

## Linear Order in Language Games

Linguistic analyses do not agree as to whether so called language games, secret languages or ludlings have to be dismissed as purely meta-linguistic phenomenon (cf. Dressler 2000, Zwickey & Pullum 1987) or if such forms of speech disguise are built upon specifically linguistic structures and procedures (among others Yip 1982, Piñeros 1998, Yu 2007). I follow the second hypothesis and argue that the processes observable in language games are similar to processes active in natural languages, more specifically, that they are mostly analyzable in a similar fashion as morpho-prosodic processes such as reduplication, infixation and truncation. There is however one wide-spread type of language game which seems to resist analysis in these terms: So called precedence-modifying (Nevins & Endress 2007) or transpositional language games are often described as involving syllable reversal (e.g. Spanish *Vesre* from *al revés*, 'reverse') or the transposition of subsyllabic constituents like the onset (e. g. Swedish *Allspråket*: *vinter* → *intervall*). This kind of reversal is not commonly found in natural languages where metathesis refers typically to single, adjacent segments (Hume & Mielke 2001). I will present 3 different types of secret languages based on German dialects which exhibit apparent "unnatural" sequence exchange and analyze them as a combination of two prosodically conditioned morphemes with fixed segments overwriting material in the base. This allows us to do without the unnatural reversal operation and to bring these precedence-modifying language games more in line with natural language processes.

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