CHAPTER 8

The *for … zu* construction in Texas German

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While Standard German uses *um … zu* ('in order to') in sentences that contain a clause with an infinitive, Texas German (TxG), a critically endangered diaspora dialect of German, employs the *for … zu* ('in order to') construction to mark infinitival clauses. This can be seen in sentences like "Nie gewusst, dass Du das Ding pushen musst for Wasser zu kriege" ('I never knew that you had to push the thing to get water'). In this paper, we investigate possible sources of the TxG *for … zu* construction by discussing a range of internal and external factors, and then show how the distribution of the present-day *for…zu* construction in TxG can be described and analyzed using Diasystematic Construction Grammar.

Keywords: Texas German, syntax, Diasystematic Construction Grammar, infinitival clauses, language contact

1. Introduction

While Standard German, as well as some other varieties of German, uses *um … zu* ('in order to') in sentences that contain a clause with an infinitive, not all varieties of German use this construction. The following examples show that Texas German (TxG), a critically endangered diaspora dialect of German that will most likely die out in the next decade, employs the *for … zu* ('in order to') construction in (0a) in order to mark infinitival clauses.[1]

(0) a. Nie gewusst, dass Du das Ding pushen musst for Wasser zu kriege.
never knew that you the thing push must for water to get
'I never knew that you had to push the thing to get water.' (1–118–1–12)
b. Nie gewusst, dass Du das Ding drücken musst, um Wasser zu kriegen.

1. The combination of numbers following each TxG example is a unique file identification number that allows users of the TGDA (http://www.tgdp.org) to find the examples in the transcripts, thereby allowing for access to the relevant contexts in which the examples occur (see Boas et al. 2010 for details).

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This paper has two main goals. First, we investigate possible sources of the TxG *for … zu* ('in order to') construction by discussing a range of internal and external factors. Second, we show how the distribution of the present-day *for…zu* construction in TxG can be described and analyzed by applying the principles of Diasystematic Construction Grammar (Höder 2018).

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we first summarize Börjars and Burridge (2011), the fullest treatment of *for … zu* in nonstandard German dialects that we are aware of, who show that Pennsylvania German *fer* ('for') has developed from an allative preposition (a type of locative preposition) to a purposive marker to an infinitival marker. In contrast to several West Germanic languages, which have comparable purposive *fer/for/für … to* constructions, Pennsylvania German has lost the original infinitival marker *zu* ('to'), which Börjars and Burridge (2011: 405) label apparently "unique amongst varieties of German." In Section 3, we demonstrate that Pennsylvania German is in fact not alone in having lost the infinitival marker *zu*. Based on spoken data from the Texas German Dialect Archive (http://www.tgdp.org) that have been collected since 2001, we show that TxG exhibits both variants of the *for … zu* construction (i.e. with and without *zu*).

Section 4 explores the development of the *for…zu* construction in TxG in order to place it within the larger context of German dialect syntax. We see the existence and distribution of the present-day TxG *for … zu* construction as the result of factors like the original donor dialects of TxG, i.e., those dialects of German spoken by the early settlers; grammaticalization; and sociolinguistic factors like contact with English and TxG identity. Section 5 shows how the distribution of the TxG *for … zu* construction can be described and modeled with Diasystematic Construction Grammar (Höder 2018). This section shows that an analysis of the present-day distribution of the TxG *for … zu* construction does necessarily have to rely on any thorough understanding of the construction's origins. Section 6 summarizes our findings, points to some work that remains to be done on the topic, and then concludes. Finally, we provide a complete list of transcribed data from the Texas German Dialect Archive containing all *for … zu* constructions and all *um … zu* constructions as of January 2021, in order to motivate future research on the issues raised in this paper.

2. The Pennsylvania German *fer … zu* construction

To set the stage for our discussion of the Texas German data in Section 3, we briefly summarize the key insights of Börjars and Burridge (2011), who investigate the development of an allative preposition to a purposive marker to an infinitival

marker in Pennsylvania German (PaG). This development is intended to help understand why PaG employs the *for … zu* construction in examples such as (1) instead of the standard German *um … zu* construction.

(1) Un grawd so leit hut's g'num for de Englisha zu led'ra un'd
and exactly such people has-it taken for the English to beat under the
d'umshtenda we se wawra. (Börjars and Burridge 2011: 389)
circumstances as they were
'And it took exactly this kind of people to beat the English in the circumstances.'

Börjars and Burridge (2011) point out that the PaG *for … zu* construction can be used in a broad variety of different contexts. First, as for adjuncts of purpose, as in (2); second, in subject position, as in (3); third, as complements of verbs, as in (4); and fourth in raising constructions, as in (5) (see also Louden 1997 and Van Ness 1994).

Adjuncts of purpose (Börjars and Burridge 2011: 393)

(2) Ich nemm die schuh zum schumacher fer g'fixt waere.
I take the shoes to.the cobbler fer mended be
'I take the shoes to the cobbler (in order for them) to be mended.'

***Fer* clauses in subject position** (Börjars and Burridge 2011: 393)

(3) Fer datt anner laafe waer sadde dumm.
for there towards walk would-be sort-of stupid
'To walk there would be sort of stupid.'

***Fer* clauses as complements** (Börjars and Burridge 2011: 393)

(4) Sie hat e muschde fer e frack mache.
she had a pattern for a dress make
'She had a pattern to make a dress from.'

***Fer* clauses in raising constructions** (Börjars and Burridge 2011: 394)

(5) Er scheint fer en ehrliche man sei.
he seems for an honest man be.
'He seems to be an honest man.

Börjars and Burridge (2011: 394–395) attribute the presence of the PaG *fer … zu* construction to the donor dialects of PAG that were brought from Europe to North America. More specifically, Börjars and Burridge propose a specific path of development that starts in Old High German (OHG) and then evolves through Middle High German (MHG) into the 1800s, as shown in (6) below.

(6) Börjars and Burridge (2011: 394–395): Donor dialect and development

OHG: allative preposition *zu* used as marker of purpose (Haspelmath 1989)

MHG: *zu* spreads to complement clauses

zu loses its purposive meaning; "fresh" marker is needed

Palatinate dialects: benefactive prep. *fer* is used for purposive

Other dialects: *um* is used to mark purposive meaning

1800s:	Palatinate dialects	---------->	Pennsylvania German
	[*fer* … *zu*: purposive marker]		[*fer* … *zu*: purposive marker]
	[*fer*: benefactive prep.]		[*fer*: benefactive prep.]

Based on this historical development, Börjars and Burridge argue for three additional stages of development in the history of Pennsylvania German, as in (7). On this view, the original *fer … zu* construction brought to North America by the Palatinate dialects only had a benefactive meaning. Subsequently the meaning of *fer* changed from purposive to infinitival marker.

(7)	a.	*fer* + NP	benefactive	("original" from Palatinate dialects)
	b.	*fer* + clause	purposive	
	c.	*fer* + clause general	infinitival	

Finally, Börjars and Burridge (2011) draw three main conclusions: First, as noted above, they contend that the loss of *zu* in purposive clauses (as seen in examples like (5)), which happened towards the end of the 19th century, is apparently "unique amongst varieties of German". Second, they attribute the changes in Pennsylvania German to reanalysis and grammaticalization. Third, they argue that contact with English is not a motivating factor in the change (see also Louden 1988 on this point). In the following section we will argue that at least points (1) and (3) are problematic.

3. The *for … zu* construction in Texas German

We now present some *for … zu* data from TxG. We note at the outset of this section that TxG exhibits the *for…zu* construction in fewer contexts than Pennsylvania German. Unlike Pennsylvania German, this construction does not appear in subject position or in raising structures in TxG. In (8) and (9), we give two examples of *for … zu* clauses as complements.

(8) Die ham achtzigtausend Dollar aufgedan, for hier Land zu kaufen in Texas
they have eighty thousand dollar put-up for here Land to buy in Texas
(1–57–1–1)
'They came up with $80,000 to buy land here in Texas.'

(9) Nie gewusst, dass Du das Ding pushen musst for Wasser zu kriege.
never knew that you the thing push must for water to get
'I never knew that you had to push the thing to get water.' (1–118–1–12)

In TxG, the *for … zu* construction can also be used as an adjunct of purpose, as in (10) and (11):

(10) Aber sie hat immer mitgeholfen wenn's Zeit war for ernten un was.
but she has always with-helped if-it time was for harvest and what
'But she always helped us when it was time to harvest.' (1–28–1–10)

(11) … Flasche Schnaps gehabt wo muh an die Tier kam for reingehn.
bottle schnapps had when we to the door came to go-in
'… we had a bottle of schnapps when we got to the door to go in.' (1–28–1–28)

The examples in (10) and (11) are interesting, because they show that there are instances in TxG in which the *zu* in the *for … zu* construction is not present. This runs counter to Börjars and Burridge's (2011: 405) claim that an "aspect of this change which appears unique amongst varieties of German is the loss of *zu*." The TxG data demonstrate that the loss of *zu* in PaG is not unique amongst varieties of German.

Given that TxG has different donor dialects than PaG (Boas 2009a; Boas et al. 2010) and that TxG has undergone a different development than PaG, we now turn to the question of how to account for the distribution of the *for … zu* construction in TxG. To address this point we first discuss different internal and external factors that may have led to the emergence of the *for … zu* construction in TxG over the past 150 years. In Section 4 below we discuss how the present-day distribution of the *for … zu* construction can be modeled without taking into consideration diachronic factors.

As noted in Section 2 above, Börjars and Burridge (2011: 394) account for the PaG *for … zu* construction in terms of internal factors. They note the following:

> *Fer … zu* is the marker of purposive in the German dialects of the Palatinate from which PG has developed. As would be expected there is evidence that PG also had a *fer … zu* purposive marker as far back as we have data.
>
> (Börjars and Burridge 2011: 394)

In fact, as Börjars and Burridge (2011: 387) point out, "[t]here are … a number of non-standard varieties of German which have a *for … to* purposive," e.g.,

Palatine German, Frankish, and Swiss German, citing Henn (1980), Lockwood (1968), Reed (1948), and Weber and Dieth (1964) in support of this observation. Lockwood (1968: 154), for instance, writes: "Instead of *um zu*, a substandard *für zu* is found locally: *er schickte mich, für Brot zu holen*. The idiom may be a calque on French, e.g., *pour me prendre*, since it is confined to the frontier districts of the West. It is parallel to Eng. *for to take me*…." Similarly, Reed (1948: 144) labels this construction "not uncommon in southwestern Germany," citing the 1881 *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* in support of this statement. More specifically, Henn (1980: 53, underlining in original) states about Palatine German that "Infinitive als Adverbialbestimmung haben in der Mundart nie *um … zu*, sondern *fœr … sə* (*für … zu*). Finally, Weber and Deith (1964: 307) cite a number of examples of the *für … zu* construction in Swiss German, e.g., *Mer bruuched Lüüt für zum Aapflanze* 'We need people to cultivate [the field]'.[2]

The implications of this point for the existence of the construction in TxG are clear: just as for Pennsylvania German and its donor dialects, if one or more of the original donor dialects of TxG already exhibited the *for … zu* construction, then TxG should exhibit it as well. There are in fact a number of TxG phenomena that can be (at least partially) accounted for in this manner, e.g., the case marking system (Boas 2009b), relative clauses (Boas et al. 2014), and front rounded vowels (Pierce et al 2015), meaning that it would not be surprising for this factor to play a role here as well. And in fact, such an account is partially possible for TxG, since Palatinate dialects were among the donor dialects that contributed to the formation of TxG (Boas 2009a). However, this factor should not be given too much weight, for the following reasons. First, Palatinate dialects are only one part of the mix — TxG has multiple donor dialects, including at least Hessian, Low German, Thuringian, Saxon, and Alsatian, in addition to the Palatinate dialects (Boas 2009a), meaning that we need to be cautious in invoking influence from a specific donor dialect of TxG. Second, and similarly, we do not have enough information about the distribution of the of *fer … zu* construction in the other donor dialects of TxG to be able to say definitively that its presence in TxG results from its presence in the original donor dialects.

Third, we simply do not have enough demographic information about the early speakers of TxG to be able to discuss the original donor dialects definitively. Most of the demographic information about the early speakers of TxG and consequently the original donor dialects of TxG comes from nineteenth-century ship

2. Our colleague Peter Hess, a native speaker of Swiss German, labels the examples given in Weber and Dieth (1964) "acceptable," calling them "slightly antiquated but … grammatically correct" (email of 27 April 2022). We are grateful to him for sharing his native speaker intuitions with us.

and immigration records, but the officials recording this demographic information were often not as conscientious as one might hope, e.g., the place of birth of German immigrants was often recorded simply as "Germany," or as "Prussia" (and it is unclear if by "Prussia" the immigration officials really meant the part of what is now Germany known as "Prussia" or just "Germany"), meaning that it is often impossible to pin down just where the immigrants were from, which further means that it is often impossible to pin down exactly what dialect of German they spoke (see Boas 2009a for a more detailed discussion of this issue). Moreover, some of the immigration records were lost in the Galveston hurricane of 1900. Fourth, it can be extremely difficult to determine the specific impact of a donor dialect on present-day TxG, given the length of time that has passed since the formation of TxG and all of the changes and external pressures that TxG has been subject to. We do believe that the donor dialects must have played a role, however, even if it is impossible at this remove to make any definitive statements about the matter.

A second internal factor invoked by Börjars and Burridge (2011) also merits attention: it is relatively common cross-linguistically for prepositions to develop into purposive markers and then to infinitival markers, which suggests that *for … zu* in TxG could be a straightforward case of grammaticalization (compare Lehmann 1995; Hopper and Traugott 2003). This idea must also be treated with caution, however, for at least two main reasons. First, the status of grammaticalization as a unique force in language change remains disputed. While scholars like Hopper and Traugott (2003) do contend that it is such a force, others, e.g., Janda (2001), Joseph (2001), etc., note that it may instead be an epiphenomenon, as grammaticalization involves factors like reanalysis that are independently necessary for the analysis of language change. This point is largely theoretical, and we will not engage with the debate here. We raise it only as a cautionary point. A second, considerably more important, point is that earlier studies of TxG, including the landmark works by Fred Eikel (e.g., Eikel 1954) and Glenn Gilbert (especially Gilbert 1972) do not contain any data on *for … zu*. This means that we do not have sufficient diachronic data to confirm or disprove this hypothesis.[3]

This takes us to possible external factors, beginning with contact with English. It can be difficult to pin down the precise effects of English on TxG.[4] In some areas of TxG grammar, like the lexicon, the impact of English is clear. That is, as Boas and Pierce (2011) note, there are more English loan words in the TxG data collected since 2001 by the TGDP than there are in the data collected by Glenn Gilbert in the 1960s (see Gilbert 1965, 1972 for details and examples), and there

3. The absence of diachronic data does not entail that the construction was absent from earlier stages of TxG, of course.

4. See Bousquette (2020) for some discussion of this issue as it pertains to Wisconsin.

are more English loan words in the Gilbert data than in the data collected by Fred Eikel in the 1930s and the 1940s (see Eikel 1954 for details and examples). This is almost certainly the result of increased contact with English.

In other areas of the TxG grammar, however, the impact of English is not as clear. Two examples of this are the case system and front rounded vowels. To the case system: the TxG case system has been simplified considerably since the 1940s or so. In parallel to the situation with the lexicon described above, TxG as described by Gilbert (1963, 1972) has a more elaborate case system (e.g., with more uses of the dative, etc.) than TxG as described by Boas (2009a, 2009b); while TxG as described by Eikel (1949, 1954) has a more complicated case system than TxG as described by Gilbert (1963, 1972), although a less complicated case system than Standard German. Eikel (1949) begins with the assumption that the original case system of TxG was essentially identical to that of the standard language, and argues that the simplified system of TxG at that time was due largely to contact with English.[5] He does suggest that internal factors may also have played a role, but gives far more weight to contact with English. Boas (2009b), on the other hand, develops a multi-causation scenario, in which contact with English is only one of several factors involved in the change.[6]

Pierce et al (2015) make a similar proposal with regards to front rounded vowels in TxG. In parallel with both the TxG lexicon and the TxG case system, there are fewer front rounded vowels in the post-2001 TGDP data than in the Gilbert data (Gilbert 1963, 1972), and fewer front rounded vowels in the Gilbert data than in the Eikel data (Eikel 1954). Like Boas (2009b), Pierce et al. (2015) develop a multi-causation scenario for this change. They argue that it is due to several factors, including the status of front rounded vowels as marked sounds, the changing linguistic and social contexts of TxG, the donor dialects of TxG, and contact with English. Specifically, they see contact with English as a factor reinforcing an ongoing change in TxG, not as the sole cause of the change itself.

Having said this, we note the existence of a parallel *for … to* construction in English. This construction is included on the list of colloquial American English grammatical features discussed by Murray and Simon (2008), and has most recently been discussed by Kaplan et al. (2017), who provide a number of examples and an extensive discussion. It has historically been found in a number of varieties of English, both in North America and abroad, e.g., Belfast English

5. It should be noted here that Eikel generally seems to see differences between TXG and Standard German as the result of language change in TXG. His analysis of the case system reflects this.

6. See Rosenberg (2003) for a broadly similar account of the case systems of Russian German dialects.

(Henry 1995), Ozark English (Elgin and Haden 1991), and West Virginia English (Hazen et al. 2010), and was present in English at least as early as the Middle English period (Kaplan et al. 2017). Hazen et al. (2010: 15) furthermore note that the use of this construction is on the wane among younger speakers in West Virginia. It can be used in a number of contexts in those varieties of English that include it, e.g. in purposives and infinitives.

Examples of the construction are easy to find; the example most commonly cited, from the 1880 folk song *Polly Wolly Doodle*, is given in (12):

(12) I'm goin' to Louisiana for to see my Suziana. (Polly Wolly Doodle, 1880)

In light of the wide attestation of this construction, Huffines (1990) invokes its indirect influence on German-American dialects, but Börjars and Burridge (2011) reject this idea, stating that "The example which Huffines (1990: 103) provides to show that the construction is obsolete in English sounds old-fashioned exactly because it lacks a subject" (Börjars and Burridge 2011: 394). There does seem to be some gradient acceptability, as shown in (13), which indicates that the issue may be more complicated than Börjars and Burridge (2011) suggest:

(13) a. *I'm going to Louisiana for I to see my Suziana.
b. ?? I'm going to Louisiana for me to see my Suziana.
c. I'm going to Louisiana in order to see my Suziana.

Moreover, it is fairly easy to find examples of this construction in American English; we give a few representative examples in (14). We have also included two British English examples in (14d) and (14e), to show how widely attested the construction is:

(14) a. And I ain't noticed Mr. Ashley asking for to marry you (*Gone with the Wind* [1939]; Mammy to Scarlett)
b. I'm ready for to fade/ Into my own parade (Bob Dylan, "Mr. Tambourine Man," 1965)
c. In the desert there ain't no one for to give you no pain (America, "A Horse with No Name," 1971)
d. There were three men came out of the West, their fortunes for to try ("John Barleycorn," English folk song, widely attested after the 17th century)
e. We wouldn't go for to hurt any fellow creature's feelings … (Gilbert and Sullivan, *HMS Pinafore*, 1878)

We admit that these examples are largely artificial, especially the example from "A Horse with No Name," which is clearly driven by the meter of the song.[7] However, their very existence indicates that the construction is well-known in English — if it were not well-known, it would presumably not have been used in these examples. This further indicates that the construction must have been productive at some earlier time, especially in Southern U.S. dialects, as discussed in the sources mentioned above, which have certainly affected TxG in various ways (see e.g., Boas 2009a on this point). These points therefore lead us to agree with Huffines (1990) on the English source of this construction, and consequently to reject Börjars and Burridge's claims in this area. That is, we see contact with English as the most likely source of the *for … zu* construction in present-day TxG.[8]

This point is reinforced by a consideration of the current demographics of TxG. There are now only about 5,000 speakers of TxG, all of whom are elderly (typically over 70 years old) English-dominant bilinguals, and many of whom have not spoken TxG in a number of years (see Boas 2005). As Nettle and Romaine (2000: 53) note, gradual language death, which TxG is undergoing, can have a considerable impact on a language: "[w]hen a dying language declines gradually over a period of generations, it … is not used for all the functions and purposes it was previously. Like a limb not used, it atrophies."

This kind of atrophy can be seen in present-day TxG: just about all present-day TxG speakers have stopped using TxG in many contexts, and they are therefore considerably less fluent speakers of the language than speakers at earlier stages of the language (e.g., those recorded in Eikel 1954 and Gilbert 1972). The result is that present-day speakers of TxG use fewer German-based structures (like front rounded vowels and the dative case) than their predecessors did, instead relying on more English-like structures — like *for … zu*.

An additional external factor to consider is TxG identity. Fuller (2008: 15) writes, "In the diaspora, Germanness is a hybrid entity — individuals have identities that are German American, Russian German, Chilean of German descent, and so on," and Boas and Fingerhuth (2017) and Warmuth (2023) have recently made a similar point with regards to TxG. Moreover, in the case of TxG, 98% of TxG speakers see the dialect as part of their identity (Boas 2009a). What therefore might be happening in this situation (and with other TxG constructions that lack parallels in Standard German) is that TxG speakers are attempting to establish their identity as speakers of TxG, not Standard German. This would be done

7. Some of these examples are cited in Kaplan et al (2017). We had compiled the list in (14) before becoming aware of their paper.

8. See also Dux (2017), who discusses a range of syntactic processes borrowed from English into TxG.

by using a non-standard construction that speakers of TxG see as specifically TxG and not Standard German, like the *for … zu* construction. This idea remains tentative and it is not immediately clear to us how it could be confirmed (or denied, for that matter).

To summarize, we have argued that it is difficult to fully determine the origins of the TxG *for…zu* construction, mainly because we do not have sufficient diachronic data available that would allow us to clearly identify the internal and external factors at play. Given all available data it appears highly likely that the TxG *for…zu* construction has been borrowed from English and that other factors have played a supporting role. In the next section we show how the present-day distribution of the TxG *for…zu* construction can be modeled in Construction Grammar.

4. A constructional analysis of the TxG *for…zu* construction

4.1 Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG)

The past five decades have seen a variety of different theories used to analyze language contact phenomena, including Poplack's (1980) Two-Constraints Model, Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) Matrix Language Frame Model, Muysken's (2000) Bilingual Speech Model, and Clyne's (2003) broader approach to interlingual transference (for an overview, see Boas and Höder 2018: 6–10). More recently, researchers have become interested in describing and analyzing language contact phenomena in an integrative, non-modular approach that provides a uniform framework for the description of both the structural units that are affected by language contact and what is happening to them in contact-induced language change, including more abstract semantic and pragmatic patterns.

One such approach is Construction Grammar (CxG) (Fillmore et al. 1988; Fillmore and Kay 1993; Goldberg 1995), which models language as a complex network of constructions (pairings of form with meaning/function) that capture linguistic knowledge from the most abstract to the most idiosyncratic patterns (see Goldberg 2006; Diessel 2019). On this view, constructions are the basic building blocks of language. Goldberg (2006) defines the term construction as follows.

> Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency. (Goldberg 2006: 5)[9]

In CxG sentences are licensed by combining constructions of different types including words, multi-word expressions, (partially filled) idiomatic constructions, argument structure constructions, and word order constructions (see Fillmore 2008; Lyngfelt et al. 2018; Boas et al. 2019). CxG differs from other theories of language in at least four major points. First, CxG, unlike many other theories of language, does not assume a strict separation of the lexicon and syntax. On this view, words, multi-word expressions, and syntactic structures are not stored in different distinct modules, but their forms and meanings are represented using the same data structures ordered on a lexis-grammar continuum (Goldberg 1995; Fillmore et al. 2012). Or, as Goldberg (2006: 18) puts it: "It's constructions all the way down." Second, CxG makes no principled distinction between a so-called periphery (consisting of irregular forms that require that they be listed) and a so-called core (consisting of fully regular linguistic expressions). As such, constructional analyses treat both peripheral and core linguistic phenomena alike. Third, CxG views the productivity of constructions on a continuum, ranging from fully productive constructions to semi- and non-productive constructions. This means that productivity has a crucial impact on the way a construction is shaped and related to other constructions in the constructicon (the repository of constructions, see Fillmore et al. 2012; Herbst 2014; Boas 2017; Boas and Ziem 2018; Lyngfelt 2018). Fourth, the meaning side of constructions is typically represented in terms of semantic frames (Fillmore 1982) (for more information, see Fillmore et al. 2012; Boas 2018/2020a).

Over the last decade, researchers have become more and more interested in applying constructional insights to language contact phenomena. For example, in Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG) (Höder 2014/2018) one can think of language contact phenomena as resulting from situations in which the linguis-

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9. Construction Grammar is a family of closely related theoretical approaches that share basic assumptions and concepts (status of constructions, usage-based methodology, no separation between the lexicon and syntax, constructions are organized in networks, etc.). The various strands of CxG, such as Berkeley Construction Grammar (Fillmore 2013), Cognitive Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995/2006), Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001/2013), and Sign-based Construction Grammar (Sag 2012; Boas and Sag 2012), differ from each other in their objectives and particular interests motivating both the linguistic issues addressed and the methodological requirements needed for approaching them appropriately (see Boas 2013; Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013; Boas and Ziem 2018).

tic knowledge of multilinguals consists of a common 'repertoire' of elements and structures, i.e. constructions, for all of their languages and varieties.[10] On this view, speakers chose from this repertoire whatever is appropriate (conventionalized, acceptable, common) in the current communicative context (see Boas and Höder 2018). Because constructions from both (or possibly even more) languages are in the same repertoire, they may influence each other in particular ways.

According to Höder (2018), a speaker's multilingual repertoire can thus be regarded as a set of linguistic structures consisting of idiosyncratic subsets on the one hand (containing elements that solely belong to one language or variety) and common subsets on the other (containing elements that are common to several or all languages within the repertoire). Figure 1 shows how Höder (2018) visualizes the idiosyncratic and common subsets of a multilingual repertoire. On this view, constructions are acquired, stored, and processed on the basis of the available linguistic input, in the context of actual language usage, and according to general cognitive principles. Höder (2018: 45) summarizes the foundations of DCxG as follows:

a. Language is not an abstract semiotic system, but exists in and is shaped by speakers' cognition and social interaction; this is acknowledged in usage-based approaches to CxG.

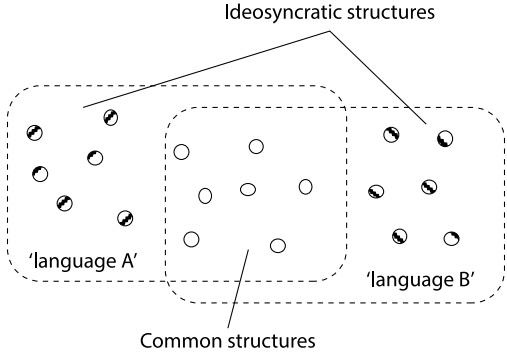

Figure 1. Multilingual repertoire in Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG): Idiosyncractic and common subsets (Höder 2018: 44)

10. A closely related approach is cognitive contact linguistics (Zenner et al. 2019), which places usage, meaning, and mind at the core of contact-induced variation and change. This approach builds partially on insights from Diachronic Construction Grammar, which provides models for investigating morpho-syntactic change in general and grammaticalization and constructionalization in particular (see, e.g., Bergs and Diewald 2008; Hilpert 2008; Traugott and Trousdale 2013). See Traugott (2019) for a brief overview.

b. In a socio-cognitively realistic approach to grammar in language contact situations, there is no reason to assume that 'languages' have any a priori status. If a constructionist analysis assumes that linguistic structures are organized in terms of 'languages', this must be based on actual evidence or inferred from general cognitive mechanisms rather than being taken for granted.
c. Getting rid of the 'Procrustean cornet' — i.e. the idea of 'language' as a pre-existing category — is the main aim of DCxG. In multilingual communities, grammar is not language-specific, but rather community-specific.

We now turn to the question of how the *for … zu* construction can be accounted for in DCxG. Recall that constructions, pairings of form with meaning/function, are the basic building blocks of language.[11] Ideally, we would like to capture both language-specific (idiosyncratic structures) and common structures at the same time. To illustrate, we start with a few lexical examples that show that members of the TxG community, who speak TxG and English, have both different ways of expressing roughly the same information and unique ways of expressing certain concepts, as in (15).

(15) a. TxG *laufen* 'to walk', English *to walk*
b. TxG *Stinkkatz* 'skunk', English *skunk*
c. TxG *gemütlich* 'cozy/comfortable/snug/homely' [no good English equivalent][12]

The words in (15) can all be considered constructions as they are pairings of form with meaning/function. They differ from each other in that only (15c) has both a language-specific form and a language-specific referential meaning, whereas the constructions in (15a) and (15b) pair language-specific forms with meanings (which can be modeled with semantic frames, see Boas 2018/2020b) that are not language-specific within the bilingual community. All examples in (15) differ in terms of their pragmatic properties: their occurrence is restricted to different pragmatic contexts, i.e. the communicative settings that are conventionally associated with either language within the bilingual community. Höder (2018: 49) characterizes the role of pragmatic context in bilingual speech communities as follows:

> They thus have a pragmatic function of marking the current context as belonging to a specific set of settings, in line with the fundamental assumption of CxG that

11. The discussion in this section draws on key insights by Höder (2018).

12. *Gemütlich* has no good direct translation equivalent in English since it is polysemous and highly dependent on context. In TxG (as in Standard German), anything from an event to a soft chair to a scene in which a person is sitting in a relaxed environment with close friends drinking a beer while music is playing in the background can be considered *gemütlich*.

differences in form go along with differences in function. In DCxG, this function is analyzed as part of the pragmatic meaning of a construction within a multilingual constructicon.

In (16), we see a somewhat simplified analysis of the data in (15), with angle brackets indicating non-referential meaning and $C_{\text{abbreviated glottonym}}$ standing for the communicative settings associated with a particular language (i.e. Texas German (TxG) and English (E)).

(16) a. TxG/English to walk constructions
[*laufen* 'to walk' <C_{TxG}>], [*to walk* <C_{E}>]
b. TxG/English skunk constructions
[*Stinktier* 'skunk' <C_{TxG}>], [*skunk* <C_{E}>]
c. TxG gemütlich construction
[*gemütlich* 'cozy/comfortable/snug/homely' <C_{TxG}>]

Comparing the data in (16a)–(16c) it is important to keep in mind that in DCxG the analysis of language-specificity is a part of a construction's pragmatic meaning. In other words, not every construction that occurs in Cx specifically also marks Cx. This difference become clearer when dealing with more schematic constructions such as argument structure constructions, e.g. the Resultative Construction (Boas 2003). In both TxG and English, transitive resultative constructions consist of a NP (typically the agent) followed by a main verb (typically the agent), and a resultative phrase (typically an adjectival phrase or a prepositional phrase) as in (17).

(17) a. Texas German
Fritz streicht die Scheune rot.
b. English
Fritz paints the barn red.

The sentences in (17) instantiate many different constructions, including lexical material, inflectional morphology, syntactic patterns, prosodic patterns, etc. many of which are language-specific. However, the schematic transitive resultative construction can be regarded as isomorphous between the two languages. This means that in the TxG context, where speakers are bilingual between TxG and English, the Resultative Construction is not represented by two language-specific constructions within the community-specific grammar of Texas German — English bilinguals in central Texas. Instead, it should be regarded as a single, language-unspecific constructions as in (18), as it cannot potentially mark an utterance as belonging to a specific set of communicative settings within the community. Each of the form elements of the Resultative Construction in (18) are open slots with

specific lexical, phrasal, and semantic-pragmatic restrictions (see Boas 2003 for details).[13]

(18) Resultative Construction[14]
[NP, V, NP, AP/PP]

The single, language-unspecific Resultative Construction belongs, just like other language-unspecific constructions (also known as diaconstructions) and language-specific constructions (idiosyncratic constructions, or idioconstructions) to a single multilingual constructicon, which serves as a repository of all constructions in a bilingual community, according to Höder (2018: 51).[15] With this very brief overview of some of the principles of DCxG, we now turn to the question of how the TxG *for … zu* construction can be modeled.

4.2 The TxG *for … zu* construction in Diasystematic Construction Grammar

Consider, for example, sentence (19), in which the *for … zu* construction appears in TxG as a complement clause to the main clause.

(19) Un jeder hat so viel Acker gekriecht for zu farm. (1–38–1–2)
and everyone has so much field gotten for to farm
'And everyone got so many fields for farming.'

Recall that in Section 3 above we concluded that the most likely origin of the TxG *for … zu* construction is a southern English *for … to* construction as in the following hypothetical example (we say hypothetical because we do not have an attested corpus example from central Texas English).

(20) And everyone got so many fields for to farm.

Comparing the sentences in (18) and (19) we observe that they both encode the same meaning because of the compositional semantics of the various English and Texas German lexical items (which are form-meaning pairings i.e. constructions) involved. Note that almost all of the lexical constructions in (19) and (20) are

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13. Note that there are many different sub-types of Resultative Constructions in English and German (see Goldberg 1995; Müller 2002; Boas 2003/2011; Iwata 2020). For the purpose of this discussion, we only focus on the type in (17).

14. Here we focus only on the form side of the resultative construction, not the meaning side, which can be modeled using semantic frames (see Boas 2003; Fillmore et al. 2012).

15. We do not address the question of how diaconstructions and idioconstructions are organized in the constructicon in terms of constructional networks. See Höder (2018) for details, including the question of how language-unspecific constructions can be acquired and how diasystematic reorganization operates.

language-specific idioconstructions belonging to Texas English or Texas German. The only exceptions are the two lexical constructions *for* and *farm*, which are language-unspecific diaconstructions and are as such should be categorized as common structures as illustrated in Figure 1 above.

Moving beyond lexical constructions we distinguish between two different categories of constructions, namely language-specific constructions (idioconstructions) and language-unspecific constructions (diaconstructions). Here we do not intend to conduct a full-scale dissection of all constructions involved in licensing the sentences in (19) and (20). Instead, we focus on the question of whether the TxG *for … zu* construction as well as its Texas English equivalent are idioconstructions or whether they are both instantiated by the same language-unspecific diaconstruction.

At first glance, it might seem that they are licensed by the same language-unspecific diaconstruction, because they express the same meaning (a purpose clause). However, they differ in their forms, i.e. *for … zu* in (19) but *for … to* in (20). Following one of the basic claims of CxG, namely that a difference in form signals a difference in meaning we conclude that there are two separate idioconstructions involved in licensing the purpose clauses in (19) and (20). Figure 2 presents a first rough outline of the architecture of the TxG idioconstruction, following the notation conventions of Goldberg (1995).

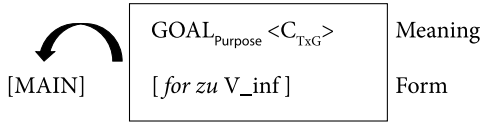

Figure 2. Construction entry of TxG *for … zu* construction involved in licensing (19)

The curved arrow in the construction entry above shows that the construction, which is represented by the box with two layers, depends on and modifies a main clause. The top construction layer represents the meaning of the construction, which consists of two parts. The first encodes the frame-semantic meaning of the *for … zu* construction, which, according to the Berkeley FrameNet database, can be defined as the frame element (a specific type of semantic role) Goal, which is the action or state of affairs that the Agent (of the main clause) wants to

achieve.[16] The frame element Goal is one of several frame elements of the Purpose frame, which is defined by FrameNet as follows.[17]

> The Purpose frame: An Agent wants to achieve a Goal, or an object. A Means has been created or is used to allow the creator or a user to achieve a Goal. The Goal is a state of the world that does not currently hold but which the Agent wants to realize and is planning and/or working towards.[18]

The second part of the meaning layer indicates that the construction is a language-specific idioconstruction of TxG. The bottom layer in Figure 2 specifies the form of the *for … zu* construction that licenses the purpose clause in (19).[19] It shows two fixed lexical units *for* and *zu* as well as an open slot that is restricted to infinitival forms of verbs. Our outline of a TxG (idio)construction entry licensing purpose clauses such as those in (19) is only a first step towards a more comprehensive account of the *for … zu* construction in TxG. In the remainder of this section we discuss a number of unresolved issues that need to be addressed by future research.

The construction entry in Figure 2 licenses only purpose clauses without intervening lexical units between *for* and *zu*. There are, however, many examples, such as those in (8) and (9) above, in which we find intervening lexical units between *for* and *zu*. Future research therefore needs to investigate whether such purpose clauses can be licensed by the TxG idioconstruction in Figure 2 together with a more schematic word order construction (see Boas and Ziem 2018) or whether it is necessary to define an additional construction entry to license examples such as in (8) and (9) above.

Moreover, our construction entry in Figure 2 licenses only a particular subtype of purpose clauses but not the type of adjunct clauses as in (10) and (11) above. Future research needs to compile construction entries capable of licensing *for (… zu)* adjunct clauses. After compiling a complete inventory of *for … zu* construction entries we will need to address the question of how these construction entries are related to each other in terms of constructional organization. Research by Goldberg (1995), Leino (2008), Hilpert (2013), Diessel (2019), and Smirnova

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16. In CxG the meaning of many but not all constructions can be represented using Frame Semantics. The debate about whether all constructions have meaning and how that meaning should be represented is not settled yet, see Fillmore (1999), Goldberg (2006), Boas (2008), Boas et al. (2019), and Dux (2020).

17. The core frame elements of the Purpose frame are Agent, Attribute, Goal, Means, and Value.

18. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Purpose

19. The construction entry of the English *for … to* idioconstruction is similar to the one in Figure 2 except for the form layer where we find *to* instead of *zu*.

and Sommerer (2020) suggests that networks of related constructions are shaped by language use. However, scholars do not agree on the details of how such networks are organized and we expect that further research on the TxG *for … zu* construction will contribute to this ongoing discussion.

Another open issue is the relationship between form and meaning. One of the key constructional ideas is that a difference in form is also a difference in meaning (Goldberg 1995, 2006). Interestingly, speakers of TxG also use the *um … zu* construction as the following examples illustrate.

(21) a. Er konnt nicht genug Zeit kriegen um nach Deutschland zu gehen.
He could not enough time get for to Germany to go
'He couldn't get enough time to go to Germany.' (132–582–1–16)

b. Die waren nicht zu weit gegang um Partners zu finden. (41–215–1–15)
They were not too far gone for partners to find
'They didn't go too far to find partners.'

c. Wo ich in San Anton war hab ich kein Geld gehabt um da
where I in San Antonio was have I no money had for there
weide zu komm. (1–167–2–48)
further to come
'When I was in San Antonio I didn't have money to go further.'

The data in the Texas German Dialect Archive show that speakers use the *um … zu* construction in the same contexts as the *for … zu* construction to express the same meaning (purpose). More specifically, it appears as if the two constructions can be substituted for each other in our corpus data without changing the meaning. At first sight, this seems to run counter to the established constructional idea that a difference in form is a difference in meaning. Future research needs to address this point by collecting more data from TxG speakers to see whether they can use the two constructions interchangeably while interpreting the meaning of them equally. If this is in fact the case then a long held key constructional idea (difference in form means difference in meaning) would have to be revisited.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we argued that the distribution of the *for … zu* construction in TxG can be traced to at least four contributing factors: (1) its presence in the original donor dialects of TxG, (2) grammaticalization, (3) influence from English, and (4) the prestige of TxG identity vis-à-vis Standard German. Of these four factors, we give the most weight to (1) and (3). We also argued against some of the positions

taken in Börjars and Burridge (2011), which deals with the use of this construction in Pennsylvania German.

In addition, we provided an outline of how the TxG *for … zu* construction can be accounted for within Diasystematic Construction Grammar (and Frame Semantics). We argued that one particular subtype of the *for … zu* construction, the purpose complement clause, is a language-specific idioconstruction, which most likely belongs to a larger network of *for … zu* constructions. The nature of the other *for … zu* constructions as well as the organization of the constructional networks needs to be addressed by future research, as well as the question of whether TxG speakers assign the same meaning to *for … zu* constructions as they do to *um … zu* constructions. It is important to point out that our preliminary DCxG analysis focuses solely on the synchronic distribution, but it remains silent about the historical origins of the *for … zu* construction.

Clearly, much research remains to be done beyond the points raised at the end of the previous section. One such study would compile an extensive database of *for … to* in Texas English and then use this database to quantify the role of language contact in the use of this construction in TxG. Another would investigate this construction in dialects of German more generally, both in contact and in non-contact varieties. A third such study would formalize the various diachronic contributing factors using Diachronic Construction Grammar (Barðdal and Gildea 2015). We hope that this paper has set the stage sufficiently for these projected future studies.

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Appendix A. Data on the *for … zu* construction in Texas German

The following data are from the transcripts of the Texas German Dialect Archive, as of January 29, 2021, (http://www.tgdp.org). For transcription conventions see Boas et al. (2010).

1. Ich hab hab keine Zeit [for] das zu lernen. (9–122–5–9)
2. DIE ham achtzigtausend Dollar [aufgedan], [for] hier Land zu kaufen in Texas. (1–57–1–1)
3. DIE wollten hann, dass die … Baumwolle wachsen sollten, un — un Tabak un — un … Mais und — un … alle — Kertoffel — allerhand so, un wieder zurickschicken nach Deutschland, [for] die zu helfen. (1–57–1–1)
4. O wo sie nach New Orleans kam, das sind sie denn uh auf ein Schift war da ein ein ein Schift was was (???) Booten gehabt hat [for] iber die (???) riber zu kommen. (1–57–1–5)
5. UH, so, UH, de Pinter Trail, das war ein Indianer [trail] wo die Indianer gebraucht haben [for for] (???) San Antonio oder [for for raids] zu machen. UH Pferde zu ste-stehlen oder Vieh oder was eben. (1–57–1–6)
6. SO, DIE uh das hat sie sechzehn Dollars genommen. [FOR] hier rauf zu kommen. (1–57–1–6)
7. UND sie haben sein ah bezahlt [for] ihn nach ah … Bremen zu kommen. (8–154–2–8)

8. DE- denn konnst du vielleich un fur drei Tag gar nich rausgehen mittags oder was for Pause machen. (1–28–1–15)
9. UN ich muss denn auch alles aufschreiben — viel Schreiben in die — in die — uh [for] die — zum's richtig hamm. (1–29–1–9)
10. HAT mir zehn Cent bezahlt for reingehn zum tanzen oder zwei [bit] bezahlt. (1–29–1–23)
11. UH..von geil jung an uh…hab'..bin ich oben die Stall gegrabben ?? und hab' ??? geschmissen [for] die Pferde zu fittern. (1–42–1–8)
12. [DU musst] den [Clutch] drehen, [for es Gear zu schiff]. (1–43–1–3)
13. DER [do] Holz (???) [for for] … Haus zu warm. (1–176–2–5)
14. UN uh jeder hat so viel Acker gekriecht [for zu farm]. (1–38–1–2)
15. UN auch die mussten wenn se nach die Ranch sin die ham Ferde [geridden] for ihr Vieh nach zu gucken. (1–38–1–3)
16. UND das ist, [you know, for] Lesen zu lernen. (1–178–1–6)
17. [FROM] [the first ones you know that] uh huh oh mir hatten der hat denn hat der sich dahin gestellt und hat gewart bis mir fertich waren for nach Haus zu gehen un dann hatter uns nach Haus gebracht. (1–38–1–9)
18. UND wie sonst hat man extra welle wo se [hiren konnst for die zu schern]. (1–40–1–15)
19. BLOSS for zu schlachte, for zu esse. (1–40–1–17)
20. (WENN die kleiner warn … noch zu klein for zu spiele un mir ham [just … visited I guess] un bloß aber mir is nicht zu lang gebliebe weil ma den nechste Abend wieder gehe wollt. (1–40–1–19)
21. UND … die bezahlen mich [for — for] zu jagten. (1–54–1–11)
22. UN uh … mein Vater, … wenn wir Abendmahl gehabt ham auf Sonndas, … denn musst er … nach den Pastor gehn … un musst — musst uns anmelden, … [for — for — for] nach Abenmahl zu gehn. (1–55–1–18)
23. UN da hamma gelernt, wie das alde Deutsch zu schreiben … un zu lesen … und uh denn hamma immer 'ne Zeit gehabt … [for] … zu singen. (10–110–1–12)
24. WAR kein [electricity] gewaesen und und Telefones waren oh erscht nicht gewesen und da ist bloss einmal die Woch unter die Stadt die Stadt gefahren [for] essen zu kaufen. (11–130–1–3)
25. [WELL] die haben hart gearbeitet [for] ein Leben zu machen. (11–130–1–4)
26. MUSSTENMA immer Holz anlegen, [for] das Essen zu können. (3–129–1–13)
27. UN bis mir denn mieder nach Hause kamen da was Zeit [for] die aben Arbeit zu tun. (3–129–1–16)
28. ZU die Zeit da war das so Gesetzt gewesen, wenn das … (cough) when sie hier was gehabt haben, was sie verkauft wollten [for] uh … Geld in die Hand zu haben. (1–118–1–3)
29. nie gewusst, dass du das Ding [pushen] musst [for] Wasser zu krie. (1–118–1–12)
30. ABER wenn ich zu elend wäre [for] — dahin zu kommen w- dann geng ich halt wie der Dot un sas ??? davon. (1–118–1–22)
31. UND da hamm das in in bei die — uh — uh — uh — gebraucht [for … for] die Wurst zu machen. (1–391–1–6)
32. DIE mussten nach Sangadon [for se] einzu- [for] auszufüllen. [FOR] die Gemihse zu kriegen. (115–623–1–5)
33. MIR haben, haben, die haben … die Klasse in Deutsch gehabt äh nicht [for] Deutsch zu lernen, die wusste Deutsch, die haben die Klasse gehabt wo in Deutsch ge-, ange-, ange- äh … … … gelernt haben. (115–623–1–7)

34. [WELL] wo ich alt genug war [for]...nach Sonn Schul zu gehen und so wieder, das war alles schon Englisch. (115–695–1–15)
35. DER kommt darauf un … tut auch Falle stelle un … fängt er ab und zu auch ein. — um — … [FOR] … die [Coyoten] zu fangen was meine Schaf fressen. (115–709–1–13)
36. WEIL da simmer immer gern hingegang [for] (???) schon Picknick da unte beim [river] zu hamm. (1–40–1–2)
37. WIR hamm immer [vorgeguckt] [you know] … [for] das zu komm. (41–215–1–7)
38. UN da hamma gelernt, wie das alde Deutsch zu schreiben … un zu lesen … und uh denn hamma immer 'ne Zeit gehabt … [for] … zu singen. (10–110–1–12)
39. SO die Leut was sich verheirate wollten, die mussten drei Monat warte [for] den Pastor dort zu kommen. (1–57–1–7)
40. DER ist losgegangen [fors] hole [for] uns zu trinke. (1–56–1–6)

Appendix B. Data on the *um … zu* construction in Texas German

The following data are from the transcripts of the Texas German Dialect Archive, as of January 29, 2021, (http://www.tgdp.org). For transcription conventions see Boas et al. (2010).

1. ICH hap mit — mit zwei Brieder gearbeit. UM … [gravel] … un [sod] … zu machen. (1–21–1–7)
2. DENN ich muss ??? ah der hat das Holz gekauf um zu kochen (1–167–1–15)
3. DAS hat vier Esel genomm um die zu ziehen ah hierauf. (1–167–1–31)
4. DA hamma ein Schwein geschlachtet ahm ah all das ah … a Werd um Wust zu machen. (1–167–1–34)
5. UN [denn] hamma da ein großes Schwein gehabt un ah [denn] ah das war immer in März, um die Wurst zu machen. (1–167–1–40)
6. DENN samstags ist mein Vater efftes nach duh — duh — die uh … [county superintendent] gegang um Bieher zu hol oder erchend so was. (1–25–1–17)
7. Haben sie die zwei Wochen vlei' wir hat's [genomm] zum rieber zu komm. (1–2–2–1)
8. UN wei- ah da um so eine Schlachtung ah richtig zu machen … EIN paar Dach ah drei Dach ungefähr um es alle richtig zu vorbereit. (1–167–2–38)
9. UM eine Malzeiten zu machen das war gar nichts [for] die. (1–167–2–44)
10. UN ??? wo ich in San Anton war hab ich kein Geld gehabt um da weide zu komm. (1–167–2–48)
11. Und denn ham mir musst wir von die [Springs] Wasser hole um die zu waschen. (1–40–1–9)
12. UND weil der hat die kleine Farm gehabt, deswegen hat er jemand … nur um fir die zu arbeiten. (1–56–1–1)
13. UND alles was se mitgebracht haben war ihre Kleidung und vielleicht etwas in in uh … äh g- g- Geschier fier uh fier das Haus äh fier die Kiche und uh fier mit Handarbeiten das Land bearbeiten um um Ante zu machen. (1–58–1–16)
14. DIE waren nicht zu weit — ah — gegang um um [Partners] zu finden. (41–215–1–15)
15. UN das [government] helt alle [help] etwas mit dir um das zu bezahl'. (1–94–1–20)
16. Ich hätt … weil ich 'n Geburtstag hat in Januar hätt ich 'n ganzes Jahr überliegen müss legen müssen, um da an nach die [public school] zu gehen. (10–93–1–2)

17. Un hat nich genug Kinder gehabt um weiter zu .. die Schule weiter zu ham. (10–93–1–2)
18. WARUM? um Geheimnisse von uns zu behalten ja deshalb erstem Grund. (1–135–1–8)
19. ICH muss bis zum letzten Tag fast kämpfen um meine — meine Flügel zu kriegen und so weiter. (1–135–1–16)
20. UM Deutsch zu sprechen und nicht Englisch können — DAS war sehr — uh — fraglich. (112–439–1–10)
21. UND dann [wenn] sie sind zurück gekomm viele sind dann na Houston gegang Austin gegang Dallas gegangen und da weiter gegang … um Arbeit zu fin. (112–441–1–4)
22. UND die Wehre ist jedes jedes Jahr Hochwasser … durch die — uh — Haus gegangen. UN die um das zu steck. (117–511–1–1)
23. MIR hamm … mir sind zu Schule gekomm um Englisch zu lernen. (112–541–1–1)
24. MEINE [mein] Frau arbeitetet mit … ihrer Vater im Sommer um (???) zu verkaufen. (112–516–1–2)
25. ER konnt nicht genug Zeit kriegen um nach Deutschland geh zu gehen. (132–582–1–16)
26. MEINE Mutter hat gesagt meine Oma wusst gar nicht wie ne … wie n Kind die Windel um zu ziehen. (115–617–1–10)
27. DU musst arbeiten. [YOU know]? UM Essen zu auf Tisch tun. (1–140–1–3)
28. ICH kann ich hätte mehrer Leute hier um gehabt [zu] Deutsch zu sprechen. (7–321–1–1)
29. SO ich stecke wär mich um vielleicht acht Uhr auf um Hausarbeit zu tun. (57–340–1–1)
30. UN ich bin nie zurickgekomm zum aldes Braunfel zu sehen. (1–24–3–4)
31. UH un da ham wie alles die Bilder un alles runder nach die uh Drugerei genomm in in uh in … uh in Weimar uh zum das eh zu tun. (1–24–3–12)
32. Kam ihr Mutter de hatte die gesagt ah — denn war die Mutter da um ah ich ah die Debbie zu holen. (1–167–2–49)