

## Plural Allomorphy in Pennsylvania Dutch

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Standard German (SG) shows a strong tendency for nominal plurals to end in a word-final, syllabic trochee (e.g., Wegener, 1999; Wiese, 2000, 2001, 2009; Salmons, 2012; Smith, 2020). A syllabic trochee, following Smith (2020), is defined as a disyllabic foot that contains a stressed-unstressed syllable sequence. Thus, in the process of plural formation in SG, singulars that are monosyllabic or end in a final stressed syllable tend to take a syllabic plural allomorph, resulting in a word-final trochee. For example, monosyllabic *'Berg/'Berg-e* 'mountain'/'mountain-s' and *'Kind-'Kind-er* 'child'/'child-ren', and stress-final *Re'gion/ Re'gion-en* 'region'/'region-s', each take a syllabic plural suffix. On the other hand, SG nouns that end in a word-final trochee in the singular take a non-syllabic plural suffix, thereby maintaining a word-final trochee in the plural. Examples include *'Tasse/'Tasse-n* ('cup'/'cup-s') and *The'ater/The'ater-∅* ('theater'/'theater-s').

Not all varieties of German/ic tend toward trochaic patterns in the same way that SG does, however. Wiese (2009) discusses several varieties, e.g. Franconian and Alsatian dialects, which allow monosyllabic plurals and do not prioritize a trochaic template in plurals. Given this micro-variation between German dialects, we examine to what extent Pennsylvania Dutch (PD), a Palatinate-based German dialect that has existed in North America for over 300 years, conforms to this trochaic pattern in determining its plural allomorphy. To date, only a few studies have investigated the status of plural morphemes in PD (e.g. Reed, 1948; Fuller, 2000); however, none of these previous studies examines the role of prosody in plural morphology.

Based on native speaker judgements, PD also shows, to some degree, a tendency for a trochaic pattern in its plural formation. Preliminary analyses suggest that many consonant-final monosyllabic singular forms add a syllable – either a schwa or a vocalic /ɪ/ – to form a disyllabic, trochaic plural (see Table 1). On the other hand, trochaic singular forms do not add syllables to form their plurals. Instead, a single, non-syllabic phoneme such as /n/ or /s/ is added, maintaining a trochaic structure in the plural (see Table 2).

Additional data suggest that the avoidance of accidental homophony between singular and plural forms is also a relevant factor in PD plural formation – a factor discussed for other German/ic varieties, as well (see Wiese, 2009). Evidence for this claim is two-fold: First, zero-plurals – plural forms with no overt plural suffix – are rare in PD. Second, (non-feminine) words ending in a schwa-sonorant sequence (*-el, -er*) in the singular form their plural by metathesis of the last two segments (*-le, -re*), while their SG counterparts employ zero plurals (see Table 3).

In summary, the preliminary evidence presented here suggests that a trochaic structure requirement and the avoidance of homophony are essential and relevant factors in the formation of plurals in PD. Additional experimental data will be collected to test the productivity and psychological reality of these factors observed in the naturalistic PD data provided above. To this end, we will use *wug*-tests (Gleason, 1958) with pseudo-words and a well-formedness-judgement task to test whether trochaic plural forms appear better than non-trochaic plural forms to PD speakers. The results from these experimental studies will provide additional insight into the extent to which the trochaic requirement is at play in PD plural formation and could uncover some implications for this pattern in German/ic more generally.

Table 1. *PD monosyllabic singular forms with trochaic plural forms (suffixes /-e/ and /-er/)*

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
'Disch	'Dische	table(s)
'Katz	'Katze	cat(s)
'Kind	'Kinner	child(ren)
'Hemm	'Hemmer	shirt(s)

Table 2. *PD trochaic singular and plural forms (suffixes /-n/ and /-s/)*

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
'Mädli	'Mädlin	little girl(s)
'Lefli	'Leflin	spoon(s)
'Baby	'Babys	baby(s)
'Patty	'Pattys	hand(s)

Table 3. *PD trochaic singular forms with metathesized plural forms (/ -le, -le/ and /-er, -re/). The (∅) in the third column indicates the presence of a zero plural*

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>	<b>German Translation</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
'Hivel	'Hivle	Hügel (∅)	hill(s)
'Spiegel	'Spiegle	'Spiegel (∅)	mirror(s)
'Messer	'Messre	'Messer (∅)	knife(ves)
'Fenschter	'Fenschre	'Fenster (∅)	window(s)

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