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Language Maintenance and Shift among Mennonites in South-Central Kansas

The issue of language maintenance versus language shift has traditionally been a major concern for Mennonites due to their frequency of migration from one language and cultural area to another. An illustration of its importance can be seen in an article in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* entitled "Language Problem" which discusses the serious problems caused by language transition.[1] On the one hand, maintaining the language of the mother country has aided the Mennonites in their separation from the surrounding culture and strengthened their sense of nonconformity to the world, which is a major tenet of the Mennonite faith. On the other hand, however, some disadvantages to maintaining the mother tongue are evident as well. According to Harold S. Bender, one of the editors of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, maintaining the German language in the United States has prevented a program of active evangelism and outreach within the church and has imposed a necessary system of private or parochial schools.[2] The former is supported by a number of Mennonite pastors who welcomed the shift from German to English, so that they could evangelize and reach out to non-Mennonite groups. The latter, however, appears to overstate the case since private schools were established and maintained primarily for religious training and not for language instruction. The overstatement most probably resulted because the Mennonites, like most Germans from Russia, identified religious worship and training very closely with the German language. Furthermore, there have often been serious problems of internal adjustment between generations within the same household as well as between factions within the Mennonite Church. Liberals have advocated the abandonment of the mother tongue since if it has to go anyway, the sooner the better. Conservative groups, on the other hand, have attempted to maintain the mother tongue such as German by making claims of higher spiritual values for the mother tongue and of forfeiture of group principles and even faith in God in the case of the surrender of the mother tongue.[3] Of the various occurrences

of language shift in Mennonite history and the problems that resulted, the most controversial and noteworthy shift occurred in West Prussia in the eighteenth century as the Mennonites shifted from Dutch to German in church services. The change from colloquial Dutch to Low German occurred first and reportedly went rather smoothly. In the churches, however, there was much resistance to the introduction of standard German to replace standard Dutch. The first German sermon in 1762 was apparently not warmly welcomed by the congregation. A second sermon in German five years later was better received, and by the 1770s pastors regularly preached in German always interspersing many Dutch words into their German for the sake of understanding.[4]

The shift from German to English in the United States in the twentieth century has, unlike the above, proceeded more smoothly and with less controversy. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, one finds several instances of Mennonite scholars and professional organizations calling for maintenance of the German language in churches as well as in the homes.[5] By the 1930s, however, it had apparently become obvious to most Mennonites that the shift to English was inevitable and unavoidable since one finds little written in defense of language maintenance, and church congregations had already begun to introduce English into the services on a regular basis. The conflict resulting from the identification of religious worship with the German language was apparently resolved when the retention of the young people and evangelism and outreach programs were given priority over the preservation of the mother tongue. In short, the Mennonites came to the realization that religious principles were not language specific. They also realized that the training in standard German, which the young people had been receiving in German schools, was insufficient for them to understand the German sermons and the scriptural readings. Furthermore, if they intended to broaden their appeal beyond the Mennonite circles in an attempt to increase church membership, they would need to shift to the dominant language which was English. Unfortunately, the local German dialects, although still spoken almost exclusively in the home and in social intercourse, did not provide them with much learning support in their study of standard German. In fact, the dialects were most often viewed as an obstacle rather than an asset in learning and maintaining standard German.[6]

The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of language maintenance and shift patterns among six Mennonite groups in south-central Kansas. The geographical area of interest includes the following five counties: Marion, McPherson, Harvey, Reno, and Butler. These make up the main Mennonite district of Kansas. The division into six groups corresponds to the major German dialects spoken by the Mennonites of Kansas and include the following: 1) the Low German speakers from the Molotschna Colony in South Russia, the Crimea, and the Ostrog and Karlswalde areas of Volhynia; 2) the "Swiss" or Volhynian Mennonites; 3) the West Prussian Mennonites; 4) the Swiss Mennonites from the Canton of Bern; 5) the Amish; and 6) the Pennsylvania Germans from the eastern states. The latter two groups

have been listed separately because of major differences between them even though their dialects are basically the same.

Before one begins the actual discussion of language maintenance and language shift among the various Mennonite groups, it is necessary and helpful to define the terms used in this paper. As Sandra Kipp has noted in her recent work on language maintenance and shift in some rural settlements near Melbourne, Australia, Joshua Fishman used the terms language shift and language maintenance in 1966 as self-explanatory terms without a clear definition of either term.[7] She proceeded to define the terms in a manner which is also useful for this paper. She defines "language shift" as the "replacement of one language (L 1) by another (L 2) in all domains of usage, resulting in the loss of function of L 1."[8] Language shift will be used in this paper synonymously with "language transition" and will likewise refer to the process of shift rather than the accomplished fact. Language transition has been employed more often than language shift to describe the change from standard German to English in church services such as in the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church.[9] Kipp defines "language maintenance," on the other hand, as the "retention of L 1 in one or more spheres of usage, either together with or in place of L 2."[10] In the case of the Mennonites in south-central Kansas, German (L 1) has been retained together with English (L 2) but hardly ever in place of it.

The first and largest group of German-speaking Mennonites to be considered is the Low German group. They are to be found in nearly all the counties mentioned except for Butler. The majority of this group came from the Molotschna Colony in South Russia in 1874 and the years following while smaller groups came from the Crimea in Russia and Volhynia Province in Poland at about the same time. Their main areas of concentration are in the Hillsboro, Goessel, Lehigh, Buhler, Inman, and Newton, Kansas, areas. Their linguistic roots go back to West Prussia in the eighteenth century where they abandoned Dutch in favor of standard German and Low German. Their ethnic roots can be traced to sixteenth-century Holland which they left because of religious persecution.

A second group of Low German-speaking immigrants came from Karlswalde, Antonofka, and Ostrog, Volhynia, and settled in the Hillsboro, Newton, and Moundridge areas. Those who settled Lone Tree Township of McPherson County are often referred to as the Holdeman Mennonites or the Poles. They, like the Mennonites from the Molotschna, trace their linguistic roots to West Prussia for their Low German dialect and standard German. Some subtle differences exist in the pronunciation and lexicon of the various Low German dialects but they are for the most part mutually intelligible.

A second subgroup is the one from the Crimea which originated from the Molotschna Colony in southern Russia. There are fewer linguistic differences between the Low German of this group and that of the Molotschna Colony.

The church congregations within the Low German-speaking communities maintained standard German for the most part well into the

1940s and some as late as the 1950s. English services were introduced either during World War I or during the 1920s. The 1930s served as a transition period during which services were either bilingual or with some other arrangement such as German every third Sunday or once per month. During the 1940s German was used sparingly during the services as most congregations prepared for the final stages of the shift. In the Brudertal Church north and east of Hillsboro, the Tabor Church near Goessel, the Mennonite Brethren Church in Hillsboro, and the Zion Church near Inman there still were occasional services in German in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Those congregations which were on the fringe of the Mennonite district, which were not homogeneous, or which had a schism or internal problems within the congregation, shifted to English earlier than those who were ethnically, linguistically, and religiously homogeneous in the composition of their congregations. The transitions varied greatly in Sunday school due to the type of classes held. Those for young people tended to shift to English early in the 1920s or early 1930s while those for older people tended to maintain German well into the 1950s and longer. The summer schools in German likewise disappeared for the most part in the 1920s, but some continued as late as the 1940s since their reason for existence was primarily for German instruction and once the shift occurred, there was no longer a need for them. At Tabor College in Hillsboro instruction in German for religion courses was apparently continued well into the 1950s while the language of general communication was already English.[11] Neale Carman attributes some of this to the fact that Hillsboro is the Mennonite Brethren Church headquarters and that Canadian Mennonites of Russian-German descent have influenced the continued use of German as well.[12] Of the three largest church conferences the Mennonite Brethren Church appears to have resisted the shift from standard German to English the best, although in terms of religious conservatism, the Holdeman Church is more conservative than the Mennonite Brethren. Carman's contention that conservatism in religion has some relation to conservatism in language is partially supported by the evidence gathered in south-central Kansas.[13] The General Conference Mennonites, who are considered the most liberal, abandoned the use of standard German in church services earlier than the Mennonite Brethren and the Holdemans. In the case of the Mennonite Brethren and the Holdeman Church, however, the correlation between conservatism in church doctrine and language retention is less positive because of the Canadian Mennonite influence and the increased emphasis on German language instruction in the Mennonite Brethren schools. The Holdeman Church had no such outside influence, nor did they place great emphasis on German instruction in the schools.

With respect to the shift of the Low German dialects to English, there is again no correlation between conservatism in religion and the maintenance of the dialects. Carman in his book, *Foreign Language Units in Kansas,* rated the Goessel and Hillsboro areas and the area north of Moundridge as "super" in importance and estimated the "critical year" to be 1935.[14] At another point, however, he estimated that the critical

year for the Goessel area was as late as 1950.[15] He also noted that the Holdeman Mennonites north of Moundridge were teaching their children Low German as late as the early 1950s which compares well with the critical year given. Carman attributes their unusual language loyalty to the fact that they were disapproved of by other Mennonites and that they also adhered to a stricter church doctrine which resulted in further isolation.[16]

The second major group of Mennonites in south-central Kansas is the "Swiss" or Volhynian Mennonites. In the case of either Swiss or Volhynian the label refers to their ethnic or geographical and not their linguistic heritage. They began their migration in the seventeenth century from Switzerland and they settled first in Montbeliard, France, and the Palatinate of southern Germany before they went via Austria to their new home in Kotosufka, Poland, in the province of Volhynia. In 1874 they immigrated to the United States and settled in Moundridge, Pretty Prairie, and Kingman, Kansas. Their dialect is not Swiss German, as is popularly believed, but a Palatine dialect which they adopted while in the Rheinpfalz.

Standard German generally was retained until the 1940s for church services with the transition period occurring during the 1930s. 1935 marks the year of bilingual services. The schools such as the one at the Eden Church used standard German until 1917 after which time its use became negligible for the preservation of the language.[17] Sunday school classes, on the other hand, were conducted in German until the 1950s, and one informant remarked in the summer of 1981 that some German is still used in the classes for the elderly. However, the young people had long since shifted to English as they were unable to understand the sermons in standard German. Carman attributes this to the fact that people of various backgrounds lived in Moundridge and the young people married outside of their community at an earlier date than in other Mennonite communities.[18]

Compared to standard German the dialects of the Volhynian Mennonites were fostered much better than standard German. In 1950, for example, those born in the early 1920s preferred the dialect to English in social intercourse. Those born in 1930 knew some German but had difficulty with standard German because of the differences between dialect and standard language. As late as the summer of 1981 this writer found several men and women in their eighties and nineties who would rather speak the dialect than English. With the speakers of the next generation, however, one can already notice a decline in fluency and some impoverishment in the lexicon. The young people who are two generations removed can still understand the dialect but are unable to produce any utterances themselves. Carman estimated that the critical years for German in Moundridge and Pretty Prairie were 1935 and 1937 respectively.[19] Generally this seems to compare well with the Low German speakers, except for the Goessel area where he estimated the critical year to be 1950.

The third group is the West Prussian Mennonites who immigrated directly to the Elbing-Whitewater area of Butler County in 1876. Since

they did not experience the sojourn in Russia or Poland as did the other Mennonites, they came to the United States with different attitudes toward language. They generally preferred standard German to Low German unless they were dealing with household servants. Therefore, when they came to Kansas and Nebraska, they spoke primarily standard German with a few forms of Low German mixed in their speech. This reflects a change of attitude toward Low German of the Mennonites who remained in West Prussia until the late nineteenth century. While the second-generation Mennonites from Russia and Poland are generally proud of their Low German and attempt to foster it whenever possible, the second-generation West Prussian Mennonites were discouraged from speaking Low German and some were even forbidden to speak it at home. One finds similar linguistic situations among the sister group near Beatrice, Nebraska. They have preserved the standard German very well and many of those in their fifties and sixties still speak it even today with one another. Except for a few borrowings from Low German in their standard German, e.g., *er ji k* for *er ging* 'he went,' the dialect has already been lost. According to second-generation informants the shift from standard German to English in church services occurred approximately twenty years ago, which is probably an optimistic appraisal since the informants were speaking from memory and not from church records. Their reasons for shifting to English were the same as those of the other groups, namely, for the sake of the young people and so that the church could broaden its appeal.

The fourth group for consideration is the Swiss Mennonites from Canton Bern in the Whitewater area of Butler County. Unlike the so-called Swiss Mennonites in Moundridge, both the ethnic/geographical and the linguistic roots of this group are Swiss. They were a small group of fifteen to twenty families who settled in Butler County in the 1870s and 1880s. Being small in number and isolated linguistically among Low German-speaking neighbors, they shifted from standard German in church and their Swiss dialect to English much earlier than the other groups. Currently one finds very little retention of either standard German or the dialect among individuals of this group even if they are in their seventies and both the husband and the wife spoke the dialect in their youth. In fact, neither of the informants interviewed in 1981 could remember when they had last spoken the dialect.

The most conservative of all the Mennonites both in religious issues and language preservation are the Amish. The first Amish settlers came to Kansas during the 1880s from other states such as Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania and settled for the most part in Reno County near Hutchinson, Kansas. In the first years after their arrival in Kansas, they were a rather homogeneous group adhering strictly to the austere and simple life of nonconformity and pacifism. Today, however, there are at least two distinct groups of Amish in south-central Kansas. The more conservative branch known as the Old Order Amish or House Amish is located near Yoder and Partridge, Kansas, southeast of Hutchinson. Their mode of transportation is still the horse and buggy, and they have no electricity in their homes. It is interesting to note,

however, that they appear to be using more modern agricultural equipment and are not totally dependent on their horses as draft animals. According to the local bishop, they do not have a formal meeting place for church services, but meet every other Sunday in the house of one of the members, hence the label "House Amish." On alternate Sundays they apparently worship privately in their own homes. The language used in church service is a combination of Bible German and Pennsylvania German with some English loanwords as needed. They appear to have great difficulty with standard German, especially in conversation. This is primarily due to the fact that standard German is not taught in the local schools, nor do the Amish have their own schools as in Iowa and other states. The Amish children attend the regular public schools where the language of instruction is English. At home, however, they continue to speak Pennsylvania German almost exclusively. Their successful language maintenance can be attributed primarily to two factors: 1) the Amish continue to live in small closed and rural communities where they and Old Mennonites are clearly in the majority; 2) there are three generations living on nearly every farm. Although the grandparents usually live apart from the children and grandchildren in their own dwelling, they still interact with them daily and have assumed the responsibility for teaching the grandchildren Pennsylvania German. One grandfather remarked that he had noted some impoverishment of the dialect and influence from English in the speech of one of his grandsons, but when questioned about specifics, he was unable to provide any examples. The bishop admitted that English loanwords were becoming rather frequent in their worship services, especially in those contexts where they lacked a German word.

A second group of Amish is the so-called Beachy Amish, who have sometimes been described as one generation removed from Old Order Amish and who received their name from a theology professor whose teachings they adopted. One finds this group mainly in the Partridge area southwest of Hutchinson, Kansas. Being more liberal than the Old Order Amish, they have modern farm equipment, cars, and electricity. Linguistically they also speak Pennsylvania German among themselves, although it is evident that the young people are speaking more English and less Pennsylvania German. In church service they shifted from standard German to English during the late 1950s. The children are still essentially bilingual although an analysis of recent tape recordings indicates considerable impoverishment in the lexicon and extensive borrowing from English. In one case of two young adults in their late teens, from two different families, for example, they had considerable difficulty counting from one to twenty-one in Pennsylvania German as well as expressing themselves about objects and events from their immediate world around them. The father indicated that his family was speaking less Pennsylvania German since they had adopted two Spanish-speaking boys in 1977. So far the boys have not learned Pennsylvania German, but the father indicated that he did wish to teach them the dialect.

When comparing the two Amish groups, the evidence gathered thus far suggests that Pennsylvania German has been better maintained

among the Old Order Amish than among the Beachy Amish. The early shift to English for church services and the outreach program would suggest further that they, too, have resolved the conflict resulting from the identification of religion with the German language.

The last group of Mennonites to be treated is the Pennsylvania Germans who were more liberal than the Amish in religious matters, but who likewise immigrated to Kansas from the eastern states. Some known as Old Mennonites came as early as 1869, 1870, and 1871 and settled in Marion, Harvey, and McPherson Counties. Little is known about them except that some of them appear to have been the least loyal to German of all the groups discussed in this article. In the case of one Old Mennonite Church in Marion County, for example, the transition apparently occurred as early as 1900. Another group of Pennsylvania Germans in McPherson County made the shift some time between 1915 and 1938.[20] The late continuance of German in the latter case was attributed to solid German-speaking surroundings.[21] A third group arrived near Meridian in 1873 and was converted to the teachings of David Holdeman. The fact that the congregation was made up of speakers of Pennsylvania German and Low German apparently had an unsettling influence on the Pennsylvania German, and it caused this group to apparently abandon German in early twentieth century.[22] A fourth group founded an Old Mennonite Congregation near Hesston, Kansas, in 1878. According to personal accounts of individuals traveling in this area in early twentieth century, German was no longer in use by 1912.[23] A final group of Pennsylvania Germans are those in Yoder, Kansas, who are neighbors to the Amish. The older folks are, by their own estimation, still fluent speakers of the dialect and use it in their daily communication with the Amish. Some Old Mennonites have apparently intermarried with the Amish and have a close working relationship with them.

The general picture that one receives concerning the Pennsylvania Germans in south-central Kansas is that many of them shifted from German to English within thirty or forty years after they arrived in Kansas. This is true for not only standard German but their Pennsylvania German dialect as well. The one exception appears to be the Old Mennonites in Yoder who have received language maintenance support from the Amish.

From the preceding remarks about the six Mennonite groups one can draw the following tentative conclusions concerning the maintenance and shift of the German language among Mennonites in south-central Kansas: First, a comparison of the information gathered here with the research done on language maintenance and shift among other German-speaking groups and religious denominations on the Great Plains indicates that the Mennonites were only slightly more successful in maintaining standard German than, for instance, the Missouri Synod Lutherans.[24] Despite what Heinz Kloss calls the religio-societal insulation and pre-immigration efforts at "quality maintenance," which should have enhanced the maintenance of standard German, the matter of maintenance versus shift was viewed by educated Mennonites as a

language problem which should be solved as quickly as possible.[25] During the 1930s it became increasingly evident to church administrators that religion could survive even if the German language did not. This realization resulted in a language shift which began in the late 1920s and was completed in the late 1940s. A comparison of figures shows that at best this was only five to ten years longer than for the Missouri Synod Lutherans.

A second conclusion to be drawn is that the eventual shift from standard German to English in church probably resulted not so much from the anti-war hysteria of World War I as it did from a decision by the church congregations and conferences. Their motivation for doing so was to keep the youth in the church congregations and to broaden the appeal of the Mennonite church for evangelistic work. By 1930 it became obvious that the young people were not receiving enough training from the German schools, if they still existed, in order for them to understand the sermons and the scriptures. Secondly, for some of the churches such as that in Burrton, membership could be increased only by switching to the dominant language with the hope of enticing the spouses and friends to attend the Mennonite church.

A third conclusion is that the Mennonite dialects have been maintained longer and better than the dialects of other German-speaking groups on the Great Plains. From the data gathered so far it appears that the Mennonite dialects survived at least a generation longer and in the case of the Amish, two or three generations longer. Kloss appears to be on target when he says that withdrawal from the world, the building of a self-sufficient society of their own and the shutting themselves off from the dominant cultural and linguistic trends contributed greatly to the maintenance of the dialects.[26]

Fourth, the dialects of the Russian-German Mennonites have survived longer and are in better condition than those of the Mennonites from western Europe or the eastern states. Whenever the Russian-German Mennonites settled near the Pennsylvania Germans or the Swiss Germans, for example, the dialects of the former predominated while those of the latter were abandoned rather early in the twentieth century. The Mennonites from Russia were not only numerically superior, but they were also accustomed to living as a linguistic, cultural, and religious minority and surviving.

Fifth, if one were to rank the individual groups according to the amount of dialect or colloquial speech still spoken today the Amish would rank at the top of the list followed by the West Prussian Mennonites, the Low German-speaking Mennonites, and the Volhynian Mennonites. If, however, one were to rank them according to the quality of maintenance, i.e., resistance to linguistic acculturation and petrifaction, then the West Prussian Mennonites would probably rank higher than the Amish on the list. The former speak a colloquial form of German which is quite close to standard German. By means of formal instruction and extensive reading, they have managed to maintain their colloquial German at such a level that there is little impoverishment of vocabulary or restriction of function. The Amish, on the other hand,

having for the most part only the Bible as a written text, give evidence of extensive linguistic acculturation, particularly in the form of English loanwords. Heinz Kloss also reported a case of extreme petrifaction of the written language among the Amish in the United States as a result of isolation from the mother country.[27]

Sixth, if one examines the present condition of the dialects and the frequency with which they are spoken, it is possible to project a timetable for their disappearance. In another generation most of the dialects, except for Pennsylvania German, spoken by Mennonites in south-central Kansas will exist only as a substrata to English. There are currently isolated linguistic pockets of individual speakers who are attempting to maintain their dialects by promoting dialect use in social intercourse, but the dialects have already lost the function as a medium for group communication. The Pennsylvania German of the Old Order Amish in Kansas will most probably survive for at least another generation despite the degree of linguistic acculturation, petrifaction, and the number of English loanwords. One of the major reasons for its continued survival is the rate of use in the home and in church services. In both cases the older Amish insist on the exclusive use of German and take personal responsibility for teaching the children and grandchildren the dialect at home. The Beachy Amish, on the other hand, are currently in the state of transition. The shift to English will be essentially complete in another generation. Unlike their more conservative brothers, they no longer insist on the exclusive use of dialect, and the children consequently have difficulty in expressing themselves about even such topics as their immediate environment and current events. For linguists this is an opportunity to examine the actual process of shifting to English which occurred among most of the other German-American groups some thirty or forty years ago.

The Old Order Amish will be at a tremendous disadvantage in their fight to maintain their dialect. They are not only resisting a trend of linguistic acculturation which began a century ago, and which has brought about the demise of most immigrant languages in the United States, but they will also be trying to accomplish it with limited resources. They continue to transmit the dialect orally from one generation to the next without any instructional aids or written texts. Without the aid of written texts or the infusion of immigrants into these communities for linguistic renewal, it will be only a matter of time until the young people will no longer be able to use the dialect for necessary communication, nor will they be able to participate in the worship services. This will most probably result in a decision to shift to English for church services as the Beachy Amish did in the late 1950s. Once a shift in worship has occurred, the natural tendency will be to shift from the dialect to English as well. Thus far the church leaders have considered the language as important as the religious principles themselves, but once they decide that the principles are more important, the shift to English will occur very rapidly on all levels of communication. The fate of the dialect is tied directly to the language policy of the church.

In another generation the German dialects of the Mennonites will be rarely spoken and then only by individuals who have made an extraordinary effort to preserve them. For the Russian-German Mennonites the shift will be somewhat ironic since it appears that the United States without government pressure, except for the levying of taxes for establishing English-speaking schools, has accomplished more in the last century to produce language shift than Russia was able to do in the same amount of time from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[28]

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Notes

[1] Harold S. Bender, III, 290-92.
[2] Ibid., pp. 290-91.
[3] Ibid., p. 291. See also Walter H. Hohmann, "Transition in Worship," *Mennonite Life*, 1 (1946), 8.
[4] Hohmann, p. 8.
[5] J. John Friesen, *Die Deutsche Sprache und ihre Bedeutung* (Freeman: Pine Hill Printing, 1926), p. 38; Edmund George Kaufman, "Social Problems of Mennonites," Thesis Bluffton College 1917, p. 91; H. P. Peters, "History and Development of Education among the Mennonites in Kansas," Master's Thesis Tabor College 1925, p. 199.
[6] *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, 291; Peters, p. 198.
[7] "German Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Some Rural Settlements," *ITL: Review for Applied Linguistics*, 49-50 (1979), 52.
[8] Kipp, p. 52.
[9] Paul T. Dietz, "The Transition from German to English in the Missouri Synod from 1910 to 1947," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 22, No. 3 (1949), 99-127.
[10] P. 53.
[11] J. Neale Carman, "Language Transition Among Kansas Mennonites," an unpublished paper, Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas, p. 7.
[12] Ibid., p. 6.
[13] Ibid., p. 4.
[14] Vol. I (Lawrence: The Univ. of Kansas Press, 1962), pp. 189, 193. Carman defines "critical year" as one in which a community stopped using German in the majority of homes where there were growing children (p. 2).
[15] Carman, "Language Transition," p. 9.
[16] Ibid., p. 13.
[17] Ibid., p. 15.
[18] Ibid., p. 15.
[19] *Foreign Language Units*, pp. 189, 247.
[20] Carman, "Language Transition," p. 12.
[21] Ibid., p. 12.
[22] Ibid., p. 13.
[23] Ibid., p. 20.
[24] For the transition from German to English in the Missouri Synod see Paul T. Dietz, pp. 99-127.
[25] "German-American Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1966), pp. 206, 209.
[26] Ibid., p. 206.
[27] "German Folklore in America: A Discussion," *The German Language in America: A Symposium*, ed. and introd. Glenn G. Gilbert (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1971), p. 159.
[28] Carman, "Language Transition," p. 25.