we consider the individual speaker the locus of contact). On the other hand, increased use of Romanian means a decreased use of German and this might translate into less influence from German in Viscri Saxon, that is, less use of the 2-1 order.

While there are many similarities among six of the participants (excluding P1 and P7) in terms of language history, in that they all learned German before they learned Romanian, age of acquisition of each of the languages and time spent in Germany did not have an effect on word order. It seems that current language use is more significant, and given the changes in demographics in Viscri in the past thirty years, it is not surprising that the spheres of usage for each language have changed. This is again reflected in the reported use of German and Romanian, and as the language-use scores show, P3, P4, and P6 currently use more Romanian than German and P2 and P8 use German only slightly more than Romanian. As diachronic data is scarce, the role of Romanian in the contact-induced changes in Viscri Saxon is not entirely clear. It remains to be seen if the increased use of Romanian in the Viscri Saxon community will decelerate the changes in Viscri Saxon under the influence of German, as reflected by the speakers with increased use of Romanian as compared to the speakers with increased use of German.

6. Conclusions. This study contributes to the discussion on word-order variation in West Germanic verb clusters by adding a new variety to the discussion, Viscri Saxon, and proposing a contact-driven explanation for the distribution between possible word orders. This is a novel approach, as similar phenomena have been explored through the lens of potentially conditioning linguistic factors, without factoring in influences from contact varieties. This approach was made possible by including social factors and linguistic factors when analyzing word-order variation in two-verb clusters.

One of the advantages of working with a small pool of participants, as is often the case when analyzing an endangered language, is that extensive background information can be collected and used to explain variation. The variable that had the most significant effect on word order is language use, and results showed that increased use of German increased the likelihood of the 2-1 order. None of the linguistic factors included in this study could account for the use of one order over the other, and overall each order occurred to comparable degrees in the data, thus indicating that rightward head movement of the nonfinite verb is optional in current Viscri Saxon. Furthermore, the German-type 2-1 order occurred in up to 60% of the examples in the data, showing that it is now a well-established order in Viscri Saxon two-verb clusters.

By gathering available evidence and providing a diachronic overview of verb clusters in TrSax, I showed that rightward movement (resulting in the 1-2 order) used to be obligatory but has become optional under the influence of Standard German. The distributions used by German-dominant speakers versus Romanian-dominant speakers can be used as an indication of the role each of the languages in contact with Viscri Saxon plays in conditioning how the 1-2 and 2-1 orders are used. This study also fills an empirical gap by documenting and classifying a wide range of verb cluster phenomena in Viscri Saxon more specifically, and in TrSax more broadly, by presenting the scarce available evidence from previous work on this understudied language.

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