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On the *Heimatbestimmung*
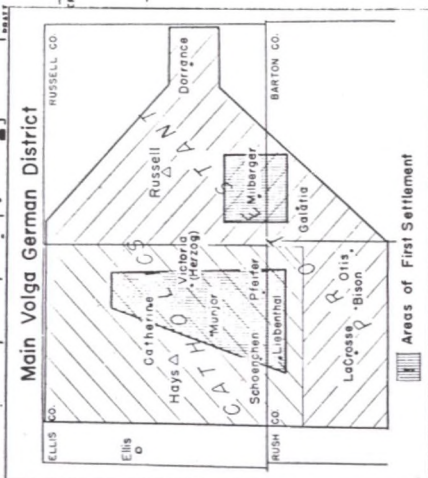## of the Ellis County (Kansas) Volga-German Dialects[1]

Beginning in 1875, large numbers of German Catholics from Russia settled on land purchased from the Kansas Pacific Railroad in Ellis County, Kansas.[2] They came from farming villages established in the 1760s along the Volga River at the invitation of Catherine the Great. The names of their new villages in Kansas reflected those of their Russian origin: Katharinenstadt, Herzog, Schoenchen, Pfeifer, Obermonjou, Liebenthal.[3] To this day each village prides itself on its German heritage, maintained in foreign environments for over two hundred years.

The German dialects taken to Russia in the eighteenth century by the forebears of these Kansans were preserved and passed down from generation to generation until the 1940s. The designation of English as the sole language of classroom instruction in the aftermath of the First World War took its toll.[4] The children of the 1920s, who spoke German dialects as their first language, found the transition to English in the classroom to be a bitter struggle. They were determined to give their children a better start. Thus the generation of the 1940s was taught English in the home. The Volga-German dialects of Kansas now face certain extinction.

This study is the search for a linguistic homeland—a *Heimatbestimmung*—for the dialects still spoken in the villages of Ellis County. Such a *Heimatbestimmung* should not be construed to mean that we will determine the points of origin for the ancestors of these Kansas-Germans in the German homeland. Rather, it is essentially a linguistic description of the Ellis County dialects in terms of the characteristics which distinguish the continental West Germanic dialects. The result will be a place on the German dialect map for these colonial dialects. The *Heimatbestimmung* is simply an initial step in unwinding the more involved development of these dialects. A more complete study will have to consider such factors as the immigration records both to Russia and to Kansas, the establishment of *Mutterkolonien* and subsequent *Tochterkolonien* along the Volga, as well as the numerous social influences which certainly played a major role in shaping the dialects as we find them today.[5]

The dialects spoken in Ellis County have often been simply described by the village name, e.g., Munjor dialect, Catherine dialect.[6] In some studies the

German Settlements in Kansas and the
Volga-German Villages in Ellis County

Main Volga German District

RUSSELL CO.

BARTON CO.

Russell

Dorrance

V O L G A

Milberger

Catherine
Hays △ △ Victoria
(Herzog)
Munjor
Pfeifer
Schoenchen
△ Liebenthal

C A T H O L I C S

Galatia

R O T E S T

LaCrosse ○ Otis
○ Bison

ELLIS CO.

Ellis
○

RUSH CO.

▨ Areas of First Settlement

dialects are claimed to have their origins in Bavaria, the Lower Rhine, East France, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, the Rhenish Palatinate, the Upper Palatinate, Swabia, Nürnberg, or simply southwest Germany.[7] Much of the evidence used in arriving at these conclusions was fragmentary, hearsay or mere speculation. A rigorous study of these dialects is therefore long overdue.

Data for our study were collected over a two-year period (1979-81) in direct, tape-recorded interviews with some sixty native informants in the original villages as well as in Hays, Kansas. The basis for each interview was a list of forty sentences in English based on the Wenker sentences utilized in German dialectology for one hundred years.[8] Longer sentences were divided into short phrases to facilitate the actual interview. The use of English often meant the loss of a particular vocabulary item in the original German of the Wenker sentences, but we found that there was no overall loss of data, rather an increase in the variety. English was used in the interviews for two very practical reasons: Few of the informants knew Standard German and for those who did the tendency to give the "correct" form, i.e., instead of the dialect form to give the High German equivalent, was a definite problem. The use of the original German sentences would have confused the majority of the informants and encouraged those who knew Standard German to avoid the dialect word.

Phonetic transcriptions of these recorded interviews were then compared with the results of similar research in Central Europe. The published materials of *Der Deutsche Sprachatlas, Der Deutsche Wortatlas* as well as the numerous individual dialect studies such as those by Schirmunski and Wiesinger were essential to our efforts.[9] We were also able to compare our results with the findings of studies conducted during the 1910s and 1920s on the Volga-German dialects in Russia and Germany. Von Unwerth interviewed Russian-German prisoners of war in a Westphalian camp during 1917.[10] On the basis of his interviews, using the Wenker sentences, he described three dialects from the Volga region: 1) Upper-Hessian (Spessart/Vogelsberg), 2) Hessian-Palatine (Worms/Odenwald), 3) West Palatine (Zweibrücken). Dinges, a Volga-German linguist at the University of Saratov, concurred in Von Unwerth's description of the three above-mentioned dialects on the Volga and added four more dialects to the list based on his own research in the Volga colonies: 4) South Hessian (Taunus/Aschaffenburg/Darmstadt), 5) East Middle German, 6) East Low German, and 7) the city dialect (*Stadtmundart*) of Katharinenstadt.[11] For the four West Middle German dialects Dinges offered a set of key words to help identify the dialects:

Upper Hessian: *broudər* 'brother,' *fɛst* 'firm,' *flāʃ* 'meat.'
Hessian-Palatine: *fɛʃt* 'firm,' *gəbrɔxə* 'broken.'
West Palatine: *fɛʃt* 'firm,' *gəbrɔx* 'broken,' *haus* 'house.'
South Hessian: *fɛst* 'firm,' *brūdr* 'brother,' *frtsēlt* 'told.'

Schirmunski concentrated his research efforts on the Black Sea Germans, but also discussed Dinges' findings. Schirmunski expounded the theory that some of the so-called South Hessian dialects were the products of developments in the Volga colonies which paralleled developments in the South Hessian dialect area. These dialects were thus not brought by colonists from Germany to the Volga, but derived via dialect mixture and leveling as occurred immediately to the south of Frankfurt in Germany. Schirmunski labels such dialects New Hessian.[12]

Sample sentences from the Ellis County dialects, based on the Wenker sentences:

Sentence 4. 'The good, old man broke through the ice with his horse and fell into the cold water.'

Obermonjou: dr gūdə aldə man is in ais gəbrɔxə mit dem gaul in kald vasr

Pfeifer: dr ald man is durçn ais gəbrɔxə mit san gaul un ins kaldə vasr gʃtertst

Schoenchen/
Liebenthal: dr gūdə aldə man is durç dn ais gəbrɔxə mit dn gaul un is in kaldə vasr nai gfalə

Herzog: dr gūdə aldə man is durçn ais gəbrɔx mitsamt sin gaul un in kaldə vasr gfal

Katharinenstadt: dr gūdə aldə man is durçs ais gəbrɔxə mit saim fērt un is ins kaldə vasr gfalə

Sentence 11. 'I'm going to hit you over the head with a wooden spoon, you monkey.'

Obermonjou: iç ʃlag dir ibr dn kɔp midəm hɛltsənə lɛfəl du af
Pfeifer: iç ʃlag dir ibr dn kɔp mit dn hɛltsənə lɛfəl du af
Schoenchen/
Liebenthal: iç ʃlag dir ibr ən kɔp mit nəm hɛltsənə lɛfəl du af
Herzog: iç ʃlag dir ibr dn kɔp mitn hɛltsənə lɛfəl du af
Katharinenstadt: iç ʃlag dir inəm kɔp mitnəm hɛltsərnə lɛfəl du af

Sentence 19. 'Who stole my basket of meat?'

Obermonjou: var hat man kɔrb gʃtōlə mit man flaiʃ
Pfeifer: ver hat man bæskət uv flāʃ gʃtōlə
Schoenchen/
Liebenthal: ver hat man kɔrb mit flaiʃ gərapt
Herzog: ver hat ma kɔrb mit flaiʃ gʃtōl
Katharinenstadt: ver hat mai kɔrb flaiʃ gʃtōlə

Sentence 24. 'When we got home last night, the others were already in bed and were fast asleep.'

Obermonjou: vi mr tsərik san kumə hun di andərə ins bɛt gəlēgən un gūd gʃlōfə

Pfeifer: vi mr tsərik san kumə gɛstərn hun si alə gəlēgən in bɛt un alə gʃlōfə

Schoenchen/
Liebenthal: vi mr tsərik san kumə varən di andərə ʃōn im bɛt un hun gʃlōfə

Herzog: vi mr tsərik sin kum han si in bɛt gəlēn un fɛst gʃlōf
Katharinenstadt: vi mr tsərik sin kumə gɛstərn ovənd di andərə varə ins bɛt un habə fɛst gʃlāfə

Sentence 26.	'Behind our house there are three beautiful apple trees with little red apples.'
Obermonjou:	hiniç unsrə haus san drai ʃēnə ɛbəlbēm mit glānə rōdə ɛbəljə
Pfeifer:	hin unsəm haus san ʃēnə ɛbəlbēm mit ʃēnə rōdə ɛbəl
Schoenchen/ Liebenthal:	hinər unsrə haus san drai ʃēnə ɛbəlbēm mit glānə rōdə ɛbəl
Herzog:	hiniç unsrə haus sin drai ʃēnə ɛbəlbēm mit glēnə rōdə ɛbəl
Katharinenstadt:	hintər unsər haus sin drai ʃēnə ɛbəlbēim mit ʃēnə rōdə ɛbəljə

Sentence 40.	'I drove with the people across the meadow and into the grain field.'
Obermonjou:	iç san mit di lait durç di ʃtɛp gfarə inə grīn fɛl
Pfeifer:	iç san mit dn lait ibr pastər gfarə ins vātsfɛld
Schoenchen/ Liebenthal:	iç san mit di lait ibrn pastər gfarə nai ins vātsland
Herzog:	iç sin mit də lɔit ibrs fɛld gfar nibr in vētsfɛld
Katharinenstadt:	iç bin mit di lɔit durçs fɛld gfarə un ins grīnə fudər

In what follows, we will make a step-by-step analysis of the Ellis County dialects in order to determine their probable linguistic origins. From the sample sentences one can readily determine that none of the dialects exhibits radically different forms. However, there are variations in lexical material as well as some striking phonetic differences. For instance, the occurrence of *fɛrt* vs. *gaul* 'horse' in sentence four; the distinction between *gʃtōl* vs. *gʃtōlə* 'stolen' in sentence nineteen; the vowel in *gʃlāfə* vs. *gʃlōfə* 'slept' in sentence twenty-four; or the vowel in *glānə* vs. *glēnə* 'small' in sentence twenty-six.[13]

Map (1) indicates the major isoglosses of the West Middle German (WMG) dialect area in Central Europe. It is clear that all of the Ellis County dialects find their origin in WMG territory. Why can we make this claim? First, the Ellis County dialects all exhibit the shift of West Germanic intervocalic voiceless stops to fricatives (k, t, $p > x/ç$, s, f,) as well as the shift of West Germanic t to *ts* in most other environments. Thus the dialects must originate south of line (1) on the map (Köln-Kassel), which delineates Middle German dialects to the south from Low German dialects to the north. Examples:

Ellis County Dialects	vs.	Low German	
iç		*ik*	'I'
maxə		*makə*	'to make'
vasr		*vatr*	'water'
tsait		*tīd*	'time'
kāfə		*kōpə*	'to buy'

Second, our dialects do not exhibit the Upper German shift of West Germanic p to *pf* in such words as *Apfel* 'apple' and *Pfund* 'pound.' Nor do we find the East Middle German reflex of word-initial West Germanic p realized as f, e.g., *funt*

Map 1. The West Middle German Area.

'pound,' except in the Katharinenstadt dialect. (By the end of our discussion it will be clear that the Katharinenstadt dialect is also a WMG dialect, although it has undergone a different development.) The Ellis County dialects must be located to the north and west of line (2) (Speyer-Kassel), which separates WMG to the northwest from Upper German to the south and East Middle German to the east. Examples:

Ellis County Dialects/ Katharinenstadt	vs.	Upper German/East Middle German	
ɛbəl		*apfəl*	'apple'
kɔp		*kɔpf*	'head'
punt/funt		*pfunt/funt*	'pound'
pɛfr/fɛfr		*pfɛfr/fɛfr*	'pepper'

Other evidence which supports the WMG area over South or Southwest Germany as the general linguistic homeland for these Kansas-German dialects includes the following: 1) Unstressed *ch* [ç] is retained in pronominal forms such as *ich* 'I,' *mich* 'me,' *dich* 'you, sg.,' *euch* 'you, pl.,' and *sich* 'third person reflexive.' This characteristic excludes most of the Upper German dialects including all of Bavarian, Swabian, and Swiss German as well as substantial portions of East Franconian and Alsacian.[14] 2) The formation of the diminutive is based on the typically WMG suffix *-chə/-jə* (the latter involving slight voicing or lenition). The distinctive plural form of this suffix often occurs as *-chər/-jər* as in *ʃēffər* 'little sheep'; many times, however, the plural sounds identical to the singular as in *fēgəljə* 'little bird(s)' or *ɛbəljə* 'little apple(s).' The form *ʃdigəljə* 'little story' evidences the double ending common to words ending in *g/k* in the WMG area near and to the north of the Main River. The diminutive ending points directly to the Palatinate and the South Hessian area as a potential linguistic homeland for these dialects.[15] 3) The differentiation in the loss of the reduced vowel ə in the prefix *ge-* of past participles in these Ellis County dialects also points to the South Hessian area and the Palatinate. Reduced ə is typically lost before spirants, e.g., *gfarə* 'driven,' *gʃlōfə* 'slept,' or *gsāt* 'said.' The vowel of the prefix is retained before stops and sonorants, e.g., *gəbrɔxə* 'broken,' *gədū* 'done,' or *gəlāfə* 'run.' This characteristic separates our dialects from the majority of Hessian dialects north of the Main River as well as the Lower Alsacian, South and East Franconian dialects bordering the WMG area to the south.[16]

An important isogloss also eliminates the northwestern part of the WMG area from consideration. This is indicated as line (3) on the map (just SE of Koblenz). The Ellis County dialects would be located to the south of this line in the Rhenish Franconian area, not in the Middle Franconian territory to the north. Examples:

Ellis County Dialects	vs.	Middle Franconian	
vas		*vat*	'what'
das		*dat*	'that'
uf		*up*	'on'
dɔrf		*dɔrp*	'village'

Further, the southwest (Lothringian) and the northeast (North or Low Hessian) of the Rhenish Franconian area do not exhibit the New High German diphthongs (*au, ai [ɔi]*) as reflexes of the Middle High German long high vowels (*û, î, iu*) as do the Ellis County dialects (see map [1], line [4]). Examples:

Ellis County Dialects	vs.	Lothringian/North Hessian	
haus		*hūs*	'house'
haisər		*hīsər*	'houses'
lait		*līt*	'people'
baisə		*bīsə*	'to bite'

The salient feature of the Hessian dialects north of Frankfurt (Central or Upper Hessian), the so-called *gestürzte* 'toppled' diphthongs (*ou, ei, oi* as reflexes of MHG *uo, ie, üe*), is also lacking in the Ellis County dialects which exhibit the regular long monophthongs *ū, ī, ī* (the latter also an example of the

widespread unrounding of front rounded vowels in Middle and Upper German).
Examples:

Ellis County Dialects	vs.	Central Hessian	
gp̄ud		*goud*	'good'
brūdr		*brourər*	'brother'
līb		*leib*	'dear'
mīd		*moid*	'tired'
kp̄ι		*koi*	'cows'

Map 2. Possible linguistic homelands for the Ellis County dialects: 1) South Hessian, 2) Hessian-Palatine, 3) West Palatine.

What remains as a possible linguistic homeland for our dialects is the Rhenish Franconian dialect area from Zweibrücken to Frankfurt. Since we can assume that the Ellis County dialects all represent dialects that left speakers behind on the Volga and since we can compare our findings with those of von Unwerth, Dinges, and Schirmunski, the Ellis County dialects (except that of Katharinenstadt) are limited to three possible linguistic homelands: 1) South Hessian, 2) Hessian-Palatine, 3) West Palatine (see map [2]).

Many vocabulary items in the Ellis County dialects support this general location as well. Examples: *kɔpvē* 'headache,' *laibvē* 'stomachache,' *petr* 'Godfather,' *gōt/gēt* 'Godmother,' *dɔxtərman* 'son-in-law,' *hingəl* 'chicken.' An apparent exception to this general rule is *ʃnerç* 'daughter-in-law,' which is today found in isolation in the extreme west of the WMG area. In this case the Ellis County dialects reflect their two-hundred-year isolation from developments in the home country and retain the historically older form rather than replace it with a version of Standard German *Schwiegertochter*.

Of the three possibilities listed above as potential linguistic homelands for the Ellis County dialects (South Hessian, Hessian-Palatine, West Palatine), Hessian-Palatine and West Palatine would at first glance seem to be excluded because of the characteristic palatalization of *s* in words such as *feʃt* 'firm' in the two dialects (see map [1], line [5]). None of the Ellis County dialects exhibits this feature. We would appear now to have reduced the possibilities to one, South Hessian. Indeed, South Hessian was found to be rather common on the Volga.[17] Certainly the village dialects of Obermonjou, Schoenchen, Liebenthal and Pfeifer would have no problem being classified as South Hessian dialects. The dialect of Herzog, however, while not palatalizing *s* in *fest*, evidences at least three major features which isolate it from the other villages and perhaps from South Hessian. 1) The Herzog dialect typically has *ē/ɛ* as the reflex of MHG *ei;* the other villages have *ā*. Examples:

Herzog Dialect	vs. Rest of Ellis County	
hɛm	*hām*	'home'
vēts	*vāts*	'wheat'
glēn	*glān*	'small'
sēf	*sāf*	'soap'

2) In Herzog the past participles of strong verbs have no ending; in the other dialects we find only the loss of final *n* with *ə* retained. Examples:

Herzog Dialect	vs. Rest of Ellis County	
gʃlōf	*gʃlōfə*	'slept'
kum	*kumə*	'come'
gfun	*gfunə*	'found'
gəbrɔx	*gəbrɔxə*	'broken'

3) The past participle of the verb *sein* 'to be' in the Herzog dialect is *gəvēn* 'been' as opposed to *gəvest* in the others. All three of these characteristics could support the classification of the Herzog dialect as a West Palatine dialect, quite distinct from the village dialects to the south (Obermonjou, Schoenchen, Liebenthal and Pfeifer) and that of Katharinenstadt to the north.[18]

What can we conclude about the dialect of Katharinenstadt? We know several important facts. Colloquially, the dialect of Katharinenstadt is said to be

closer to *Hochdeutsch*. The vocabulary of Katharinenstadt often exhibits lexical items not used in the other dialects which may reflect more influence from the written language, e.g., *fĕrt* instead of *gaul* 'horse,' or *bin* instead of *sin/san* '(I) am.' Another influence from the written language is undoubtedly the pronunciation of such words as *boum* instead of *bām* 'tree,' *glain* instead of *glēn/glān* 'small,' *habǝ* instead of *hun/han* '(they) have,' or *gʃlāfǝ* instead of *gʃlōf/gʃlōfǝ* 'slept.' We also know that the dialect of Katharinenstadt (later Marxstadt) on the Volga defied classification.[19] Dinges labeled it a Middle German city dialect (*Stadtmundart*). It is really no surprise that the dialect of Katharinenstadt in Ellis County reflects the linguistic situation of its namesake on the Volga.

We have thus arrived at a three-way classification of the Ellis County dialects: 1) Katharinenstadt dialect as a WMG *Stadtmundart,* 2) Herzog dialect as a possible West Palatine dialect, and 3) South Hessian dialects in Obermonjou, Pfeifer, Schoenchen and Liebenthal. As was noted earlier, this is by no means a definitive statement regarding the historical origins of the speakers in these villages. Much work also remains to be done in a thorough historical/comparative analysis of these dialects. We have simply classified these Kansas-German dialects with respect to German dialects in general. We have conclusively shown that most of the speculation concerning the dialects spoken in Ellis County was apparently based on insufficient evidence. All too often, a linguistic feature of these dialects, taken in isolation, might point to an origin in another dialect area, e.g., *dɔxtǝrman* 'son-in-law' would support a Swabian origin as well as a Palatine or a South Hessian. This type of reasoning has perhaps led many to conclude that the dialects are either mixtures of several dialects or have their primary origins outside of the Zweibrücken-Frankfurt area. We are confident that the phonetic and lexical evidence confirms our findings.

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Notes

[2] See especially Norman E. Saul, "The Migration of the Russian-Germans to Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly,* 40 (1974), 38-62.

[3] See J[ustice] Neale Carman, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas: I. Historical Atlas and Statistics* (Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas Press, 1962), pp. 72-73.

[4] See Frederick C. Luebke, "Legal Restrictions on Foreign Languages in the Great Plains States, 1917-1923," in *Languages in Conflict: Linguistic Acculturation on the Great Plains,* ed. Paul Schach (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 1-19.

[5] The nature of the *Heimatbestimmung* is discussed in Georg Dinges, "Zur Erforschung der wolgadeutschen Mundarten," *Teuthonista,* 1 (1924), 299-313; Werner Veith, "Pennsylvania Deutsch: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung von Siedlungsmundarten," *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung,* 35 (1968), 254-83; Viktor Schirmunski, "Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift,* 18 (1930), 113-12 and 177-88, and Viktor Schirmunski, "Deutsche Mundarten an der Newa. II," *Teuthonista,* 3 (1926/27), 153-65.

[6] La Vern J. Rippley, "Zur sprachlichen Situation der Rußlanddeutschen in den USA," in *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten: Teil I, Der Mittelwesten,* Deutsche Sprache in Europa und Übersee, Vol. IV, ed. Leopold Auburger, Heinz Kloss, and Heinz Rupp (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), p. 214.

⁷ Gerald L. Denning, "A Linguistic Identification for Kansas Volga German," *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics*, 2 (1977), 182-87; Glenn G. Gilbert, "The German Language in Ellis County, Kansas," *Heritage of Kansas*, 9 (1976), 8-16; Erich A. Albrecht, "Deutsche Sprache in Kansas," in *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten: Teil I, Der Mittelwesten*, p. 165; Rev. Alvin V. Werth, *Our Ancestors' Quest for Freedom Realized in Schoenchen Kansas* (Hays: Schoenchen Centennial Committee, 1979), p. 68.

⁸ For a discussion of these sentences see Walther Mitzka, *Handbuch zum Deutschen Sprachatlas* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1952), pp. 1-27.

⁹ Ferdinand Wrede, Bernhard Martin, and Walther Mitzka, eds., *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag; 1926 ff.); Walther Mitzka and Ludwig Erich Schmitt, eds., *Deutscher Wortatlas* (Gießen: Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag, 1951 ff.); Viktor M. Schirmunski, *Deutsche Mundartkunde*, tr. Wolfgang Fleischer (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962); Peter Wiesinger, *Phonetisch-phonologische Untersuchungen zur Vokalentwicklung in den deutschen Dialekten*, Studia Linguistica Germanica, No. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970); Peter Wiesinger, "Die Stellung der Dialekte Hessens im Mitteldeutschen," in *Sprache und Brauchtum: Bernhard Martin zum 90. Geburtstag*, Deutsche Dialektographie, Vol. 100, ed. Reiner Hildebrandt and Hans Friebertshäuser (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1980), pp. 68-148.

¹⁰ Wolf von Unwerth, *Proben deutschrussischer Mundarten aus den Wolgakolonien und dem Gouvernement Cherson*, Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1918, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, No. 11 (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918).

¹¹ Dinges, "Zur Erforschung . . .," pp. 312-13. See also Georg Dinges, "Über unsere Mundarten," in *Beiträge zur Heimatkunde des deutschen Wolgagebiets* (Pokrowsk: n.p., 1923), pp. 60-71.

¹² Schirmunski, "Sprachgeschichte . . .," p. 122.

¹³ For the transcription of dialect forms a phonetic orthography has been used, omitting some of the detail of a close phonetic transcription. Vowel length is indicated by a "-" above the vowel.

¹⁴ Schirmunski, "*Deutsche Mundartkunde*," pp. 448-53.

¹⁵ Schirmunski, "*Deutsche Mundartkunde*," pp. 479-80.

¹⁶ Schirmunski, "*Deutsche Mundartkunde*," pp. 166-70.

¹⁷ Dinges, "Zur Erforschung . . .," p. 312.

¹⁸ See Wiesinger, *Phonetisch-phonologische Untersuchungen . . .," II, 156-72; Schirmunski, Deutsche Mundartkunde*, pp. 389, 516; von Unwerth, pp. 65, 67, 68. While the classification of the Herzog dialect as West Palatine is a tentative one, it is also supported by non-linguistic evidence, namely several of the Herzog families trace their origin to the vicinity of Zweibrücken.

¹⁹ Dinges, "Über unsere Mundarten," p. 71.