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Evidence of Convergence in Pennsylvania German

Introduction

When two languages are in contact with each other over an extended period, mutual influence and subsequent change are inevitable. A case in point is the family name of our esteemed honoree. When C. Richard Beam's ancestors settled in Pennsylvania, their German name, under the influence of the surrounding English language, changed phonetically from *Böhm* (or *Behm*) to *Beam*. Describing much the same linguistic processes, the present paper is an attempt to give an overview of the many ways in which the English language has influenced Pennsylvania German during the more than three hundred years of language contact. Specifically, it will examine trends of convergence with English in Pennsylvania German phonology, lexicon and morphology, and syntax. A large amount of scholarship has been published for each of these areas, which can only be done justice in part in the limited scope of this paper. While in many instances English influence upon forms and structures present in Pennsylvania German is evident, change may sometimes, at least in part, be due to internal processes. The latter appears to apply particularly to the area of syntax and will be discussed in some detail. The conclusion will attempt to put the results into a sociolinguistic perspective, thus paying tribute to the peculiar situation in which Pennsylvania German has been over the last few decades, namely impending language loss in one group (the nonsectarians) and increasing numbers of native speakers in another (the sectarians).

The first German-speaking settlement in North America was Germantown, founded in 1683 in the vicinity of Philadelphia by Mennonite families from Krefeld.[1] Almost 100,000 German-speaking emigrants—at first predominantly Mennonites, Amish, and Pietists, but later also Lutherans, Reformed, and Catholics—came to the New World during the colonial period. The main reason for this mass exodus was the unstable socio-economic situation in Germany after the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). The majority of the emigrants came from the Rhenish Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, Alsace, Switzerland, and the Lower Rhine. Many emigrants had to earn their crossing as so-called redemptioners, i.e.. as indentured servants to a colonial landowner. In Pennsylvania, which became home to the majority of the early German-speaking emigrants, the preferred destination were the counties of Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, Lancaster, and neighboring counties in the southeastern part of the state. According to Gilbert (1962, 13), a Lehigh County judge once defined a Pennsylvania German as "the descendant of German immigrants, who migrated to America from the Rhenish Palatinate or from Switzerland . . . before the Revolutionary War and who has retained the characteristics—in language, accent,

character and customs, or any of them—of his German ancestors."

Thus, Pennsylvania Germans are distinct from those German-Americans whose ancestors immigrated to the big cities of the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where they assimilated fairly rapidly to the American mainstream society. Pennsylvania Germans are characterized by group migration (often religiously motivated) and settlement in relatively isolated rural areas. Both these factors helped preserve the German language among the Pennsylvania Germans over the centuries, even after widespread internal migration to various states surrounding Pennsylvania, the Midwestern states, and to as far away as parts of Canada.

Pennsylvania German evolved from the various southern German and Swiss dialects brought to America by speakers who typically had little or no command of Standard German. When immigration stopped for a few decades toward the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century (due to the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and the War of Independence in North America), the southern German dialects spoken in Pennsylvania underwent a process of leveling, during which uncommon features found only in certain dialects disappeared. The basis of the new language was the West Middle German (specifically Rhine Franconian) dialect of *Pfälzisch*. The new variety came to be called *Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch* in the dialect and Pennsylvania Dutch or, more accurately, Pennsylvania German in English. Only the earliest Pennsylvania Germans were monolingual. Soon, necessity forced them to adopt a working knowledge of English, the language of the surrounding society. Then and now, language use was and is governed by domains. The earliest domains to switch from (Standard) German to English were the church (the process beginning in the 1830s and ending in the 1930s), the schools (the switch beginning with the advent of the state schools in Pennsylvania in the 1840s and being complete in the 1870s), and the newspapers (last publications in Standard German between 1910 and 1914).[2] The one domain in which Pennsylvania German survives to the present day (especially among conservative Amish and Mennonites) is the family domain. Among the nonsectarians (i.e. Lutheran or Reformed Pennsylvania Germans) we are currently witnessing the completion of the shift. The youngest generations in this group have now lost almost all active competence in Pennsylvania German and are thus monolingual again, but not, as the earliest immigrants, monolingual German, but monolingual English. Even among conservative sectarians the shift toward English is not altogether absent as these groups use the English language in their parochial schools.

Phonology

Compared to lexicon and syntax, there is relatively little evidence of convergence to English in the Pennsylvania German phonetic system. Nevertheless, in the interest of a systematic progression from smaller to larger units, phonology will be at the start of this survey.

Kopp (1999, 213-18) observes that some of his informants (both sectarian and nonsectarian) realized /r/ as a retroflex sound. While some informants showed this convergence to English only in English words (*cholesterol, layer, refrigerator, part*) and had trilled /r/ in native words (*Grummbeere*[3] 'potatoes', *uffglebbere* 'to beat (eggs)',

Bauerei 'farm', *gschtarewe* 'died'), others realized retroflex /r/ in both foreign and native words (*schreiwe* 'to write', *drin* 'inside', *Brunne* 'well').[4]

Another way in which English makes its imprint on the Pennsylvania German sound system is through the realization of /l/. While English has the allophones light /l/ (mostly in initial and internal positions) and dark or velarized /l/ (mostly word-finally), dark /l/ occurring in Pennsylvania German may be seen as English interference. As Kopp (1999, 213-16) reports, word-final and word-internal dark /l/ was observed in the speech of both a sectarian and a nonsectarian speaker in native words such as *will* 'to want', *sell* 'that', *ghalde* 'kept', and *kalt* 'cold'.[5] These observations confirm Seel's (1988, 138) claim that English interference occurs mostly with respect to the realization of /r/ and /l/.

In her study of an Old Order Amish community in Lancaster County, Meister Ferré (1994, 20) points out that while the voiceless aspirated stops /p/ and /k/ occur in both Pennsylvania German words (*Peffer* 'pepper', *Kind* 'child) and in English loans (*poleit* 'polite', *Kaendi* 'candy'), /t/ (at least in initial position) is restricted to English loan words (*Tietscher* 'teacher').[6] In addition, voiceless, unaspirated stops are found in all positions, which, unlike their fortis aspirated counterparts, can be described as lenis (*Bsuch* 'visit', *Hut* 'hat', *biggle* 'to iron'). These sounds also occur in English loan words, such as *blendi* 'plenty', *Present* 'present', and *Schtor* 'store'. The last example shows an instance of palatalization of [s] to [ʃ] before a dental (sometimes also occurring before a bilabial, as in the native word *schpiele* 'to play').

In its brief comments on the pronunciation of English loan words, Frey's (1985, 8) prescriptive grammar gives some evidence on how English sounds are realized within the Pennsylvania German system. Among other things, Frey explains that English /dʒ/ as in *John* is realized in Pennsylvania German as [dʃ], which causes him to spell the word *Tschon*. As Meister Ferré (1994, 21) carries out, the Pennsylvania German affricates [ds] and [dʃ] (found both in native and loan words) are voiceless, with the initial stop being lenis (not fortis as in English [ts] and [tʃ]). Examples include *zehle* 'to count', *butze* 'to clean', *tschaensche* 'to change', and *Rutsch* 'slide'.

Altogether, Meister Ferré (1994, 23) finds the phonological system to be "rather resistant to American English influence." This observation confirms Van Coetsem's (1988, 3) general stipulation that the transfer of material from the source language (here English) to the recipient language (here Pennsylvania German), i.e. imposition, tends to affect stable domains of language, such as phonology. If English loan words include sounds that are not part of the Pennsylvania German sound system, the latter are usually replaced by native sounds. For example, *then* is realized as *den* and *the same* as *de seem* (/d/ for /ð/). In loan words, a voiced fricative /v/ before a consonant is realized as a voiceless [f] (*beheeft* 'behaved').

According to Meister Ferré (1994, 23), the front vowel /æ/ is one of the few American English sounds not replaced, as in *Kaendi* 'candy' and *Daed* 'dad', possibly because of its proximity to the front vowel present before /r/ (*raere* 'to rain') or /ʌ/ (*Kaer* 'car') in native words. Another case in point is the bilabial /w/, which is preserved in loan words like *gwilde* 'to quilt', while the cluster /kv/ occurs in native works such as *Gwetsche* 'plums' and *gwaxe* 'grown'. The same phenomenon is observed by Frey (1985, 8) for the loan word *Quaeck* 'quack', which the author insists should therefore be spelled *Gwaeck*. Meister Ferré (1994, 23) shows that in those instances when /w/ occurs in an English loan without preceding /k/, the bilabial sound is replaced with

the native /v/, as in *waere* 'to wear'.

A phenomenon reported by Van Ness (1992) for a variety of Pennsylvania German spoken in West Virginia falls into the transition zone between phonology, morphology, and syntax. Van Ness observes an increasing tendency among her informants toward the change of the past participle prefix *ge-* to *de-* (i.e. /gə/ to /də/) and in words like *gekennt/dekennt* 'known', *geregt/dereget* 'rained', *geblugt/deblugt* 'plowed'. Van Ness (1992, 78) argues that the relative frequency of English past participles starting in *de-* (*deprived, deduced, denied, decayed, debated*) along with the paucity of the English combination /gə/ has contributed to the spread of the change in West Virginian Pennsylvania German, not only in the speech of individual informants but also from one community to another.

Lexicon and Morphology

Two linguistic areas in which English has left its marks on Pennsylvania German are the lexicon and morphology. Van Coetsem (1988, 3) calls the transfer of lexical material from the source language (English) to the recipient language (Pennsylvania German) "borrowing" (as opposed to "imposition," which designates the transfer of phonological material). In this transfer, various degrees of adaptation to the recipient language can be observed. Attempts to classify the types of transfer are numerous (cf. Buffington 1941; Schach 1948, 1951, 1952 and 1954; Seel 1988,[7] 123-204 and 1989, 78; Meister Ferré 1994, 39f.; and Werner 2001, 397f., to mention just a few). For the purpose of this paper, I will try to present my own, somewhat simplified classification, which will serve as a guide through the various examples presented below: *Foreign words* (English words that appear unaltered in Pennsylvania German sentences); *Loan words* (English words that are assimilated to the Pennsylvania German system. This assimilation may be (1) phonological or (2) morphological); *Loan translations (calques)* (Pennsylvania German words or structures that mechanically render English compounds or phrases); *Loan renditions* (Pennsylvania German compounds in which one element is rendered somewhat more freely than in loan translations[8]); *Semantic loans* (Pennsylvania German words that take over a new meaning under the influence of an English word); *Pseudo-loans* (Pennsylvania German words that appear to be loan translations or loan renditions but are in reality new creations that are not directly based on an English model). As will be seen below, hybrid forms are abundant in some of these categories, particularly with loan words and pseudo-loans.

Foreign words. Sometimes English material comes into Pennsylvania German when speakers briefly switch to English, thus importing an English word without any change. The result of this code-switching is the occurrence of English foreign words in Pennsylvania German sentences, such as in the following examples from Kopp (1999, 213f.), gleaned from interviews with elderly sectarian and nonsectarian native speakers of Pennsylvania German in 1989:[9] *Ich bin net supposed fer die Oier zu yuuse wechem cholesterol* 'I am not supposed to use eggs because of the cholesterol'; *Mir hen ken refrigerator ghat* 'We didn't have a refrigerator'; *Hab ich eeniche hobbies?* 'Do I have any hobbies?'; *No duhscht . . . en layer Bottboi in dei Kessel* 'Then you put a layer of potpie into your pot'.

In these excerpts at least four foreign words occur: *cholesterol, refrigerator, hobbies,* and *layer*. The most plausible of the four are *cholesterol* and *refrigerator*, which, as scientific or technical terms, are directly transferred from English into Pennsylvania German.[10] The transfer of *hobbies* may be explained by the lack of this modern concept in the old Pennsylvania German culture. The direct transfer of *layer* is less expected, as Pennsylvania German would offer its own form (*Gleeg*), but may be due to personal preference of the speaker. Note how three of the four foreign words (the exception being the plural form *hobbies*) are assigned grammatical gender, which shows itself in the form of the preceding words (*wechem cholesterol*—neuter, *ken refrigerator*—masculine, *en layer*-masculine).[11]

Loan words. As Buffington (1970, 94f.) points out, the early German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania were confronted with a number of concepts and objects that had no equivalent in their original German dialects. Such words, as for instance *pie, county, sheriff, judge,* or *college*, were directly borrowed by Pennsylvania German. Often, phonological assimilation led to "Dutchified" forms, such as *Boi*,[12] *Kaundi, Schrief, Tschotsch*, and *Kalletsch*.

Buffington (1970, 95) also mentions a number of hybrid compounds in which one element is English, the other Pennsylvania German, such as *Fenseck* 'fence corner', *Poschdefens* 'post fence', *Bisnessleit* 'business people', *Garretschteeg* 'garret stairs', *Blaeckschmitt* 'black smith', *Wassermelon* 'watermelon', and *Ebbeldumplins* 'apple dumplings'.

For many everyday concepts, doublets are also very common, which, according to Buffington (1970, 95) resulted from the Pennsylvania Germans' business dealings with their English-speaking neighbors. Buffington's examples include: *Enser* (English *answer*) – *Antwatt; Baerl* (English *barrel*) - *Fass*[13]; *Tietscher* (English *teacher*) - *Schulmeeschder; butschere* (English *to butcher*) – *schlachde; schterde* (English *to start*) – *aafange; blendi* (English *plenty*) – *genunk.*

Seel (1988, 151f.) shows that in many instances the native part of the doublet is eventually pushed out by the English loan word, especially if the English word is extremely common (*Laade* is pushed out by *Schtor* [English *store*]), the Pennsylvania German word is very rare (*Aagebot* is pushed out by *Offer*), or a complex native word (especially verb) is replaced by an English word with a simpler structure (*sich aaschliesse* is pushed out by *tschoine* [English *to join*]). According to Seel, many Pennsylvania German dictionaries list native words that have long ceased to be part of the current vocabulary.

Sometimes, however, doublets seem to be part of an individual speaker's lexical repertoire, if only to clarify the meaning. One of Kopp's (1999, 216) sectarian informants used the terms *Brunnehaus* and *Schpringhouse* 'springhouse' in the same sentence.

Huffines (1988a, 61) provides a detailed account of the older literature dealing with English loans in Pennsylvania German. Early researchers like Rauch (1879, iiif.), Lambert (1924, ixf.), and Buffington (1941, 67f.) attempt to give percentages of English loan words in Pennsylvania German, arriving at various figures between 0% and 20%. Huffines's study (1988a, 62) also shows that English loan words are more frequently found in the Pennsylvania German varieties spoken by the sectarians (Amish and Mennonites) than in those used by the nonsectarians.

Three of the categories Huffines (1988a, 64-66) uses to describe various degrees of morphological integration seem particularly relevant. As seen above, English words can enter Pennsylvania German without any morphological marking: *Mir hen ken refrigerator ghat* 'We didn't have a refrigerator'.

Huffines's examples include nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs: *Mer sin no in die Schul gange mit well die ganz neighborhood* 'Then we went to school with, well, the whole neighborhood'; *'S is allfatt kumme wann's Hoi ready waar* 'It always came when the hay was ready'; *Nau sell is was ich es menscht remember devun* 'Now that is what I remember the most of it'; *Mir hen sell different geduh* 'We did that differently'.

As was seen in the example *Hab ich eeniche hobbies?* 'Do I have any hobbies?', however, some borrowings carry English morphological markers, such as the plural *–s* in *hobbies*. In the case of a verb, the past participle ending *–ed* may represent such a marker, as in our former example, *Ich bin net supposed fer die Oier zu yuuse wechem cholesterol*, 'I am not supposed to use eggs because of the cholesterol'. In addition, Huffines counts the gerund ending *–ing* into this category: *No hot er farming iwwer gnumme* 'Then he took over farming'. The third category is the morphological integration of the English word into the Pennsylvania German system: *Ich bin net supposed fer die Oier zu yuuse wechem cholesterol* 'I am not supposed to use eggs because of the cholesterol'. Here the English loan word *use* has adopted the Pennsylvania German infinitive ending *–e* (which is sounded as /ə/). Two other examples are found in the above list from Buffington (1970, 95): *butschere* (to butcher) and *schterde* (to start). Huffines supplies the following examples: *Der Jake un ich hen gestart farme* 'Jake and I started farming'; *'S waar yuscht en boringer job* 'It was a boring job'; *Mer watche sei chance* 'We watch his chance'; *Sie is en share mit ihr friends* 'She is sharing with her friends'; *'S is ordlich gut ausgeturned* 'It turned out rather well'.

As these examples show, English roots can take on Pennsylvania German prefixes or endings of past participles (*gestart*,[14] *ausgeturned*[15]), adjectives (*boringer*), finite verbs (*mer watche*), and present participles (*en share*).

Seel (1989, 80f.) lists a number of combinations consisting of an English free morpheme plus a Pennsylvania German suffix or a Pennsylvania German prefix: *Tschumberei* 'the jumping around', *Butscherei* 'the butchering', and *Tschoogerei* 'the joking around' are all formed in analogy to "pure" Pennsylvania German expressions such as *Schafferei* 'working', which consists of a verb (*schaffe* 'to work') plus the suffix *–erei*. Similarly, *Schpelles* 'the spelling' is formed with the English verb *to spell* plus the Pennsylvania German suffix *–es*. The word *Rumfuules* 'the fooling around' takes the hybridization a step further in that it also adds a Pennsylvania German prefix *rum-* 'around' to the English stem *fool*. In analogy to the Pennsylvania German formation *Gschmeer* 'smearing', an alternative for *Tschumberei* or *Tschumbes* 'jumping' is *Getschump*. Here the Pennsylvania German prefix *g(e)-* is connected with the English verb stem *jump*.

Loan translations (calques). Examples for loan translations of compound nouns are Pennsylvania German words like *Riggelweg* 'railroad', *Grundsau* 'groundhog', *Katzefisch* 'catfish', *Geldheber* 'treasurer', and *Hochschul* 'high school'.

Here both parts of the compound have been directly translated from English. The underlying English compound of the word *Geldheber* appears to be *money keeper*. Pennsylvania German *Hochschul* 'high school' is semantically different from

Standard German *Hochschule* 'university'. According to Schach (1954, 219), in each compound the already existing Pennsylvania German units were, under the influence of the English compound, transferred to an object that did not have a Pennsylvania German name yet. One of the prerequisites for this type of calque is the structural similarity of the English and Pennsylvania German units.

Riggelfens 'rail fence' may be regarded as a hybrid, in which the first element has been translated while the second remains English. Loan translations are also found in compound adjectives and adverbs such as *gutguckich* 'good-looking', *altguckich* 'old-fashioned' (based on *old-looking*), and *selleweg* 'that way, so'. An example for a loan translation of a compound verb is *rumkumme* 'to come up, to arise', as used in the phrase *wie die frigeration rumkumme is* 'when refrigeration came up' (Kopp [1999, 216]).

One of Kopp's (1999, 213) nonsectarian informants used the phrase *Ich fiehl gut davun* 'I feel good about it'. This structure may also be seen as a word-for-word loan translation from English. The sentence considered above, *Ich bin net supposed fer die Oier zu yuuse* 'I am not supposed to use eggs' (Kopp [1999, 214]), offers a further complication. Here we are dealing with a syntactic loan translation (*ich bin supposed fer zu*), in which, however, part of the verb element (*supposed*) remains untranslated, resulting in a hybrid loan translation of a whole phrase.

Loan renditions. While in loan translations both parts of an English compound are translated literally into Pennsylvania German, in loan renditions one of the two elements is rendered more freely. Loan renditions are relatively rare in Pennsylvania German. Seel (1988, 178) and Werner (2001, 397f.) give the following examples for nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and pronouns: *Kiehmann*, derived from English *cowboy*; *Danksaagdaag*, derived from *Thanksgiving Day*; *Voreldre*, derived from *forefathers*; *schraegaaich*, derived from *cross-eyed*; *beischtamme*, derived from *to stem from*; *deelmols*, derived from *sometimes*; and *ennicherweg*, derived from *anyway*.

Semantic loans. Pennsylvania German expresses the verb *to like* with *gleiche*, as for example in the sentence *Ich gleich net Fisch* 'I don't like fish' (Meister Ferré [1994, 40]). Thus, under the influence of English *like* (verb: 'to enjoy', adjective: 'alike, similar'), the Pennsylvania German verb *gleiche* 'to be alike, similar' has extended its semantic range to the meaning 'to like' (cf. Schach [1951, 258]). Louden (1992b, 119) makes a connection to the loss of impersonal dative verbs in English, where *to like* originally functioned like Standard German *gefallen* (*es gefällt mir*), but was re-analyzed to a personal verb plus accusative (*I like it*). The fact that Pennsylvania German *gleiche* imitates the English structure may be seen as a case of syntactic convergence (see below).

Another interesting phenomenon is the Pennsylvania German verb *meinde*, which, according to Beam (1985, 75) can mean 'to mind', 'to watch (children)', and 'to remember'. One of Kopp's (1999, 216) informants used the word in the latter sense: *Mir hen ken refrigerator ghat, wie ich erscht meind* 'We didn't have a refrigerator as I remember just now'.

It could be argued that we are dealing here with a loan word that has been morphologically assimilated to the Pennsylvania German system. At the same time, however, as Meister Ferré (1994, 40) points out, *meinde* constitutes a semantic

pseudo-loan, because its meaning is different from that of the English word *mind*, much rather representing English *remember*.

Pseudo-loans. These are sometimes called "hybrid creations" and include Pennsylvania German words that use elements from English vocabulary without being directly based on an English model. Examples (from Seel [1988, 196]) are: *Guckbox* 'television set', based on Pennsylvania German *gucke* 'to look' plus English *box*; *Hinkelbisness* 'chicken farm', based on Pennsylvania German *Hinkel* 'chicken' and English *business*; and *Gscharweschmaschien* 'dishwasher', based on Pennsylvania German *Gschar* 'dishes', Pennsylvania German *wesche* 'to wash' and English *machine*. Werner (2001, 398) mentions *abpickdere* 'to draw the picture of, to copy' (from Pennsylvania German *ab* 'off' and English *to picture*) as an example for a verbal pseudo-loan.

Syntax and Word Order

In an attempt to provide an overview of potential English influences on Pennsylvania German syntax and word order, the following topics will be discussed: loss of the dative case; aspect; infinitive constructions; relativization; syntactic idioms and specialties; word order.

The loss of the dative case. The big theoretical question surrounding the loss of the dative case in Pennsylvania German is whether this phenomenon is due to convergence with English or represents an internal Pennsylvania German process. As Born (2003, 151) shows, the loss of the dative has also been observed in other German-American varieties, such as Texas German, Kansas Volga German, and Michigan German. Huffines (1987, 175) elicited responses for three areas of dative function: (1) the use and distribution of dative personal pronouns, for example, *Ich hab ihne geschder gholfe* 'I helped them yesterday' and *Sie hen ihm en present bringe welle* 'They wanted to bring him a gift', (2) the use of the dative to express possession, for example, *Meim Graenpaep seini schmackt es bescht vun all* 'My grandfather's [wurst] tastes best of all' and *Mir waare in meinre Aent ihrem Haus* 'We were in my aunt's house', and (3) the use of the dative to express the object of prepositions, for example, *Fer was schwetscht er net zu ihre?* 'Why doesn't he talk to her?' and *Ich waar nach em Schtor gange* 'I had gone to the store'.

Huffines's (1987, 179f.) results differ by social group. The dative is best preserved among the nonsectarian native speakers of Pennsylvania German. Among those nonsectarians that have English as their native language as the first or second generation, the frequency of dative forms declines. In its place, common case forms or even ungrammatical attempts at producing Pennsylvania German forms occur. The sectarians almost exclusively use common case or accusative forms. Only some fossilized dative forms are found in the speech of the Mennonites. The sectarians have adopted a one-case (common case) system for nouns and a two-case (nominative and accusative) system for personal pronouns. Thus, their nominal system reflects that of English. While Huffines assumes convergence with English as the driving force for the case merger in the Pennsylvania German varieties of the sectarians, she explains

the loss of the dative among nonsectarian native speakers of English with inadequate access of this group to native speaker norms.[16]

Van Ness (1996) compares data she collected on the maintenance of the dative in a sectarian community in Ohio with that presented in studies by Huffines, Louden, Ferré, and Dorian. According to Van Ness (1996, 14), the rather rapid reduction of case endings in sectarian Pennsylvania German is an example of "multiple causation." While natural, internal tendencies have been the cause, increased contact with English was the ultimate catalyst of the change.

Similarly, Born (2003), in her study of the loss of the dative in the variety of German spoken in Frankenmuth, Michigan, does not regard convergence as the only driving force for the loss of the dative in German-American dialects. She notes that the loss of the dative in German dialects that are in contact with Russian (which has a fully developed case system) speaks against such a theory (151). Born assumes that the loss of the dative in Texas German and Michigan German accelerated once the dialects were no longer roofed by Standard German beginning after World War I. She also uses the regression hypothesis, i.e. "the thesis that grammatical features are lost in inverse proportion in which they are acquired in childhood" (161), to account for the substitution of accusative for dative forms as well as the increase of common case forms with nominative case markers.[17]

Aspect. Huffines (1986, 137) identifies three constructions in which aspect, i.e., information about whether an action is continuing, completed, repeated, or habitual, is expressed: (1) *Sei* + *am* and the infinitive of the main verb, e.g., *Sie sin am Balle schpiele* 'They are playing ball' (2) *duh* + the infinitive of the main verb, e.g., *No duhn mir die Frucht maahle* 'Then we grind the grain' (3) adverbial *als* with the main verb, e.g., *No hen mir sell als uff Brot gesse* 'Then we used to eat that on bread.'

According to Huffines (1986, 152), the *sei* + *am* + infinitive construction, which in Pennsylvania German fulfills the function of the English progressive (*to be* + *-ing*), does not appear to be influenced by English usage among the nonsectarians. However, Huffines found a change in the phonetic realization of *am* among the sectarians, whose repertoire ranges from [am] via [an] to [ən]. It is in this change as well as in the sectarians' loss of a rule that distinguishes the placement of modified and unmodified noun objects that Huffines assumes influence of English.

Huffines (1986, 150) further found that among the sectarians the *duh* construction has lost its iterative meaning and is used more frequently in a pro-form function, i.e., occurring in place of the main verb (as in English *She likes big yellow flowers that smell good, and I do too*). While Huffines was unable to determine whether the loss of the iterative meaning of *duh* is due to English influence, she maintains that "the use of *duh* in pro-form function is clearly based on an English model." No evidence is given that Pennsylvania German *als*, which signals past habitual action, is connected to any English patterns.

Altogether, just like in her findings on the loss of the dative case described above, Huffines (1986, 152f.) assumes the existence of two separate Pennsylvania German norms with regard to verb aspect. One, the relatively conservative nonsectarian system, shows no evidence of English influence, not even among non-fluent (i.e., younger) speakers. The rules of the sectarian norm, on the other hand, in many ways appear to be converging to English.[18]

Infinitive constructions. According to Huffines (1990, 103), the use of *zu* to mark infinitives that do not complement modals, as in *Er gleicht zu sehne wann ihre bandages dreckich sin* 'He likes to see when her bandages are dirty' is overall on the decline in the Pennsylvania German speech community. *Zu* is generally being replaced by *fer*, as in *No hen mir die chance grickt fer sie doch kaafe* 'Then we got the chance to buy it anyway' and, especially among (nonsectarian) nonnative speakers, by *fer . . . zu*, as in *No bin ich abgange fer des zu duh* 'Then I left to do that'.

Zu as an infinitive marker has receded the farthest in the sectarian group. Thus, as in the cases of the loss of the dative and of aspect, nonsectarian Pennsylvania German is more conservative than the sectarian varieties. These changes, however, do not reflect direct influence of English, but rather usage found in Palatinate and other southern varieties of German. Huffines (1990, 104) reports that unmarked infinitives, such as *Mer gleiche als unser Wutz uffhenke* 'We always like to hang up our pig' are most frequently found in sectarian Pennsylvania German.[19] Sectarians also use constructions such as *Sie sin der Rege gucke* 'They are watching the rain', in which the infinitive construction is confused with the progressive aspect of the verb (Huffines [1990, 106]). It is in these latter types of constructions found in sectarian Pennsylvania German that Huffines (1990, 107) observes a tendency to "parallel English usage more closely, thereby achieving more efficient translation and integrating their extensive borrowings more easily."

Relativization. As Louden (1993, 173f.) reports, sectarian Pennsylvania German shows "partial, but not total convergence" with English in the way it uses relative pronouns and complementizers. Pennsylvania German, unlike English and Standard German, most often uses the complementizer *as* instead of true relative pronouns such as Standard German *der* and English *who*, as in *Des is der Kall, as sell Haus gebaut hot* 'This is the guy that [who] built that house'.

An older Pennsylvania German complementizer was *wu*, which is still infrequently found in sectarian speech and has a widespread equivalent in Palatinate varieties. True relative pronouns are only rarely attested in Pennsylvania German, as in the following example from Buffington and Barba (1965, 95), showing the structure "dative definite article + possessive pronoun": *Des is der Mann, dem sei Fraa grank is* 'This is the man whose wife is sick'.

As Louden (1993, 174) shows, sectarian Pennsylvania German avoids these relative pronouns "by converging with a generalization of the complementizer relative characteristic of many varieties of spoken" American English, as in *Des is der Mann, as sei Fraa grank is* (nonstandard English: 'This is the man that his wife is sick').

Syntactic idioms and specialties. In the following, a number of special Pennsylvania German phrases showing English influence will be discussed briefly. Louden (1993, 174f.) mentions the structure "past participle + *griege* 'get' commonly found in sectarian speech, for example *Ich hab sell geduh grickt* 'I got that done' and *Grick's Bett gmacht* 'Get the bed made'. This is another example for partial convergence of sectarian Pennsylvania German with English combined with language-internal, i.e. independent, development. If the Pennsylvania German phrase includes the past participle *geduh*, it is a loan translation of English "to get something done." The

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difference between the two languages is that in Pennsylvania German the calqued idiom has been widely expanded to many more transitive verbs, resulting in a general perfective meaning of "to succeed in resolving/completing/finishing what one set out to do" (Louden [1993, 175]).

Another interesting usage of *griege* is found in Huffines (1990, 106): *Er is ready griege . . .* 'He is getting ready . . .' Here the English idiom *to get ready* is partly translated into Pennsylvania German (*get = griege*) and partly rendered by a foreign word (*ready*). At the end of telling his life story, one of Kopp's (1999, 217) nonsectarian informants used the expression *Un sell bringt mich uff zu nau* 'And that brings me up to now'. This Pennsylvania German phrase keeps the syntactic structure of the English model, translating each individual word into Pennsylvania German with the exception of the last item (*nau*, from English *now*), which is an alternative of Pennsylvania German *yetz* (cf. Standard German *jetzt*).

Similarly, Buffington (1970, 102) lists a number of examples in which an English syntactic framework is reflected in Pennsylvania German idiomatic phrases: *Sell is uff zu dir* 'That's up to you'; *Mer sin uff Zeit kumme* 'We came on time'; *Wie ich zukumme bin* 'When I came to = regained conscience'; *Sie hen widder uffgemacht* 'They made up again'; *Mer hen Wadde ghat* 'We had words = talked with each other'; *Die Fraa is widder allrecht warre* 'The woman got all right again'; *Sei Bruder is gut ab* 'His brother is well off'; *Fer all sell* 'for all that = despite all that'.

Meister Ferré (1994, 59) gives another example of a loan translation that preserves the English syntactic structure: *Selle mir schicke fer de Dokder?* 'Should we send for the doctor?' not only imitates English *to send for someone*, but also is an example of how Pennsylvania German word order (in this case the placement of the infinitive *schicke* before rather than after the complement *fer de Dokder*) can be influenced by English.

Another example from Meister Ferré (1994, 31) shows how verbs calqued from English to Pennsylvania German underlie English rules, regardless of their equivalent in Standard German: The verb in the expression *Ebbes hot ghappened* 'Something [has] happened' is a loan translation of English "happen," which in the present perfect takes *have*. Consequently, the auxiliary in Pennsylvania German is *hot*, not *is*, even though both Pennsylvania German alternatives (*gschehe* and *bassiere*) take *is* as the auxiliary in the perfect stem.

Word order. Two distinctive patterns appear to be relevant to determine the presence of English influence on Pennsylvania German word order. Huffines (1991, 186f.) examines the position of the past participle in independent clauses, as in (a) *Es hot geschder geregert* 'It rained yesterday' versus (b) *Es hat geregert geschder* and (a) *Hab ich zu mir selwert gedenkt* 'I thought to myself' versus (b) *Hab ich gedenkt zu mich selwert*.

In each pair, version (b) is found almost twice as often in the speech of Huffines' Amish and Mennonite informants as in that of the nonsectarians native speakers. Thus, it is once again the sectarian group that more clearly converges to an English word order pattern, which allows adverbs and prepositional phrases to be placed behind the past participle.

The second pattern examined by Huffines (1989, 7-9) is the position of the finite verb in dependent sentences, as in (a) *Wann ich gwisst hett as du noch am schlofe*

waerscht 'If I had known that you were asleep' versus (b) *Wann ich gewisst hett as du warscht am schlofe* versus (c) *Wann ich gwisst hett as du noch en schlofe waerscht.*

While the prescribed position in Pennsylvania German is at the end of the clause, English has the order subject—verb—adverb. Pattern (a) was used by nonsectarians that speak Pennsylvania German natively and those who have English as their native language in the first generation. Type (b) was given by second-generation nonsectarians with English as native language, and (c) was the pattern used by the sectarians. Altogether, the finite verb in dependent clauses consistently appeared in final position, which indicates little influence from English. The deviant pattern of the nonsectarians the furthest removed from Pennsylvania German as first language reflects general acquisition limitations rather than a clear-cut tendency toward convergence to English (Huffines [1989, 10]).

Conclusion

Altogether, contact-induced change in Pennsylvania German appears to be most prominent on the lexical and morphological levels, less so in the area of syntax, and even less in phonology. In some cases, the contact situation merely supports internal developments, which shows that convergence toward English cannot always serve as the sole explanation of change within Pennsylvania German. All in all, Pennsylvania German is still by far more German than it is English.

Further, the information gleaned from a variety of studies suggests that Pennsylvania German is not at all homogeneous with respect to its convergence to English. Along with diachronic and dialectal variations, there are also differences between the various social groups of speakers.

In particular the more recent studies have shown that overall the variety of Pennsylvania German spoken by the nonsectarian native speakers shows the least amount of tendency to convergence toward English. Because of the widespread switch between the two world wars from Pennsylvania German to English as the first language used with children, the last nonsectarian native speakers of English are currently in their seventies and eighties. The Pennsylvania German used by their children and grandchildren is characterized by general acquisition limitations that only partly coincide with convergence processes. By far the strongest tendency toward convergence is found in sectarian Pennsylvania German. The explanation for this dissimilarity lies in the different linguistic strategies employed by each group. For the sectarians, language use is strictly governed by domains and the use of English is inappropriate in interaction with family and members of their own group. To maintain discourse despite changing reality, their variety of Pennsylvania German relies on convergence. Nonsectarians, on the other hand, because of the loss of Pennsylvania German among the younger generations, are more inclined to code-switching. The result is a significantly lower degree of English intrusion into their German variety.

Interestingly enough, the differences between the two groups continue with respect to their varieties of English. As sectarians put much emphasis on their children being taught "good" English in the parochial schools, their varieties of English show relatively low levels of interference from Pennsylvania German. Nonsectarians, on the

other hand, are less skilled translators from English to Pennsylvania German (Huffines [1991, 190]). If they ever translate, the direction is more likely from Pennsylvania German to English, which results in a high degree of Pennsylvania German features, or "Dutchified English."

Altogether, the convergence processes in Pennsylvania German have to be seen in the context of sociocultural differences. They are part of the "Pennsylvania German paradox" (Kopp [1999, 279ff.]), which finds the group that is culturally most conservative and most remote from the mainstream (i.e., the sectarians) to be linguistically rather progressive by avoiding "Dutchified English" while allowing their ancestral German dialect to be heavily influenced by English. The group that has assimilated itself to the mainstream much more (i.e., the nonsectarians), on the other hand, is characterized by a variety of English further remote from the standard and a variety of Pennsylvania German far more conservative. What at first sight appears to be a paradox can ultimately be explained by the diverging strategies of language use outlined above in conjunction with an analysis of the deviating attitudinal patterns (Kopp [1999, 210ff.]).

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Notes

[1] A more detailed overview of the history of German immigration to Pennsylvania is found in Kopp (1999, 18-31).

[2] Cf. Werner (2001, 390f.) for various sources for the end dates of the switch.

[3] For all Pennsylvania German examples, regardless of the orthography or transcription employed in their respective source of origin, I will use the system preferred by C. Richard Beam, which, as he points out in his *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (1985, vii), is based on the Buffington-Barba system.

[4] Retroflex /r/ before vowels and in final position has also been found by Raith (1992, 161) in Amish Pennsylvania German. Raith (1992, 160f.) points out an interesting parallel between Pennsylvania German and English with regard to the influence of /r/ on the preceding vowel. In its equivalents of Standard German *Hirsch* 'deer', *kürzer* 'shorter', *Wurst* 'sausage', *Stern* 'star', *Mörder* 'murder', *dort* 'there', and *härter* 'harder' (in all of which Standard German features a variety of vowels before /r/), Pennsylvania German always has /a/ (*Hasch, katzer, Wascht, Schtann, Madder, datt, hadder*). The same uniformity in the quality of the vowel is caused by preceding /r/ in American English *Sir, merge, learn, clerk, word, burn, and myrtle.*

[5] Velarized dark /l/ has also been attested by Raith (1992, 160), particularly for Amish Pennsylvania German.

[6] Cf. Raith (1992, 160).

[7] Seel's 1988 doctoral dissertation is probably the most detailed study of the Pennsylvania German lexicon available.

[8] Cf. Seel (1988, 168-70) for a discussion of the terminology.

[9] Louden (1992a) presents an interesting account of how the Old Order Amish,

contrary to all expectation, lexically converge to English in the areas of everyday life (clothing, transportation, cooking, education, and recreation), motherese, the way they use family terms, greetings, interjections, numbers, etc., and even in proper names for their children. According to Louden, this linguistic behavior reflects the covert prestige of English in sectarian society.

[10] Note that the Standard German word for "cholesterol" is *Cholesterin*.

[11] However, the endings of these modifiers are not conclusive on their own as wechem is used for both masculine or neuter, while ken and en could actually mark all three genders. For a more extensive discussion of gender assignment to English words in Pennsylvania German see Reed, who offers the following categorization (1942, 25f.):

1. Nouns that have taken over the gender of the German nouns which they displace.
2. Nouns having a type of suffix that normally characterizes a particular gender in German.
3. Nouns whose gender is determined by the sex of a 'living being,' specifically, a human being—or by 'natural gender' [sic].
4. Nouns that have been given the feminine gender, because the English definite article [ði:/ðə] resembles phonetically the German feminine definite article [di:/də]. This is what Professor Aron calls the 'feminine tendency.'

For gender assignment in varieties of German spoken in the Midwest see Aron (1930).

[12] The Pennsylvania German form *Boi* has been regarded as representing an older English pronunciation still found in north-central English and some New England dialects. For a summary of the discussion see Meister Ferré (1994, 36).

[13] Beam's *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (1985, 12) also gives the tautological compound *Baerlfass*.

[14] Pennsylvania German generally treats verbs borrowed from English as weak verbs. Thus, past participles receive the prefix *ge-* and the ending *–t*. Fuller (1999, 45) mentions *gefarmt* 'farmed' as an example. The fact that some of Fuller's informants used the English form *farmed*, however, reflects both the effects of convergence (external) and morphological simplification (internal; cf. the loss of *ge-* in other German dialects as well as in English). Fuller (1999, 43-46) argues that verbs that are perceived to have an unstressed prefix (such as adopt) pave the way for full English participles in Pennsylvania German. For instance, if speakers of Pennsylvania German use the participial form adopted in Pennsylvania German, they actually follow German rules by avoiding the prefix *ge-* with verbs that have an unstressed (i.e., inseparable) prefix (e.g., *besuche* forming the past participle *besucht*).

[15] The form *ausgeturned* 'turned out' is another example for a hybrid compound, consisting of a Pennsylvania German prefix (*aus-*) and an English verb stem (*turn*), which as noted, receives a Pennsylvania German prefix (*ge-*) but keeps its English ending (*-ed*). Fuller (1999, 46-52) found the following types of separable prefix verbs in her Pennsylvania German data:

1. prefix and stem of German origin (*fattgeh* 'to go away')
2. prefix and stem of German origin, but calqued from English (*ausschaffe* from English 'to work out')
3. German prefix + English stem (*austurne* 'to turn out')

4. English prefix + German stem (*alongkumme* 'to come along')
5. prefix and stem of English origin, but marked with German morphology (*on-carrye* 'to carry on'; past participle ongecarried)

What all these separable prefix verbs have in common is compositional meaning and semantic transparency, i.e., the meaning of the prefixes is concrete (usually directional) and the overall meaning of the verb is directly derived from that of the simplex. The relative unproductivity of separable prefix verbs with opaque meanings shows that Pennsylvania German is undergoing simplification, the change thus being internally motivated. The contact with English becomes a factor in cases where native separable prefix verbs do not have compositional meaning and are therefore replaced by simple English loan words (for instance, Pennsylvania German forms based on English *imagine, stop,* and *move* replace *eibilde, uffheere, and umziehe*). Fuller (1999, 52) adds, however, that in general, lexical borrowing is motivated by "perceived semantic/pragmatic uniqueness." For instance, Pennsylvania German has no easy native equivalent for "to learn quickly" and therefore uses the loan translation *uffpicke* (from English to pick up). Similarly, the example *austurne* from the beginning of this note has no native Pennsylvania German equivalent and is used to express the morphologically and syntactically complex Standard German structure *sich herausstellen.*

[16] While earlier studies (such as Huffines [1987]) focus on a comparison of sectarian and nonsectarian varieties, Keiser (1999) investigates the degree of dative loss within a sectarian Pennsylvania German community in Iowa.

[17] The same claim is made by Raith (1992, 162) in connection with phonological features. Similar skepticism toward the concept of convergence as the main driving force in change is expressed by Fuller (1999), who discusses variation in past participle forms and restriction on separable prefix verbs. In Fuller's words (1999, 53), "in the real-life drama" of the development of Pennsylvania German, English plays "the role of best supporting actress," while "the internal motivations for language change are at center stage."

[18] For a detailed account of the development of the English progressive see Huffines (1988b, 137-40).

[19] According to Louden (1992a, 273f.), sectarian Pennsylvania German usually does not employ *fer* in cases where English allows a gerund (*Ich gleich* [Ø] *Deitsch schwetze* 'I like to speak/speaking German'), but uses a mandatory *fer* whenever the English equivalent disallows a gerundial complement (*Ich bin reddi fer Deitsch schwetze* 'I am ready to speak/*speaking German').

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