

Victoria Jesswein

Welche Sprache ist sie anyway?:
Borrowed *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German

A common phenomenon when languages are in contact is for one language to borrow words or phrases from another and incorporate them into the native vocabulary. Texas German, which has been in contact with English for over 100 years, shows extensive borrowing of English words. In addition to content word borrowing—lexical items such as nouns and verbs—Texas German shows examples of borrowings of discourse markers (DMs), which serve functional rather than lexical purposes. One of the most common English DM borrowings in Texas German is *anyway* and its variant form *anyhow*. This essay analyzes the extent to which borrowed *anyway/anyhow* exhibit the same semantic and pragmatic functions as in English.

First, I give background information about the history of German in Texas and the development of a Texas German dialect. I then discuss the function and classification of discourse markers, as well as the studies that discuss the implications of borrowed and mixed discourse marking systems. I then turn to the analysis of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German by Hunter Weilbacher.¹ Following his study, I analyze and classify new data from the Texas German corpus. Based on an electronic corpus of transcribed interviews of Texas German speakers from 2002 to the present, I show different semantic and pragmatic uses of *anyway/anyhow* and classify them into four main categories based on syntactic and semantic criteria. I show that borrowed *anyway/anyhow* are used as they are in English, but also explain some innovative uses that differ from the function of *anyway/anyhow* in English. Finally, I discuss possible explanations for the varied use of borrowed English DMs in Texas German.

Historical Background of Texas German

In the mid-19th century, Texas was among the most popular destinations in the United States for European immigrants. Land was hard to come by in Europe and often controlled by the state, and many workers could not find jobs. Texas offered land and freedom that could not have been found in Europe, and it needed immigrants to colonize the area, tend the land, and stave off further attacks from the Mexicans and Native Americans. Large scale German immigration to Texas began in the 1840s, when Germany was suffering from problems of overpopulation,² and Texas offered land grants to Germans wishing to settle, providing materials and a market that the economically troubled Germany could not offer.³

During the heavy influx of German immigration in the 19th century there was no unified Germany. German immigrants⁴ in Texas came from diverse backgrounds and spoke equally diverse dialects of German. This variation in the settlers' native dialects contributed to the development of a Texas German dialect, and is partially responsible for features unique to German in Texas. Though the dialect is not homogenous, compared to other examples of German immigration to the US, such as in Wisconsin, where pockets of dialect speakers are seen in distinct speech islands across the state, the communities of Texas immigrants became more unified.⁵ This intermingling of dialects in Texas contributed to a levelling process of the language, resulting in a Texas German dialect.⁶ This unique dialect strengthened and maintained the culture of immigrant communities.

Initially, Texas German communities remained largely self-sufficient. There were German language churches, businesses, and schools. The Texas German community had numerous and long-running German language newspapers with large circulation numbers. There were at least 140 individual publications starting from the 1840s until the 1950s. The *Galveston Zeitung*, the earliest newspaper, was first published in 1847; *Vorwärts*, a publication in Austin, had a circulation of around 6100. There was also a healthy amount of German literature published in Texas, such as W. A. Trenckmann's novel "Die Lateiner am Possum Creek," which ran serially in his newspaper *Das Wochenblatt*, first published in 1891.⁷ The abundance of German-language print demonstrates that German in Texas during the 19th century was not just a spoken medium.

Following traditions from their homeland, Texas Germans founded singing groups, shooting clubs, gymnastic societies, and other organizations.⁸ Although patterned on traditions from Germany, a unique Texas German culture emerged, which in turn contributed to the longevity of Texas German. There was also "a particularly strong desire to ensure the continued use of the

German language at the time of the founding of the earliest German-Texas settlements” and many Germans wanted to continue to have German education.⁹ Immigrants formed German language schools in Texas and through the 19th century fought to ensure that German was taught in the public schools.¹⁰ Through their strong education system, healthy literary production, and robust culture, Texas Germans formed a successful society and were able to remain largely independent from Anglo-Texan culture until the turn of the 20th century.

Not long after the turn of the century, this situation changed dramatically. The traditional argument, endorsed by Boas, is that the loss of German was due to the start of World War I and the resulting anti-German sentiment present in America.¹¹ In 1909 Texas passed an English-only law for public schools, followed by another after American entrance into the war in 1918, leading to a stigmatization of German. Boas contends that World War II reinforced the stigmas attached to German, as schools stopped teaching the language, churches switched to English services, and German-language newspapers stopped publishing.¹² Others, like Salmons and Lucht disagree, contending that World War I and II did not have that considerable an impact on Texas German because “[t]he shift to English was underway well before World War I.”¹³ Others argue that German speakers in North America had been shifting to English because of a natural process of cultural assimilation.¹⁴ Regardless, the lack of institutionalized support for the language, coupled with increases in travel and interaction between the Texas German and surrounding communities, has had devastating consequences for the stability and longevity of Texas German.

Up to 6000 Texans still speak German today.¹⁵ That number continues to dwindle, and most speakers of Texas German are over 70 years old (and most even older). These speakers represent the last generation that first learned and spoke German at home, learning English only after starting school where German was forbidden. There are no monolingual or even Texas German dominant speakers today. Many Texas German speakers have not used the dialect regularly for years, or use it only in limited domains. The dialect has not been passed on to younger generations and has almost been completely replaced by English. Since 2002, researchers at the Texas German Dialect Project (TDGP) have worked to record, archive, and analyze the unique dialect before it dies out completely.

Donor dialects and new dialect formation

A major problem in the analysis of Texas German is the extent to which we can speak about a unified Texas German dialect. Texas Germans were not

a unified people, and settlers came from many different backgrounds and home states. Terry Jordan summarizes:

To attempt to characterize the Germans who settled Texas is difficult, for they were diverse. Among them were peasant farmers and intellectuals; Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and atheists; Prussians and Swabians; abolitionists and slaveowners; farmers and townfolk; frugal, honest folk and cattle thieves. They differed in dialect, customs, and physical features.¹⁶

German immigrants to Texas varied in religion, occupation, education, culture, and language. When German immigration to the state began in the first half of the 19th century, there was no unified Germany, but a confederation of states, each under their own local government. Immigrants who spoke German would have more likely identified themselves by their home state than as general “Germans.” Likewise, upon arrival in Texas, immigrants would have initially spoken their varying German dialects.

A concept of a standard German is a relatively new phenomenon, as Germany was not unified until 1871, and written standards for the language did not evolve until even later.¹⁷ Even after an orthographic standard was adopted, the oral language would have been slower to change, and not until the mid-20th century were radio and television widespread enough to facilitate standardization over the greater German speaking areas.¹⁸ It is, therefore, not possible to speak of a Standard German in Texas and non-standard dialects play a key role in the features of German as spoken in Texas.¹⁹

Given the variation in language of the German immigrants, it must be determined to what extent we can speak of a collective Texas German dialect. Joe Salmons concludes that while some levelling has occurred, no homogeneous dialect or koine has emerged.²⁰ In contrast, Joseph Wilson calls Texas German a “modified standard German,” and Fred Eikel and Glen Gilbert suggest Texas German reflects the *Umgangsprache* of middle-northern Germany, from which many of the settlers originated.²¹ This study uses the term Texas German as described by Hans Boas following the steps of Peter Trudgill’s model of new dialect formation, and will treat Texas German as a single dialect which emerged from a levelling process of the donor dialects in isolation in Texas.²²

Discourse Markers

Discourse markers (DMs) have become the subject of many linguistic studies in recent years and play an interesting role in language because they

have more pragmatic and meta-linguistic value than lexical and semantic use. DMs are a feature mostly of spoken language and serve to organize speech. DMs function to show turns in discourse, join ideas together, mark the attitude of a statement, and fill gaps in speech. Many studies have examined the use of DMs in different languages and the role they play in discourse, but also how DMs are borrowed when languages are in contact with each other.

DMs are used more often in speech than in writing, and in spontaneous speech more than planned speech.²³ This discretionary use of DMs renders them a class of semantically null and syntactically optional words and phrases, the removal of which from an utterance “does not alter the intelligibility or grammaticality of the sentence.”²⁴ Instead, the markers are used optionally to aid the flow of discourse, fill gaps in speech, or mark a return to the main topic following a disruption.²⁵ Moreover, DMs can provide information about how an expression is intended to be received and interpreted by the listener. They can soften a harsh comment or emphasize the implication of an utterance. In this way, DMs do encode some pragmatic and nuanced semantic context. Compare the following example with and without a DM:

No discourse marker *We should get going.*
Hör mir zu!

With discourse marker *We should maybe get going.*
Hör mir mal zu!

The statements without the DMs sound more forceful and direct. The sentences with DMs have the same meaning, but the DMs *maybe* and *mal* serve as hedges to make suggestions and commands softer and less forceful.

Although DMs exist outside the syntax and semantics of a statement, they are lexical units which differ between languages in their use and grammatical function. English DMs evolve out of other adverbial and adjectival phrases and include, for example, temporal adverbs like *now*, *still* and *then*, causal markers like *so* and *because*, adverbs like *even*, and interjections like *well*, *okay*.²⁶

German DMs include many of the language’s modal particles. There is some discrepancy in the research about whether modal particles represent a different grammatical category and are syntactically separate from DMs, but for the purposes of this research the German modal particles will be considered DMs.²⁷ The German DMs have many lexical counterparts to the English system, and are also largely taken from adverbial, adjectival or conjunctive words and phrases within the lexicon such as: *ja*, *eben*, *aber*, *denn*, *noch*.²⁸ DMs can be difficult to define and analyze because in both German and

English many have lexical homonym counterparts with stricter meanings and syntactic qualities. The varying usages and meanings of DMs may play a role in how they are borrowed in contact situations.

Borrowing vs. codeswitching

Speakers of Texas German are bilingual in German and English. As such, code-switching is common in the speech communities. Code-switching occurs when multilingual speakers switch between languages within a conversation. In a code-switch, a speaker abandons the primary language and employs the linguistic elements of another one. In the case of a German-English code-switch, a speaker who was speaking fluently in German would cease employing the linguistic structure of German in favor of English, and then may return to German. The entire linguistic system changes in a code-switch and code-switching entails that the speaker is fluent in both languages. Contrastively, in borrowing the foreign aspects are included in the system of the primary language, and speakers who borrow are not necessarily bilingual.²⁹ Speakers do not need to be proficient in the language of the borrowed items to use them in their native language. The borrowed words and phrases are embedded in the morphosyntactic frame of the principal language and are integrated into the utterance as if they are native elements. As borrowed items are gradually incorporated into the native lexicon, they may lose their foreign or borrowed flavor in the language and be treated as native items.

When analyzing languages in contact, it is important to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing. While American German dialects may show examples of code-switching, there are also many borrowed items from English. While lexical borrowing is most common, structural borrowing of conjunctions and adverbial particles is the next level of borrowing during language contact.³⁰ Moreover, it is possible for items to be borrowed when a semantically equivalent native word exists. Borrowed words and phrases are not always replacements for native vocabulary, and both native and borrowed forms can occur in the same contexts with the same semantic and pragmatic meaning. Adverbial particles like DMs are “items that can be analyzed in terms of their syntactic and pragmatic functions in discourse” and can be borrowed and used as if they were native elements.³¹

Previous studies have claimed that many German dialects in long-term contact with English have lost native discourse markers (modal particles) while also borrowing English DMs.³² A common occurrence in bilingual discourse is for DMs from both donor and recipient languages to appear. This may be a sign of a new discourse marking system, which combines features from both languages, or it may be part of the transition from a recipient-

language to donor-language system. However, it may be just one step in an ongoing process of borrowing and replacement of DMs. In many American German dialects, entire discourse marking systems have been borrowed due to intense contact over long periods of time.³³ Joe Salmons's analysis of American German found that speakers have largely lost German modal particles and acquired new DMs from English that function pragmatically and semantically like the modal particles.³⁴ Goss and Salmons discuss the use of German and English discourse markers by bilingual codeswitchers. They posit a set of 4 evolutionary stages through which German-American speakers lose German modal particles and adopt English DMs:

1. Exclusive use of German modal particles and other discourse marking, the system imported from Europe.
2. Codeswitching, especially emblematic switching, introduces English markers into German.
3. Both systems coexist, with English markers clearly borrowed; German modal particles begin to die out.
4. English markers are part of German grammar rather than codeswitches; the native system is essentially dead and the substitution complete.³⁵

English DMs are borrowed with varying frequency and different syntactic and semantic uses. Hans Boas and Hunter Weilbacher look at the use of *you know/you know* in Texas German in speakers interviewed between 2002 and 2006.³⁶ As in Janet Fuller's analysis of Pennsylvania German, Boas and Weilbacher found that "*you know* and *weisst du/weisst(e)* can occur in the same contexts in Texas German."³⁷ Although semantically and pragmatically identical, the two markers differ in the frequency of use. Unlike in Fuller's data, the Texas German corpus used by Boas and Weilbacher show over 99 percent usage of the English marker *you know* and less than one percent of the German *weisst du/weisst(e)* marker, demonstrating that Texas German is further along the evolutionary stages described in Goss and Salmons than Pennsylvania German, but may not be evolving in the same manner.³⁸

Classification of *anyway*

Anyway (and variant forms like *anyhow*) is an interesting point of focus when studying German-American dialectal DMs because, like the German modal particles, *anyway* functions pragmatically both as a DM and as an adverb. Kathleen Ferrara proposes three semantic classifications of *anyway* as used in English.³⁹ There are two adverbial uses and one DM. The first

adverbial classification, labelled A_1 , is an “additive” *anyway*. This category has a meaning something akin to ‘besides’ and is used to give additional information about something. The A_2 category is called “dismissive” *anyway* because it is used to dismiss other information presented in an utterance. This use has a meaning close to ‘nonetheless,’ and “usually cooccurs with a negative observation followed by but, and a positive or neutral evaluation.”⁴⁰ The A_3 category is “resumptive” *anyway*, which is used to mark the close of a digression, resulting either in the resumption of the main topic of discourse or a topical switch. Ferrara defines A_3 as a “sentence-initial adverbial conjunct that functions in English to connect utterances or levels of discourse . . . [which] provide macrolevel organizational continuity with the main topic or purpose of the discourse.”⁴¹ A_3 represents the use of *anyway* as a DM. Deborah Schiffrin observes that DM *anyway* “mark[s] the prior discourse as tangential to the main point” and creates “meta-linguistic reference to *the point*,” fulfilling a pragmatic function in the utterance.⁴²

Hunter Weilbacher suggests that *anyway/anyhow* differ from other DMs and are harder to classify because “[a] given instance of *anyway* or *anyhow* . . . might negotiate a continuum between its lexical meaning (how adverbial is it?) and its pragmatic function (does this count as a DM?).”⁴³ In German, although there are several DMs that are used in similar pragmatic ways, there is no direct analog of *anyway*. Weilbacher discusses German equivalents of *anyway* and found many German particles (*aber, denn, doch, jedenfalls, noch, überhaupt*) can be approximately translated in English as the adverbial *anyway*, while others require other adverbs to maintain accuracy. Likewise, some of the particles can be translated as the DM usage of *anyway*, while others require an adverb to maintain the semantic nuances given by the varying German particles.⁴⁴ This shows the difficulties of separating DMs from their adverbial counterparts; the distinction between the uses is not always clear.

It is also important to note that many translation difficulties arise from the syntactic constraints of English. While the meaning of *anyway/anyhow* is often decided by its position in an utterance in English, many of the German modal particles show more syntactic variance and their meaning is not altered by their placement in a sentence. This may be an important factor in the use of *anyway/anyhow* in German. If borrowed English DMs are replacing native German modal particles, the differences between the two systems may be crucial to how English DMs are adopted into the German language matrix. With a stricter syntactic but broader semantic use than the German modal particles, *anyway/anyhow* may be used differently when borrowed than as used in English. Borrowed *anyway/anyhow* may reflect the German system or may adopt the English syntactic and semantic structure.

Weilbacher's analysis of *anyway/anyhow*

Hunter Weilbacher applies Ferrara's differentiation of the functions of English *anyway/anyhow* into two adverbial and one DM form to Texas German to determine the difference of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic uses of *anyway/anyhow* in the dialect. He found that half of the Texas German speakers in the corpus used *anyway/anyhow* in open-ended interviews, ignoring code-switch instances. There were twenty-nine instances in the TGDP corpus from 2008 or earlier.⁴⁵ Of these, no instances are used in the first adverbial (A₁) manner. Only two of the instances show *anyway/anyhow* used in the second adverbial or "dismissive" manner, labelled A₂.⁴⁶ The A₃ DM use is more numerous, accounting for over half of the data.

Weilbacher also gives some examples of innovative uses of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German. Consider the following example:

Die Laine is gerade lang gegangen da, und dann haben sie die die the
Boundary Schule genennt anyway.

*the line is right along gone there, and then have they the Boundary
School named anyway*

'The [county] line ran right along there, and then they named the
school the Boundary School anyway.' (1-36-1-7-a)

Here the speaker "uses *anyway* much like 'for that reason.'"⁴⁷ Additionally, Weilbacher classifies another DM type of *anyway/anyhow* that appears outside any sentence structure, "effectively serving as a closing comment on the preceding topic, and often resulting in a long pause followed by a topic switch or the relinquishing of a speech-turn."⁴⁸ He calls this "stand-alone" *anyway/anyhow*. For example:

Oh, ich weiss noch gar nicht wo der Party war. Well anyway.

oh, I know yet totally not where the party was well anyway

'Oh, I can't even remember where the party was. Well anyway.'
(1-40-1-12-a)⁴⁹

These stand-alone DMs are similar to type A₃ pragmatically, but occur utterance medially or finally, and signal the end of a comment rather than the beginning of a new one. These innovative uses suggest that *anyway/anyhow*

have been fully incorporated into Texas German, and are completely borrowed DMs rather than simple codeswitches.

Scope and Methodology

Weilbacher's analysis of Texas German determined ways in which borrowed *anyway/anyhow* are used as they are in English, as well as innovative uses that do not fit the English semantic and pragmatic categories. This current study builds and expands on Weilbacher's study, looking at examples of *anyway/anyhow* in more recent Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP) data (all of which were collected or transcribed from 2008 to the present, i.e., after the completion of Weilbacher's project). The goal of this study is to use the more recent additions to the Texas German corpus to find any instances of *anyway/anyhow* that differ from the classifications of Weilbacher's data, and to posit reasons for the varying use of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German. Although a small sample size, this study analyzes the entirety of the existing Texas German corpus in the Texas German Dialect Archive.

Data was obtained through the TGDP website <speechislands.org>.⁵⁰ This study uses open-ended interview segments that have been transcribed and are searchable as text within the concordancer function.⁵¹ The concordancer is a search function which finds every instance of a target word in the corpus. It can be refined by speaker and language of conversation (to exclude extended English codeswitches). Using the concordancer function, I searched the corpus for instances of *anyway* and *anyhow*⁵² used by the speaker in German conversation. The search excludes anything said by the interviewer and any English conversation. The goal of this project was to analyze data not previously analyzed, so data discussed in Weilbacher's analysis is excluded here. The remaining data include both interviews recorded in 2008 or earlier which had not been annotated by 2008, as well as data more recent than Weilbacher's, from 2008 to the time of the study.

After excluding examples of *anyway/anyhow* that appear in extended codeswitches (i.e., are not borrowed), the remaining instances were examined to determine their adverbial or pragmatic properties. DMs are classified according to the system used by Weilbacher following Ferrara's classification scheme.⁵³

Results

Table 1 shows the speakers who use *anyway* and *anyhow* as borrowings. Frequencies of use are listed in parentheses following each speaker number.

Table 1: Occurrence of borrowed *anyway* and *anyhow* per speaker

anyway	43 (1), 171 (5), 169 (1)
anyhow	93 (2), 118 (1), 139 (2), 167 (1), 194 (2)

There are 15 total instances of *anyway* and *anyhow*—7 (46.6%) of *anyway*, and 8 (53.3%) of *anyhow*. I classified each instance based on its semantic usage. Recall that Weillbacher distinguishes *anyway/anyhow* into four categories: adverbial type A_1 (semantically equivalent to ‘besides’—there were no instances of this type in his data), adverbial type A_2 (semantically equivalent to ‘nonetheless’), DM type A_3 (resumptive), and “stand-alone” *anyway/anyhow*.⁵⁴ I use these same classifications, as well as discuss two instances that do not fit into the other four categories. Table 2 shows the percentage of instances of *anyway/anyhow* that fit each category.

Table 2: Classifications of *anyway* and *anyhow*

Classification of <i>anyway/anyhow</i>	Percentage of total instances
Adverbial ‘besides’ (A_1)	6.7%
Adverbial ‘nonetheless’ (A_2)	20%
Resumptive DM (A_3)	60%
Stand-alone DM	0%
Other uses (‘whatever,’ expressing doubt)	13.3%

Texas German *anyway/anyhow* as ‘besides’

The first category of *anyway/anyhow* is the “additive *anyway*” that is semantically equivalent to ‘besides.’⁵⁵ Weillbacher found no instances of A_1 . This data shows one instance that can be classified into this category. Consider the following example:⁵⁶

Example 1:

Wir haben nicht viel Gras gehabt, wir haben so viel Hiehne darumlau-
fen gar nicht viel yard anyhow, musste aufpassen, wos du wos du dreh

*We did not much grass have, we did so many hens around-running really
not much yard anyhow, must you watch-out, where you where you step*

‘We did not have much grass. We had so many hens/chickens run-
ning around what was not much yard anyhow, that you had to watch
where you stepped’ (10-139-1-15-a)

The “additive *anyway*” is used to give additional reasons for something. In this example, there are two reasons why “you had to watch where you stepped” —the hens and the small yard. The chickens pose a problem to walking bare-foot, which is worsened by the fact that the yard was small. In this instance *anyhow* is also semantically equivalent to ‘in the first place.’ This is the only instance of the additive *anyway* found so far in the Texas German corpus.

Texas German *anyway/anyhow* as ‘nonetheless’

The second category of classification of *anyway/anyhow* is the adverbial A_2 type. These instances of dismissive *anyway/anyhow* carry the same meaning as ‘nonetheless’ or ‘in any case.’ In Example 2, speaker 93 tells how they used change from the five-dollar bill their mother gave them for groceries to buy themselves ice cream:

Example 2:

ch war nich gesagt, dass ich sollt aber ich hab’s *anyhow* gedan

I was not told, that I should but I I have it anyhow done

‘I was not told that I could but I did it anyhow’ (10-93-1-2-a)

Before the quoted lines in Example 3, speaker 118 discusses their use and level of fluency in English and German. In Example 3, they discuss how English words are used in German speech and vice-versa:

Example 3:

dieselbe Werter mixen sich darin anyhow, das meint⁵⁷ in Englisch ein Ding un denn in Deutsch en anderes

the-same words mix themselves therein anyhow, that means in English one thing and in German an other

‘The same words are mixed within both languages, but they mean one thing in English and something else in German’ (1-118-1-15-a)

Speaker 118 states that their use of English and German vary, but words from one language are often borrowed into the other ‘nonetheless.’ Furthermore, in Example 4, speaker 139 uses dismissive *anyhow* when discussing the liberal use of morphine on a patient who is going to die regardless:

Example 4:

gib im mehr morphine, gib im mehr morphine, er geht dot anyhow

give him more morphine give him more morphine, he goes dead anyhow

‘Give him more morphine, he’s going to die anyhow’ (10-139-1-14-a)

Speaker 139 indicates that the person might as well be given the morphine (i.e., to ease pain), because it does not matter what is done for him; he is going to die. The instances of *anyhow* in both Examples 3 and 4 are semantically equivalent to ‘at any rate’ or ‘in any case.’

***Anyway/anyhow* as a resumptive DM**

By far the most common use of *anyway/anyhow* in my Texas German data is the resumptive DM (A₃) category. These instances appear at the beginning of an utterance to mark resumption of a topic after a digression. Consider the following example:

Example 5:

Der Truck is gebrochen un was war denn da los? Un anyhow . . . un hab ic se Milche gegeben

The truck did break and what was then there wrong? And anyhow and did them milk give

‘The truck broke and what was the problem? Anyhow I gave them milk’ (1-167-2-45-a)

In Example 5, speaker 167 digresses from the topic, milk delivery, to comment on the broken truck. Their use of *anyhow* signals that the details of the truck are not necessary to the story, and that they are resuming with the original speech topic. In Example 6, Speaker 43 uses *anyway* in the same resumptive manner. In the interview, speakers 43 and 44 get off track and laugh, and 43 uses *anyway* to return the conversation to the question asked by the interviewer (“Where in Germany did your grandparents come from?”):

Example 6:

anyway ich weiss gar nich wo meine Ureltern her kam

Anyway I know really not where my great-grandparents from came

‘Anyway, I don’t really know where my great grandparents came from’
(1-43-1-4-a)

In Example 7, Speaker 171 discusses their grandfather coming to Fredericksburg, Texas. They mention that Fredericksburg is where their grandfather met their grandmother, but then uses *anyway* to come back to the topic of their grandfather’s occupation:

Example 7:

das ist wo meine Großmudder gekennt hat. Anyway da hat er gesehen,
dass . . .

That is where my grandmother meet did. Anyway there did he see, that . . .

‘That is where [he] met my grandmother. Anyway, there he saw that . . .’
(10-171-3-5-a)

Speaker 171 uses *anyway* in the same manner in 4 other instances. Both *anyway* and *anyhow* are used as the resumptive A₃ DM type in Texas German. These data show no difference between the use of *anyway* and *anyhow* when used in the presumptive DM manner.

Other uses of *anyway/anyhow*

As in Weilbacher’s study, not all instances of *anyway/anyhow* in the current data can be classified according to possible uses in English. Speaker 194 speaks about how whatever their parents said was the final answer, and they and their siblings did not protest:

Example 8:

Wir doden nich fragen wie kommt. Das war, das war die answer und
das war- und wir doden nich fit pitchen oder anyhow so was

*We did not ask how come. That was, that was the answer and that was-
and we did not fit pitch or anyhow some-such thing*

‘We didn’t ask ‘Why?’ That was the [final] answer, and we did not
pitch a fit or something anyhow’ (1-194-1-9-a)

In this example, *anyhow* encodes that there are multiple possibilities for what the children could have done. It is similar in meaning to ‘whatever,’ of which Weilbacher also has an example.⁵⁸

Another instance of *anyhow* nearly fits into the A_2 category but encodes more information. When asked about any stories about the people who moved to Texas, speaker 194 begins telling a story about possible pirates. They preface their story by expressing some doubt about the truth of what they have heard:

Example 9:

De Miller, so sagen se anyhow, das waren drei Brieder, uh glaub ich, un der eine war, uh, was—glaub ich wo ich von komm, den hammse immer Matrose Miller genannt

the miller, so say they anyhow, that was 3 brothers, uh believe I, and the one was, uh, was—believe where I from come, him did-they always Seafarer Miller call

‘The Millers, so they say anyhow, were 3 brothers, and one, from I believe where I come from, they always called Seafarer Miller’

(1-194-1-8-a)

Although *anyhow* in this instance is like the A_2 adverbial type in that it can be replaced by ‘at any rate/in any case,’ this *anyhow* is used in combination with another phrase (*so sagen se* ‘so they say’) to express that they are skeptical about the truth of their story. This instance could be classified as a special subtype of the A_2 adverbial type.

Discussion

Some borrowed forms are used within the German language matrix but carry the meaning of their original English origin forms, while others show innovative uses of *anyway/anyhow* that are not acceptable within an English language matrix. Most instances can be classified into the categories proposed by Ferrara and Weilbacher.⁵⁹ Of the fifteen instances of borrowed *anyway/anyhow* in the TGDP corpus, three are the adverbial type A_2 , carrying a meaning of ‘nonetheless,’ and nine tokens are of the DM subtype A_3 . The data contain only one instance of type A_1 which encodes an ‘additive’ element or could be seen as an equivalent to ‘besides’ or ‘at any rate.’ This type was not found in Weilbacher’s analysis of the corpus, suggesting that as more data is recorded and transcribed, more examples of this usage may be found. Interestingly,

the data analyzed in this study do not reveal any instances of the DM type which Weilbacher calls “stand-alone” *anyway*. In Weilbacher’s data, stand-alone *anyway* accounts for 34.48 percent (ten instances) of the occurrences.⁶⁰ I am not able to replicate his findings with the new data. All nine instances of DM *anyway/anyhow* in these data are used clause-initially and introduce a return to the original conversation topic following a digression. One possible explanation for the difference is that because Weilbacher’s data come from different speakers than the data discussed here, they may reflect regional or idiolectal variability within Texas German.

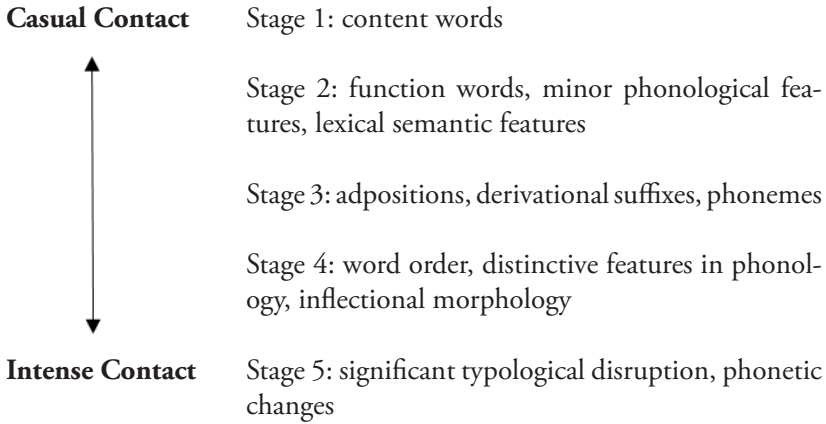
Moreover, the data reveal two instances of *anyway/anyhow* that cannot be classified into the categories of previous studies. One is similar to an instance found in Weilbacher (2008), in which *anyway/anyhow* has a meaning similar to ‘whatever.’ In Weilbacher’s example, the speaker uses *anyway*, while this study shows a speaker using *anyhow* in the same manner. This demonstrates that this usage is possible for both *anyway* and *anyhow* in Texas German.

Additionally, the data reveal a type not found in Weilbacher’s analysis. It could be classified as the A_2 category, but encodes more information than “dismissive *anyway*,” indicating the speaker has doubt about the truth of a story. This could be classified as a special adverbial category, but is probably best described as a subcategory of A_2 because it works in tandem with another phrase to express doubt.

This analysis demonstrates that *anyway/anyhow* have been borrowed extensively into Texas German. They appear both as pragmatic DMs and as lexical adverbial forms, and as innovations that suggest overlap between the pragmatic and semantic forms of *anyway/anyhow*. The prevalence of the DM forms in the data, accounting for more than half of Weilbacher’s and this study’s data, suggests that the pragmatic DM form is easier to borrow than its adverbial counterpart. This might be due to DM *anyway/anyhow*’s broad semantic role. As a function word facilitating the flow of speech rather than a content word with lexical meaning like the adverbials, DM *anyway/anyhow* is easier to incorporate into the German language matrix and can be borrowed into utterances without affecting the meaning.

Because DMs represent more pragmatic uses than lexical contact, they play an interesting role in the study of borrowed words in language contact situations. Thomason and Kaufman propose a hierarchy of borrowability based on features of the borrowed items and the intensity of contact of two languages.⁶¹ In marginal contact situations, languages exhibit relatively slight lexical borrowing, while in long-term intensive contact situations more extreme borrowing, including that of structural and pragmatic features, may occur. Figure 1 shows Thomason and Kaufman’s borrowability scale.

Fig. 1: Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) scale of borrowability



The most common scenario in examples of language contact is low intensity contact, where only individual content words are borrowed. This situation is represented by stage 1 on the scale. Stage 2 represents slightly more intense contact between languages, which allows for more intense borrowing, and usually involves some degree of bilingualism in the recipient language community. When contact is between an immigrant minority language and a larger host language, the less dominant language is particularly open to borrowing from the dominant language.⁶²

The Texas German speakers used in this study are all bilingual with English, as were most Texas-Germans from the turn of the 20th century. This bilingualism increased contact between Texas German and English, facilitating more borrowing into the minority language. Borrowing of English content words like nouns and verbs is common in Texas German,⁶³ but the borrowing of adverbials such as *anyway/anyhow* is indicative of more intense contact and puts Texas German higher on the borrowability scale. Hans Boas and Marc Pierce argue that Texas German should be classified as “stage 2” on the scale, “which includes slight structural borrowing as well as borrowing of conjunctions and adverbial particles (besides, of course other lexical borrowing at stage 1).”⁶⁴

Adverbs are lexical items and contain more semantic content than discourse markers, thus placing them lower on the borrowability scale than DMs. Grouped together with “uninflected function words,” DMs are placed high on the borrowability scale. However, the data for Texas German reveal that instances of DM uses of *anyway/anyhow* is far more common than the use of borrowed adverbials.

The borrowing of DMs is notable because “their specialized use as interaction-regulating operators with reduced semantic autonomy makes them pragmatically detachable from the body of lexical items.”⁶⁵ Yaron Matras proposes that DMs function differently from other non-lexical grammatical elements because they are “detachable from the content message of the utterance.” His concept of pragmatic detachability classifies DMs by function and shows that they are detachable from their native language and are therefore “more likely to show fusion with an external (L2) system.”⁶⁶ In contact situations, the dominant language is more often borrowed into the minority language than the minority into the dominant language.

In the case of Texas German, English is the dominant language, and bilingual speakers borrow English DMs with the English pragmatic qualities. Bilingual Texas Germans use a mixed DM system in which many borrowed English DMs are used in addition to the German DMs. While DM usage of *anyway/anyhow* is prevalent in Texas German, they have not completely replaced the native DM system, as has been suggested by some authors.⁶⁷ Further synchronic examination of the dialect could be expected to reveal alternating usages of borrowed and native DMs because they are functionally equivalent items.

This study looked exclusively at *anyway/anyhow* as borrowed English DMs. Post hoc analysis of borrowed *you know* in German discourse shows many examples used by few speakers in the TGDA corpus. It also appears most often when the speaker cannot think of a word or wishes to make sure the listener understands their point. This suggests that *you know* functions more as a codeswitch than a borrowed DM. *Anyhow* and *anyway* may be borrowed more often and used more than the German DMs because they can function across a broad semantic spectrum.⁶⁸

This study treated *anyway* and *anyhow* as two variants of one DM. However, the data reveal that *anyway* is only used in the ‘nonetheless’ (A₂) context. Both *anyway* and *anyhow* can be used in this context, but all other occurrences of the DM were of *anyhow*. Weilbacher found both *anyway* and *anyhow* in all subtypes as well as in his “stand-alone” cases, however *anyhow* is used more frequently, suggesting that *anyhow* can occupy a broader syntactic and semantic range than can *anyway*. This is further supported by the instance of *anyhow* in the ‘besides’ (A₁) context, but with only one instance of this usage it is difficult to draw conclusions about the use of *anyway/anyhow* in this context.

Conclusion

The objective of this study was to present new research on the syntactic and pragmatic functions of borrowed *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German. The

data reveal that Texas German borrows all possible English uses of *anyway/anyhow* as well as innovating uses of the borrowed words which are not possible within the English language matrix.

The data used in this study comprise the entirety of the Texas German corpus held by the TGDA and not analyzed in Weilbacher's 2008 study. However, the small sample size cannot be used to draw definitive conclusions about Texas German DMs. As more interviews are recorded and transcribed by the TGDP, further research can include larger data sets for a clearer understanding of the borrowed use of *anyway/anyhow* in Texas German. It is also important to note that none of the speakers in this study are dominant Texas German speakers. Most have not used the dialect regularly for years, or use it only in limited domains, so the influence on English may be stronger because that is their dominant language.

Anyways/anyhows present particular research challenges separate from other DMs because they exist on a continuum of lexical adverbial use to pragmatic DM use. This study classified instances of *anyways/anyhows* as either adverbs or DMs. Additional research is needed to clarify the classifications, and future studies should more accurately analyze *anyways/anyhows* by avoiding treating them as either adverbs or DMs. This study also did not look at the Texas German speakers' use of *anyways/anyhows* in English. To better understand the use of the borrowed forms, it may be helpful to classify speakers' use of *anyways/anyhows* in English to compare it with their use of the borrowed forms. Speakers bilingual in Texas German and English may use *anyways/anyhows* in English differently from those who do not speak Texas German.

Additionally, analysis of *anyhow* separate from *anyways* is largely absent in the literature. Further research is needed to determine the nuances in use between *anyways* and *anyhow*. Future studies will contribute to the understanding of the functions of DMs and their borrowability and development in contact situations.

University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas

Notes

¹ Weilbacher, Hunter. "Das weiss ich anyhow nicht: the syntax and pragmatics of the bilingual discourse markers anyway and anyhow in Texas German" Master's thesis, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 2008.

² Boas, Hans C. *The Life and Death of Texas German*. Durham NC: Duke University Press. 2009. 35.

³ Jordan, Terry G. "The German Element in Texas: An Overview." *Rice University Studies* no. 63 (1977): 3-4.

⁴ “German” is used here to refer to all German-speaking immigrants. This includes not only those from the German states before 1871 or Germany proper after unification, but also from other German speaking areas such as Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Alsace (see Boas, *Life*, 298).

⁵ cf. Boas, Hans C., and Hunter Weilbacher. “How Universal is the Pragmatic Detachability Scale? Evidence from Texas-German Discourse Markers.” In Hoyt, F., N. Seifert, A. Teodorescu, and J. White (eds.) 2007. 33–58.

⁶ Despite levelling, there are still distinct dialects of Texas German (e.g., Texas German in New Braunfels differs from Texas German in Fredericksburg), partially due to the donor dialects which differ between communities. Boas, Hans C. “Tracing Dialect Death: The Texas German Dialect Project,” in Larson, J., and M. Paster (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. (2003): 387–98.

⁷ Salmons, Joe, & Lucht, Felicia. “Standard German in Texas.” In L. Thornburg & J. Fuller (eds), *Studies in Contact Linguistics. Essays in Honor of Glenn G. Gilbert*. 165–86. Frankfurt: Peter Lang. 2006. 174.

⁸ Nicolini, Marcus. *Deutsch in Texas*. Munich: Lit Verlag. 2004. 46–49; Boas, *Life*, 50.

⁹ Kloss, Heinz. *The American Bilingual Tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. 1977. 222.

¹⁰ Boas, *Life*, 47.

¹¹ Boas, *Life*; Salmons and Lucht, “Standard German,” 169.

¹² *Das Wochenblatt* stopped publishing in 1940. The *Neu-Braunfeler Zeitung* was the last Texas newspaper to switch to English, in December 1957. Salmons and Lucht, “Standard German,” 174.

¹³ Salmons and Lucht, “Standard German,” 169.

¹⁴ Fishman, Joshua A. “Language Maintenance and Language Shift: The American Immigrant Case within a General Theoretical Perspective.” *Sociologus, Neue Folge / New Series*, 16, no. 1 (1966): 19–39.

Salmons, Joe. “Issues in Texas German Language Maintenance and Language Shift.” *Monatshefte* 75. (1983): 186–95.

¹⁵ Boas, *Life*, 2.

¹⁶ Jordan, “German Element,” 9.

¹⁷ In the mid 19th century cultural and linguistic identity was determined by region, and spelling conventions reflected this regionalism. With German unification in 1871, the Reich needed a standardized language to contribute to a common German identity. Duden’s orthography, the *Vollständiges Orthographisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* was first published in 1880, and was soon adopted as the official source for spelling. The *Duden* continued to grow and remains today the preeminent prescriptive resource regarding grammar, spelling, and usage of German language. Weiss, Gerhard. “Up-to-Date and with a Past: The “Duden” and Its History.” *Die Unterrichtspraxis / Teaching German* 28, no. 1 (1995): 7–12. See also Salmons, Joseph C. *A History of German: What the Past reveals about Today’s Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012. 332–35.

¹⁸ Salmons, *History*, 335–37. Brigitte Ganswindt argues that standard German was in fact more widely spoken in the 19th-century than other authors have contended. Ganswindt, Brigitte. “Landschaftliches Hochdeutsch: Rekonstruktion Der Oraln Prestigevarietät im Ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert.” *Zeitschrift Für Dialektologie Und Linguistik, Beihefte* 168 (2017).

¹⁹ Salmons and Lucht, “Standard German,” hold a different view, that Standard German played a large role in Texas. I follow Boas, *Life* here.

²⁰ Salmons, Joe. “Issues in Texas German Language Maintenance and Language Shift.” *Monatshefte* 75. (1983): 186–95.

²¹ Wilson, Joseph B. “The German Language in Central Texas Today.” *Rice University Studies* no. 63 (1977): 47–58. 47.; Eikel, Fred Jr. 1954. *The New Braunfels German Dialect*.

Welche Sprache ist sie anyway?

Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University dissertation; Gilbert, Glenn. 1972. *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

²² This is an abstraction, but a convenient one. Note that Texas German has not completed the process as New Zealand English has (cf. Trudgill, Peter. *New-dialect formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004; and Boas, *Life*).

²³ Helbig, Gerhard. *Lexikon deutscher Partikeln*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie Leipzig. 1988.

²⁴ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 12.

²⁵ Schiffrin, Deborah. *Discourse Markers*. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1987. 165–66.

²⁶ Ferrara, Kathleen W. "Form and function of the DM anyway: implications for discourse analysis." In: *Linguistics* no. 35 (1997): 343.

²⁷ Brinton, Laurel J. *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996: 30; Watts, Richard J. "A relevance-theoretic approach to commentary pragmatic markers: The case of actually, really, and basically." *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* no. 38 (1988): 235–60.

²⁸ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 13.

²⁹ Myers-Scotton, Carol. *Dueling languages: grammatical structure in Codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1993: 41.

³⁰ Boas, Hans C., and Marc Pierce. "Lexical developments in Texas German." In Putnam, M. (ed.), *Studies in Language Companion Series Studies on German-Language Islands*. (2011): 129–50.

³¹ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 44.

³² Clyne, M. Some (German-English) language contact phenomena at the discourse level. In E. Firchow et al. (Eds.), *Studies in Honor of Einar Haugen*. The Hague: Mouton. (1972): 132–144; Salmons, Joe. "Bilingual discourse marking: Code switching, borrowing, and convergence in some German-American dialects." *Linguistics* no. 28 (1990): 453–80.

³³ Salmons, "Bilingual;" Boas and Weilbacher, "Detachability;" Goss, Emily and Joe Salmons. "The evolution of a bilingual discourse marking system: Modal particles and English markers in German-American dialects." *International Journal of Bilingualism* no. 4.4 (2000): 469–84.

³⁴ Salmons, "Bilingual."

³⁵ Goss and Salmons, "Bilingual," 481.

³⁶ Boas and Weilbacher, "Detachability."

³⁷ Fuller, Janet. "The principle of pragmatic detachability in borrowing: English origin discourse markers in Pennsylvania German." *Linguistics* no. 39 (2001): 351–69.; Boas and Weilbacher, "Detachability," 42.

³⁸ Goss and Salmons, "Bilingual."

³⁹ Ferrara, Kathleen W. "Form and function of the DM anyway: implications for discourse analysis." In: *Linguistics* no. 35 (1997): 343–78.

⁴⁰ Ferrara, "Anyway," 349.

⁴¹ Ferrara, "Anyway," 347.

⁴² Schiffrin, 165.

⁴³ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 112.

⁴⁴ Weilbacher, "Discourse."

⁴⁵ Note: Weilbacher was using only recorded interviews that had been transcribed and annotated at the time of his study.

⁴⁶ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 96.

⁴⁷ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 98.

⁴⁸ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 99.

⁴⁹ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 97.

⁵⁰ Recordings of interviews by the TGDP can also be found at <tgdp.com>, in which interviews are organized by city.

⁵¹ The TGDP has more recordings of interviews that have not yet been transcribed and annotated at this time. Only interviews searchable in the concordancer were used for this study.

⁵² There are no instances of other variant forms of *anyway*, such as *anyways* or *anywho* in the TGDA corpus.

⁵³ Weilbacher, "Discourse," Ferrara, "Anyway."

⁵⁴ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 99.

⁵⁵ Ferrara, "Anyway," 347.

⁵⁶ Examples represent transcriptions (the plain text lines) and word-for-word translations (italicized lines) as found in the TGDA. Glosses (in quotation marks) are my own. Numbers in parentheses following examples are identification codes used in the TGDA and indicate interviewer, speaker being interviewed, and section of the transcribed interview.

⁵⁷ In standard usage *meinen* means 'to be of the opinion.' The usage seen here, as 'to mean', is increasingly frequent in many dialects of German, possibly because of phonological similarities to English 'to mean' (Schach, P. Semantic Borrowing in Pennsylvania German. *American Speech*, no. 26(4) (1951): 263.

⁵⁸ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 98 also has an example (see Example (4.17)).

⁵⁹ Ferrara, "Anyway;" Weilbacher, "Discourse."

⁶⁰ Weilbacher, "Discourse," 99.

⁶¹ Thomason, Sarah Grey and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

⁶² Winford, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Malden/Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2003: 33.

⁶³ See Boas, Hans C., and Marc Pierce. "Lexical developments in Texas German." In Putnam, M. (ed.), *Studies in Language Companion Series Studies on German-Language Islands*. (2011): 129–50.

⁶⁴ Boas and Pierce, "Lexical Developments," 140.

⁶⁵ Matras, Yaron. "Grammaticalisation and language contact." In: Narrog, Heiko, & Heine, Bernd. *Handbook of Grammaticalisation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2011): 218.

⁶⁶ Matras, Yaron. "Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing." *Linguistics* no. 36-2 (1988): 309.

⁶⁷ Fuller, "Detachability;" Salmons, "Bilingual."

⁶⁸ Boas and Weilbacher, "Detachability."

References

- Boas, Hans C. "Tracing Dialect Death: The Texas German Dialect Project," in Larson, J., and M. Paster (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. (2003): 387-398.
- Boas, Hans C. Texas German dialect. In Thomas Adam (ed.), *Germany and the Americas*. (2005): 1029–35. Santa Barbara CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Boas, Hans C. "A dialect in search of its place: The use of Texas German in the public domain." In Craig Stephen Cravens & David John Zersen (eds), *Transcontinental Encounters: Central Europe Meets the American Heartland*, (2005): 78–102. Austin X: Concordia University Press.

- Boas, Hans C. "From the field to the web: Implementing best-practice recommendations in documentary linguistics." *Language Resources and Evaluation* 40(2). (2006) 153–74.
- Boas, Hans C. *The Life and Death of Texas German*. Durham NC: Duke University Press. 2009
- Boas, Hans C. and Hunter Weilbacher. "Documenting Diaspora Experiences: The Texas German Dialect Archive", in: Proceedings of the Waterloo Conference on Diaspora Experiences. 2006.
- Boas, Hans C., and Hunter Weilbacher. "How Universal is the Pragmatic Detachability Scale? Evidence from Texas-German Discourse Markers." In Hoyt, F., N. Seifert, A. Teodorescu, and J. White (eds.) 2007.
- Boas, Hans C., and Marc Pierce. "Lexical developments in Texas German." In Putnam, M. (ed.), *Studies in Language Companion Series Studies on German-Language Islands*. (2011): 129–50.
- Brinton, Laurie. "The Development of Discourse Markers in English." In J. Fisiak, (ed.), *Historical Linguistics and Philology*. Berlin. Mouton de Gruyter, (1990): 45–71.
- Brinton, Laurel J. *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996
- Clyne, M. Some (German-English) language contact phenomena at the discourse level. In E. Firchow et al. (Eds.), *Studies in Honor of Einar Haugen*. The Hague: Mouton. (1972): 132–44
- Eikel, Fred Jr. *The New Braunfels German Dialect*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University dissertation. 1954.
- Eikel, Fred Jr. "New Braunfels German, Part I." *American Speech* no. 41 (1966a): 5–16.
- Eikel, Fred Jr. "New Braunfels German, Part II." *American Speech* no. 41 (1966b): 254–60.
- Ferrara, Kathleen W. "Form and function of the DM anyway: implications for discourse analysis." In: *Linguistics* no. 35 (1997): 343–78.
- Fuller, Janet. "The principle of pragmatic detachability in borrowing: English origin discourse markers in Pennsylvania German." *Linguistics* no. 39 (2001): 351–69.
- Fuller, Janet. "The influence of speaker roles on discourse marker use." *Journal of Pragmatics* no. 35 (2003): 23–45.
- Ganswindt, Brigitte. "Landschaftliches Hochdeutsch: Rekonstruktion Der Oralen Prestigevarietät im Ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert." *Zeitschrift Für Dialektologie Und Linguistik, Beihefte* 168 (2017).
- Gilbert, Glenn. English Loanwords in the German of Fredericksburg, Texas. *American Speech* no. 40.2 (1965): 102–12.

- Gilbert, Glenn. *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press. 1972
- Goss, Emily and Joe Salmons. "The evolution of a bilingual discourse marking system: Modal particles and English markers in German-American dialects." *International Journal of Bilingualism* no. 4.4 (2000): 469–84.
- Helbig, Gerhard. *Lexikon deutscher Partikeln*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie Leipzig. 1988
- Jordan, Terry G. "The German Element in Texas: An Overview." *Rice University Studies* no. 63 (1977): 1–11.
- Jordan, Terry G. (2010). Germans. *Handbook of Texas Online*. Texas State Historical Association. <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/png02> (accessed July 1, 2019)
- Kearney, James. *Nassau Plantation: The Evolution of a Texas German Slave Plantation*. Denton: University of North Texas Press. 2010.
- Kloss, Heinz. *The American Bilingual Tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. 1977
- Matras, Yaron. "Grammaticalisation and language contact." In: Narrog, Heiko, & Heine, Bernd. *Handbook of Grammaticalisation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2011): 279–90
- Matras, Yaron. "Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing." *Linguistics* no. 36-2 (1988): 281–331.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. *Dueling languages: grammatical structure in Codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1993
- Nicolini, Marcus. *Deutsch in Texas*. Munich: Lit Verlag. 2004
- Salmons, Joe. "Issues in Texas German Language Maintenance and Language Shift." *Monatshefte* 75. (1983): 186–95.
- Salmons, Joe. "Bilingual discourse marking: Code switching, borrowing, and convergence in some German-American dialects." *Linguistics* no. 28 (1990): 453–80.
- Salmons, Joe. "Naturalness and Morphological Change in Texas German." in N. Berend and K. Mattheier (eds.), *Sprachinselforschung*. Frankfurt: P. Lang. (1994): 59–73.
- Salmons, Joe, & Lucht, Felicia. "Standard German in Texas." In L. Thornburg & J. Fuller (eds), *Studies in Contact Linguistics. Essays in Honor of Glenn G. Gilbert*. 165–86. Frankfurt: Peter Lang. 2006
- Salmons, Joseph C. *A History of German: What the Past reveals about Today's Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012
- Schach, P. Semantic Borrowing in Pennsylvania German. *American Speech*, no. 26(4) (1951): 257–67

- Schiffrin, Deborah. *Discourse Markers. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1987.
- “TGDP Concordancer.” Speech Islands. TGDP. Accessed May 5, 2020. <https://speechislands.org/concordancer>.
- “Texas German Dialect Archive.” Texas German Dialect Project. Accessed May 5, 2020. <http://www.tgdp.org>
- Thomason, Sarah Grey and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Trudgill, Peter. *New-dialect formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004
- Watts, Richard J. “A relevance-theoretic approach to commentary pragmatic markers: The case of *actually*, *really*, and *basically*.” *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* no. 38 (1988): 235–60.
- Weilbacher, Hunter. “Das weiss ich anyhow nicht: the syntax and pragmatics of the bilingual discourse markers anyway and anyhow in Texas German” Master’s thesis, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 2008.
- Weiss, Gerhard. “Up-to-Date and with a Past: The ‘Duden’ and Its History.” *Die Unterrichtspraxis / Teaching German*, no. 28(1) (1995): 7–12.
- Wilson, Joseph B. “The German Language in Central Texas Today.” *Rice University Studies* no. 63 (1977): 47–58.
- Winford, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Malden/Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2003.

