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The Earliest Anglicisms in Texas German

Many people are unaware of the previous great strength of the German language in Texas. Countless thousands of Texans lived their lives until quite recently almost completely in German. There were scores of German settlements in which German was not only the home language but also to a great extent the official language of everything from baptismal certificates to grave-inscriptions. Only in the last decades, after surviving for over a hundred years, has the German language in Texas begun to decline, but the decline has been rapid, and with the current older generation, Texas German as a living language will die.

Not only did German survive in Texas for an amazing length of time, it remained astonishingly good German. This should be stressed, because when we concentrate on Anglicisms, it is only too easy to fall into the belief that Texas German is a comical hodge-podge of English and German—but such is not the case. Even the last speakers of German today, whose families have lived here for over a hundred years now, have a large German vocabulary. I think of this every time I visit a German church service, open the hymnbook and reflect upon the fact that the people present know every word of this book—much of it by heart—and the German Bible and Luther's Small Catechism. Against this background of pure High German known and used, the number of English words, while amounting to several hundred, is relatively small.

Thus forewarned, however, let us consider a random sample of the most common Anglicisms in present-day Texas German: *die Fenz, der Creek, der River, die Car, der Airplane, das Rope, der Belt, der Bucket, das Smokehaus, die Mosquito, der Store, fixen, mufen, gleichen* 'to like,' *sure, plenty.*[1]

The starting point for the present investigation was the question as to why certain English words are used and others are not. It is evident that the basic rule is "new words for new things," but the processes involved reveal themselves to be much more complicated and interesting. Even the category of "new things" breaks down right away into two major sub-categories, exemplified by *Mosquito* vs. *Car*—that is, on the one hand, things encountered in Texas which had not been known in Germany, and on the other,

103

new things which were not in existence a hundred years ago and which thus became known to the Texas Germans through the medium of English. But what about the other words, which at least at first glance do not seem to be new things: why do we hear *die Hosen* but *der Belt*, why *die Vorsteher* but *die Trustees*, *die Schule* but *der Store*, *das Feld* but *der Paster* 'pasture,' *die Giesskanne* but *der Bucket*? And in regard to the "new things" in Texas: Were there no German terms capable of describing them? To attempt to find answers to some of these questions, I have been searching early Texas German writings, looking for English words, Anglicized usage of German words, and Standard German usage where one might expect to find Anglicisms (an example of the latter would be *Eimer* for 'bucket'). The sources used have been early letters and travel reports (such as Ferdinand Römer's famous description of Texas)[2] and the early church records of the Wendish Germans at Serbin.[3]

In such word studies, each individual word has its own peculiar history, and tracing the usage of a single word can become a major undertaking. Within the limited scope of this article, we can only try to get some overview of the types of words first adopted from English and the processes at work. We are concerned with the interactions of English and German in Texas from the 1840s through the 1860s, but the developments outside this frame of reference cannot be ignored. Long before the German immigration into Texas, words like *Farm*, *Farmer*, and *Mister* had been taken into German to describe British or American things. Various "chronological strata" can be distinguished among them: a "Pre-American" (or "British") group (e.g., *Mister, Gentleman, Lady, Whisky*), and a "Pre-Texan" (or "Early-American") group (like *Farm, Farmer, Yankee*). A distinction must also be made between European German and American German: thus *Lady* is understood in Standard German, but *Fenz* only in American German. As the word *Fenz* also illustrates, many Anglicisms of Texas German are shared with so many other regions that we should call them American German. In some cases, English words that had been taken into Pennsylvania German or Missouri German, for example, may have found their way to Texas by way of individual German-Americans who came to Texas from those states or by way of correspondence. However, it is apparent from the early Texas writings that the great majority of Anglicisms of Texas German were adopted independently, although often with results spontaneously similar to those in other regions. Therefore let us return our attention to the early competition between English and German words in Texas.

The obvious first question in each case of adoption of an English word is whether the American item seemed so different from its German counterpart that the German word was not felt to be appropriate. For example, in regard to the appropriateness of certain German words, I used to think it was natural to use the English word *creek* in German rather than *Bach* (which I had learned as 'brook'), because "a creek is not a *Bach*." But did the old settlers have the same feeling? Furthermore, did people perhaps say *Bach* and *Zaun* for a while—maybe for the first generation—and then gradually replace them with *Creek* and *Fenz*? Was a *store* in Texas so different from a German store that it could not be called a *Kaufladen*? Were American *buckets* and *fences* so radically different? And how different can a *rope*

be? Surely such differences at times played a role, but any such judgment would obviously require thorough individual study. It has, for instance, been stated that *fence* (which was quickly Germanized to *(die) Fenz*, plural *Fenzen*) was used in German instead of the German *Zaun* because the reference was to barbwire fences, which were unknown in Germany. This, however, turns out to be false, since barbwire fences were similarly unknown in Texas at the time. A fence was normally a rail fence *(Riegelfenz)* or sometimes a stone fence *(Steinfenz)*, both of which were known in Germany and could readily be called *Zaun* in German.[4] We do find *Zaun* in the earliest Texas-German writings, but usually accompanied (and then replaced) by *Fence/Fenz*. The most primitive kind of fence was, however, quite different: the *brush fence*, made of piled-up branches and logs. I have found only two German references to this type of fence. In the one (Römer, *Kalender*, 1918, p. 25) it is not called a *Zaun* but a *Verhau* 'barricade,' and it evidently did seem very strange to the German. In the other (*Jahrbuch*, 1941, p. 27), the writer uses the "hybrid compound" *Reiserfenz*. Such a drastically different kind of "fence" (which English speakers today would hardly call by that term) may have caused the German translations to seem inappropriate. This situation may have helped the word *Fenz* to enter into German at first, but the fact remains that the word *Zaun* was applied to the common fences, i.e., it was not that German had no appropriate word.

In the case of *die Fenz*, however, as in many of the other words, we can see a major force working in favor of the adoption of English words. The early writings testify as to how the Germans, new to the frontier, had to learn many new skills of survival from the "Americans":[5] how to build your cabin, how to camp out before it is built,[6] what structures you have to build for your animals and how to build them, etc. We can picture the "American" trying to make himself understood to the German, pointing to objects and saying, "You need a *fence* like this, and a *pen* like this," emphasizing the key words, which then naturally tended to be picked up and passed on in German. These "key words in instructions" form one of a number of subcategories of what might be called "contact words": words which were crucial to the contact situations in which the German home world met the English outer world. In many such contact words, there is also an undeniable "handiness" or brevity of the English, which contributed to their adoption in German.

In searching the old records for Anglicisms versus correct German words, two surprising facts soon assert themselves. First, the earliest writers had an amazing ability at finding German words for almost everything. They did indeed call a creek a *Bach*, a fence a *Zaun*, and a bucket an *Eimer*. They said *Strang* or *Strick* for 'rope,' *Blockhaus* for 'log cabin,' *Kaufladen* for 'store,' etc. They knew that cotton was *Baumwolle*, that corn was *Mais*, and that a jury was a *Geschworenengericht*. They knew that a cottonwood tree was a kind of *Pappel*, they rather frequently used the world *Lebenseiche* for 'live oak.'[7] Thus, in the vast majority of cases, it is not true that a German word was not available or that the German word seemed inappropriate because of the differentness of the American item. Only in a relatively few "untranslatable" plant and animal names (e.g., *mosquito, water moccasin*) did the ability to use German words break down; but even here,

105

we find *Wasser-Moccasin, Klapperschlange* 'rattlesnake,' and even (but not frequently) *Baumwollenbaum* 'cottonwood tree.' This ability to find German terms for almost everything, which seems so striking at first, is, upon reflection, only natural and necessary when we remember that they often were writing to be understood by Germans who spoke no English—they *had* to find German expressions. Of course, since they were experiencing these things in English, they would frequently also include the English word, e.g., "ein texanischer Kaufladen (store) sollte eigentlich alles . . . enthalten" (Bracht, *Jahrbuch*, 1932, p. 21).[8]

The second striking fact from the old records is that, while German expressions for almost everything were available, certain English words do begin to be used almost immediately (at first alongside the German equivalent) and these oldest Anglicisms are precisely some of the most prominent among the current Anglicisms: such friends as *Fenz, Creek*, and *Store*.[9] This co-existence of the German and the English words has continued to the present day; the common usage of the English word usually does not mean that the German word is unknown. Most people know words such as *Bach, Zaun*, or *Kaufladen*, but they seem "bookish" to them.

But if the German words were known and used by the early settlers, why did the English words come in at all? The main answer is that the words taken from English were the various types of "contact words." They were the words that had to be used in dealing with the Americans. There was thus a necessity to use the English forms in some situations, but there was no such necessity to use German translations when talking German, since the Germans understood these essential English words. The simplest thing to do was to use the English forms of such words in both languages. It should be remembered that the ordinary German speakers had no vital interest in the frequently heard appeals for maintaining the linguistic purity of German. Their languages were purely practical means of communication; if *Creek* was understood in German (and Wendish), so much the better.

There was still another major category of contact words—and a much less obvious one—involved in the adoption of a surprisingly large group of English words (at least twenty), which contains words as different from one another as *Store, Creek*, and *Settlement*, and helps explain why these words were borrowed. It was not, as we have seen, because German terms were unknown or too different in connotation, but simply because these English words were used in place names. And just as place names like *Houston* and *Galveston* were retained in German, so too were *Rabb's-Creek, Comal-River*, and *Catspring Settlement*. While even these usages were sometimes translated into German, yielding *Rabb's-Bach* or *Comal-Fluss*, this was clearly impractical in the case of such proper names.[10] These English place names, which existed before the German immigration, had to be used by the new arrivals from the very outset, so that *Rabb's-Creek*, for instance, immediately became a standard vocabulary item for the people who moved into the area near that creek. And the frequent use of *Rabb's-Creek* or *Pinoak-Creek* brought the word *Creek* into such common usage that it displaced *Bach* even when used alone, meaning 'creek' in general. The development from *Comal-River* and *Buffalo-Bayou* to *der River* and *der Bayou*, as general terms, was naturally similar. There is another factor involved in

106

these cases, also: geographical terms—descriptions of the new country—naturally tended to be taken over from the new language, and here again these would be key words in the first contacts with the Americans (asking directions, etc.). Since there were no bridges, places like *Crump's Ferry* and *Catfish Crossing* were important geographical features, and frequent references to them brought in these English words. *Das Settlement* came in because of the common usage at the time of such place names as *Catspring Settlement* and *Lewis Settlement*. *Das County* was adopted for similar reasons, and also because it was a rather different political unit (nevertheless, it is surprising to see how often the German words *Grafschaft*, and even *Kanton* and *Kreis*, were used for 'county').[11] A side-arm of a creek is called a *branch*, so place names like *Wolfs-Branch*, which were very common as designations of geographical location at the time, introduced *die Branch* into German (but only in this special sense; for 'branch of a tree,' the German word *Ast* was retained). *Die Branch* was, from the earliest usage on, feminine, but the reason for this gender is not readily apparent. In most cases, the gender is due to the German equivalent or to the ending of the English word, thus *der Creek* because of *der Bach*, and *das Settlement* because German words ending in -*ment* are neuter.[12] Speakers of German, of course, are unaware of these mental processes, which usually guide them intuitively to the attachment of the "correct" gender ("correct" in that they consistently use the same gender for the word, and in that the gender agrees with that assigned the word by other German speakers).

We might not realize, at first, that such less "geographical" words as *der Store* and *die Mill/Mühle* (i.e., 'sawmill') and *die Gin* (or, more Germanized, *Ginne*) 'cottongin,' belong in this same "place-name" category, but such terms as *Krueger's Store, Roeder's Mill*, and *Schmidt's Gin* were also key geographical place names. Names like *Hortontown* brought in *Town* in the specialized sense of 'business center of the settlement,' so that we may read "sie wohnt in Serbin-Town," but this usage was rare, and *Town* did not displace *Stadt* as the common word.[13] Even these place names were naturally at first often not understood by the German speaker, so that we find (in the Serbin records) such renderings as *Rauen Top* (for 'Round Top') and *Possum Ben* (for 'Possum Bend'), while *Branch* is spelled *Bränsch*, then *Bränsh* and *Bransh* before reaching the correct spelling after eight years. Such place names were obviously being reported orally to the pastor (John Kilian), who did his best to reproduce the strange new words in writing.[14]

Another such adoption of Anglicized usage via place names produced the usage of *Platz* in the sense of 'farm,' from names like *Fordtran's Place*, which was translated to *Fordtrans Platz*. This illustrates another general principle: if there was a German word available which was similar in sound and meaning to the English contact word, the German word was usually expanded ("loan-shifted") into the new meaning, rather than borrowing the English word (other examples are *Meile, Fuss, Acker*).

The two most unusual geographical features of the Texas landscape were the vast, tree-less *prairies* and the contrasting, heavily forested *bottoms* (river bottom lands), which dominated the countryside and the lives of the inhabitants. In these the geographical uniqueness and awesomeness, combined with their frequent use as place names (e.g., *Houston Prairie* or

Brazos Bottom), caused the adoption of the English words. The Germans had already had a Germanized form of *prairie* (*Prärie*, accented on the second syllable) in their "Pre-Texan" Anglicisms, but *bottom* caused a good deal of groping at first, in the search for a German term: *Thalsohle* (with the *h* of the nineteenth-century spelling), *Ufergrund, Flussgebiet, Flussniederung.* However, these German equivalents, though often used, were, from the outset, almost always accompanied by the English term, and very quickly practicality dictated the use of the English word alone: *der Bottom*, which later became *der Botten.*[15]

In the realm of weather, the Texas *norther*, which without warning sent the temperatures from the 80s to below freezing, impressed itself on the German mind and vocabulary more than anything else (in contrast, the oppressive heat is rarely mentioned). While we frequently find the term translated as *Nordsturm* and *Nordwind*, the English word—as we would expect—was soon adopted: *der Norther* (*Norder*).[16]

In regard to the assimilation of English words into German the old German handwriting usually gives us crucial information because it often used a different style of writing for foreign words than for German ones.[17] Traditionally, German was written in the elegant old *deutsche Schrift* (which has now been given up in Germany), but "Latin" handwriting (such as we use for English and as is now generally used in Germany) was also used for special effect, such as the setting-off of proper names and foreign words (similar to our "italics" in printing). The English words adopted into German tended, of course, to become more and more Germanized in the course of time, taking on German pronunciation and inflection (e.g., *die Gin* becoming *die Ginne*, with Germanized plural *Ginnen*), and the final stage of assimilation was reached when the word was written in German handwriting, showing clearly that the word was no longer felt to be English. This differentiation in handwriting consequently gives us a remarkable insight into the linguistic feeling of the writer and the history of the individual word. Thus, in relatively recent letters (from the 1960s), one reads *Stor* 'store,' with Germanized prununication (i.e., with initial *sht*-sound) and spelling, but still in English writing, showing it still to be perceived as English, despite a century of everyday usage. Contrariwise, *mufen* 'to move' has received the final blessing of being written in German handwriting, clearly indicating that it is felt to be a German word. The distinction in handwriting was made even in the parts of a "hybrid compound" word, like *Storehalter* or *Schwein(e)pen*; the German part is in German letters and the English part in Latin letters. The same distinctions could also be made in printed works, using *Fraktur* (or "Gothic") vs. Latin type; however, the Texas-German newspapers unfortunately generally used *Fraktur* for everything.[18]

English and German words often are very similar in sound and meaning, for example, *Meile/mile, Interesse/interest, Korn/corn.* Very frequently, the borrowing of an English word or the Anglicized use of a German word involves a "merger" of two such forms. Since the spelling of an English word may be Germanized (often unwittingly), as in the example *Stor*, it is often only the Latin or German handwriting which informs us of the perception of the words as English or German. Thus, if we found *Korn* written in

Latin letters, we would know the writer meant the English word *corn*, and had simply misspelled it.

The just-mentioned *mufen* 'to move one's dwelling' is one of the best-known modern Anglicisms, and yet one of the most puzzling. It hardly ever occurs in the early writings, so it evidently belongs to a later stratum. However, a good deal of light is shed on the matter by one of the early writers: "Von dem Amerikaner heisst es, er *moved* ['moves'], d.h. er zieht weiter in die Einsamkeit, sobald er den Rauch aus seines Nachbars Schornstein aufsteigen sehen kann" (*Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 29). That is to say, "movin' on" was an American frontier custom.

The Germans naturally had to deal in *dollars* and *cents* and *acres* and *feet*, etc. when they came to America. Such units of measurement and currency account for many of the oldest loanwords. But here, too, each word has its own development. *Dollar* was readily identified with the German *Thaler* (again, with the *h* of the nineteenth-century spelling); the two words sound very much alike, and even their monetary value was roughly the same. The similarity of *dollar* and *Thaler* is an example of the "merger" situation mentioned above; at first *Thaler* was used in the sense of 'dollar,'[19] but soon the English word won out. However, the unchanged German plural form (as in *500 Dollar*, which is the modern Standard German usage) competed with the English *s*-plural for many years and finally replaced it. The logical German mind did not take to the rather absurd symbol $, commonly using rather *Doll.* or *D.* (e.g., Luhn, *Jahrbuch*, 1925, pp. 36 f.). *Cent* had no ready German equivalent or translation; we might expect to find *Pfennig* 'penny,' but do not. The English word was borrowed, given German pronunciation (i.e., initial *ts*-sound) and gender (*der Cent*). As in the case of *Dollar*, for a long time the English *s*-plural competed with the Germanized unchanged plural, until the latter won out (e.g., *25 Cent*). Reckoning in *bits—two-bits* '25 cents,' *four-bits* '50 cents,' etc., has always struck a nostalgic chord within me, and *zwei-Bit, vier-Bit* were always among my favorite Texas Germanisms. Not surprisingly, these terms were used very much in early Texas, and we find a few such Germanized usages in the early writings, e.g., "alles kostet zwei Bit(s)," (*Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 20), usually with an explanation that a bit is the eighth part of a dollar.

As with *dollar*, the English word *mile* had a German equivalent, *Meile*, which, however, was equivalent in length to four or five English miles (varying from one German state to another), so that there was a bit of a problem with the meaning. Contrary to the *dollar/Thaler* merger, which produced a Germanized *Dollar*, in this case the German word, *Meile*, almost immediately carried the day. The oldest writers did have to say *englische Meilen* because of the great difference in distance, but soon this distinction was no longer necessry, a *Meile* being taken to mean the English distance. In all these cases it is striking to note that the language usage settled on almost immediately by the earliest immigrants has been maintained with few changes to the present.

The German terms *der Fuss* and *der Zoll* were commonly used units of measurement and thus served as ready translations for *foot* and *inch*, and in these cases (as with *Meile*) the English words were not taken into German. The situation was similar for *das Pfund* and *die Unze*, which served for

pound and *ounce*, but the German *Elle* was only rarely used for *yard*; instead, from the very beginning, *die Yard* was used. *Die Gallone* was used in German to translate the English *gallon*, possibly pre-dating the Texas era. However, *pint* and *quart* were new and were immediately adopted (as feminines, like *die Gallone*).

A unit of measurement that was very important in early Texas was the *league* of land (4400 acres, originally from the Spanish); here the German usage vacillated between the straight use of the English word and the "loan-shift" of the German word *Liga*, which meant 'league' in the sense of 'society' or 'union.' Similarly important was the *grant*, which was sometimes translated as *Landschenkung* or *Landbewilligung* (*Jahrbuch*, 1927, p. 32), but, not surprisingly, usually simply adopted as *der Grant*. The adoption of these words, again, was aided by their use in place names (e.g., *Horton League* or *Fisher-Miller Grant*).

The most common term of land area was, of course, the *acre*, which had a German cognate in *der Acker*. The latter had as its normal primary meaning 'tilled field' (plural *Äcker*), but it was also an old, fluctuating unit of area (plural *Acker*, as in *50 Acker*) quite similar to *acre*, and could be specified as *englische Acker*. In American German, however, *Acker* became so widely used as the term of measurement ('acre'), that it was no longer used for 'tilled field' (for which, then, *Feld* was employed).

While most of the early immigrants were rural people and thoroughly acquainted with German farm nomenclature, a few farm words were immediately adopted from English, for reasons already noted. While sometimes the items were new or different, it was mainly because the words were "key words" learned from the Americans, sometimes aided by the fact that some of them were shorter ("handier") than the German equivalents. The American farm had to have a fenced-off area around the house because the cattle were allowed to roam free, giving rise to *die Yard* and *die Yardfenz*. But the newcomers were instructed that if they kept the calves in a *pen*, the cows would not stray too far; thus, we find *die Pen* (later Germanized to *Penne*), *Kälberpen*, and also *Schweinpen*.[20] Also new was *das Smokehaus*; some early reports used *Räucherraum*, but only rarely. *Corncrib* became *die Kornkrippe*, or just *Krippe*, which for many people then became the common word for 'barn.'

The fact that the lumber for building had to be cut at *die Mill* (*Mühle*), which was run by Americans, resulted in another contact situation, which helps account for the early use of *Logs*, *Boards*, and *Frame* (as in *Framehaus*). The "instructions" factor must have also been at work here, because the Germans had to learn how to build their cabins from the Americans.[21] The peculiarities of the cabin would also account for the adoption of such terms as *die Halle* 'hall(way),' originally a kind of 'breezeway,' and *die Gallerie*[22] 'porch, gallery' (the latter being the more common Texas-English word at the time). These last two words are again "loan-shifts" of old German words to slightly altered meanings. Although *Logs*, *Boards*, and *Frame* were used almost immediately, in these cases the German words (*Baumstämme* or *Bäume*, *Bretter*, *Holz-* or *hölzern*) always continued to compete (as opposed to the "Creek/Fenz" category), and many other English building terms were never used (e.g., we do not find *shingles* or *beams*, only

110

Schindeln and *Balken*). I certainly would have expected to find such a technical term as *penny* in *10-penny-nails* borrowed, but for years only the German *10-Spänner-Nägel* was used. (I only found the term in the Serbin records.)

In the same way that English must often have been necessary in dealings at the sawmill, it must have frequently been so with other commercial transactions. "Store-bought items" could be considered another sub-category of contact words, accounting (at least in part) for words like *Bucket, Belt,* and *Rope.*

Another very different category, which shall only be briefly mentioned here, consists of what might be called "Cowboy and Indian" terms. Most of these (including *der Cowboy* and *der Indianer,* themselves) pre-date the immigration to Texas: e.g., *die Rifle, der Mokassin, der Skalp, die Squaw, der Halfbreed.* A few are apparently more specifically Texan: *das Bowie-Knife (Bowie-Messer), der Lasso, der Mustang, das/der Palaver.* Most of these words, however, soon passed out of the Texas-German vocabulary again, as the Indian era passed.[23]

Political subdivisions and public offices form a large category of words which we would only expect to be borrowed into German, and which shall not be dealt with here, except to note (as we have seen in the case of *county*) that German words were used in a surprising number of instances: *Mayor* alternated with *Bürgermeister, Stadträthe* with *Councilmen, Friedensrichter* with *Justice of the Peace.*[24] There are many other interesting members of this category, but let me mention only the Texas Rangers, which led to *der Ranger* (sometimes with German plural without *-s*), but for which Römer found (*Kalender,* 1912, p. 17) an excellent German translation: *Grenzjäger* (which in both older and modern German has connotations approximating those of the U.S. Marine Corps!).

I have long been acquainted with *die Trustees* as church officials, but I would have assumed it to be one of the later borrowings from English. It was surprising, however, to find *die Trustees* in the oldest Serbin records— and only this word in English, all the other offices and church terms in German. But the pre-Texas Serbin records have no similar office, only the *Vorsteher* 'elders.' Then it became apparent that when (in Texas) the church purchased land, borrowed money, or otherwise entered into legal transactions, it was the trustees who signed for the church. That is to say, Texas law required the institution of trustees, and with the office came the word. The general category represented here is that which we might call "legal technicalities," implying more than just a new legal term, but rather also the underlying necessary legal action. Another important member of this group is *der Deed.*

There is much more that could be said about the usage of every word that has been discussed here, and there are many words which have not even been mentioned. However, most of the major categories of the earliest Anglicisms have at least been touched on, as well as the principal factors tending to encourage the use of Anglicisms by the old settlers. The primacy of the category of "contact words" and its sub-category "place names" has been demonstrated. It should also be noted that the earliest Anglicisms are almost without exception nouns—as contact words and "new things" would

111

naturally be. In contrast, the now common verbs, adverbs, and adjectives (e.g., *gleichen, plenty, sure, pink*) are completely lacking; they represent a later group, whose incorporation is yet to be explored.

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Notes

1. The articles are usually appended to the Anglicized nouns because they illustrate the gender. There have been many treatises dealing with Anglicisms in various forms of American German, but—although there is a great deal of common ground—only a few based on Texas German, e.g., Glenn Gilbert, "English Loanwords in the German of Fredericksburg, Texas," *American Speech* 40 (1965), 102-112; Gilbert Jordan, "The Texas German of the Western Hill Country," *Rice University Studies*, 63, No. 3 (1977), 59-71. The processes involved, and even to a surprising extent the very words themselves (e.g., *fence*), apply also to the other immigrant languages in America; see, for example, Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," *Language* 26 (1950), 210-231; also the literature cited throughout Gilbert's article.

2. As reprinted (in excerpts, in the case of longer works) in various issues of the *Kalender* (later *Jahrbuch*) *der Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* (hereafter referred to as *Kalender* or *Jahrbuch*), which has been a most valuable resource for this study. Besides excerpts from Ferdinand Römer's *Texas* (Bonn: Marcus, 1849), those I will cite are mostly from Viktor Bracht's *Texas in Jahre 1848* (Elberfeld: Bädeker, 1849), and F. W. Luhn's *Bericht über seine Erfahrungen in Texas* (Itzehoe: Schönfeldt, 1849). Although Römer's book is also available to me in the original, Bracht and Luhn are not; for the sake of uniformity, I will cite all three (and a number of others) as reprinted in the *Kalender/Jahrbuch*. I have also made extensive corroborative comparisons in the original printings of several other early sources (e.g., Solms-Braunfels, Ehrenberg, Scherpf), which I hope to use at a later time.

3. Serbin Records, Archives of the Texas District Office of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Austin, Texas. The Texas Wends, who immigrated in 1854, were a bilingual group; their home language was at first mainly Wendish (Slavic), but soon became mostly German; however, German always predominated as their written language, and the Serbin records are nearly all in quite good German. See George R. Nielsen, *In Search of a Home: the Wends (Sorbs) on the Australian and Texas Frontier*, Birmingham [England] Slavonic Monographs, No. 1 (1977).

4. See the older editions of the encyclopedia *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, (e.g., 6. Aufl., 1908 ff.), under *Zaun*.

5. From the earliest times (e.g., Römer, *Jahrbuch*, 1926, p. 59), down to the recent past, the Texas Germans have regularly referred to "Anglos" as *Amerikaner*. The more exact term *Anglo-Amerikaner* is confined to a few literary instances.

6. Note *das Camp, campieren, campen, kämpen*, all common in the early writings.

7. Most of these words can be commonly found in the early writings; see, for example, *Kalender*, 1915, pp. 24 ff. (Römer), and *Jahrbuch*, 1934, pp. 19 ff. (Bracht).

8. Actually, we should distinguish two basic types of readers for whom the early writings were meant: the Germans in Germany, to whom such words as *Store* and *Fenz/Fence* were unknown and had to be translated or explained, and those in Texas (or America, generally), to whom the words were very quickly familiar. In the latter case, adding the English contact word was often a necessity: if a person was writing his relatives, for instance, and telling them how to get to a certain place, they had to be told how to ask about a certain creek, how to interpret the word "Store" on a sign, etc.

9. But not, however, *gleichen, fixen, sure,* and *plenty,* which do not appear at all in the early writings. These represent a completely different category: a later stratum, which will not be treated in this article.

10. At times even the attributive part of the name was translated; *Bären-Creek* 'Bear Creek,' *Viermeilen-Creek* 'Four Mile Creek,' and *Zauberberg/Zauberfelsen* 'Enchanted Rock' were fairly common, and Römer (*Texas,* p. 7) even has such as *Dreieinigkeits-Fluss* 'Trinity River.' The general importance of place names in the propagation of English words is vividly demonstrated in Karl Solms-Braunfels' *Texas* (Frankfurt am Main: Sauerländer, 1846), where,

after a first explanation that *Creek* means 'Bach,' etc., the regular usage is *Creek* in place names but *Bach* as common noun.

11. *Kanton* is common in Bracht, (*Jahrbuch*, 1932, pp. 16 ff.); Römer (*Jahrbuch*, 1926, pp. 58 ff.) uses mostly *Kreis*, but also *Kanton*.

12. The reasons for the German gender have been much discussed in the linguistic literature; see, for example, Michael Clyne, *Perspectives on Language Contact* (Melbourne: Hawthorn, 1972), p. 15, and the references given there.

13. However, the English idioms *in town* and *to town* later gave rise to the common Anglicized phrases *in Stadt* and *nach Stadt*, and the generalized English use of *town* to mean also 'village' must have been decisive in the similar usage of *Stadt* in Texas German, leading to the loss of the word *Dorf*.

14. See *Jahrbuch*, 1943, pp. 72 ff. ("Das Konto-Buch eines Pionier-Geschäftsmannes"), for many similar instances of grappling with English words: *"weid Vine," "drayd Appels,"* etc., and names like *"Haneri Galhuhn"* ('Henry Calhoun').

15. The majesty of the prairies and the bottoms finds frequent expression in the early sources. Regarding the bottoms, see Römer, (*Jahrbuch*, 1929, pp. 53 ff.), where we also see the characteristic rapid shift from German descriptive renderings like *Thalsohle* to simply *der Bottom*. As to the prairies, see Römer (*Kalender*, 1915, p. 28) and Charles Sealsfield's famous tribute to the endless, awesome beauty of the Texas prairie in *Die Prärie am Jacinto* (a part of *Das Cajütenbuch* [Zürich: Schulthess, 1841]). The prairies and bottoms were often impassable in wet weather and the cause of great vexation; also, the common prairie fires were a constant threat, but they offered a grandiose spectacle, especially at night, when they lit the heavens (*Jahrbuch*, 1941, p. 31).

16. For examples of the words used and for descriptions of the terror of the norther, see Römer, (*Kalender*, 1914, p. 61), and Kapp (*Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 23); in the latter, we even learn: "beim Norther missräth alles Brod in ganz Texas" ('when a norther comes, all the bread in all Texas is ruined [fails to rise]').

17. My experience is based mainly on the writing practice of Pastor Kilian (in the Serbin records) and that of my mother-in-law, Emma Zoch Herbrich (a century later). I have also compared the Library of Congress manuscript of Gustav Dresel's *Tagebuch*, where the same distinctions are made, but not so rigorously (an English word used repeatedly may, in later instances, be written in German script). Dresel's first mention of *Alligator*, for instance, is in Latin script, showing that he considered the word to be English (it is now common in Standard German).

18. Römer's *Texas*, for instance, makes the distinction, putting English words in Latin letters, but generally only on first occurrence. In the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* reprints, however, everything has been put into *Fraktur*.

19. Cf. *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 17: "Ich will jetzt statt Dollar Thaler schreiben, hier versteht man unter Thaler immer Dollar" ('I will now write Thaler instead of Dollar, here everybody takes Thaler to mean Dollar').

20. For an excellent general description of the frontier Texas farm, using most of these words, see *Jahrbuch*, 1925, pp. 38 ff. (Luhn).

21. Luhn (see note 20) also gives a good description of how to build a log cabin, where most of the following building terms can be found. Solms-Braunfels, *Texas*, pp. 91 ff., has a similar description, but uses no English words.

22. Early nineteenth-century spelling; later *Galerie*.

23. Most of these can be found in *Jahrbuch*, 1933, pp. 59 ff. (Römer). They are also common in such "literary" Texas German as Sealsfield's *Cajütenbuch* (see note 15).

24. Luhn (*Jahrbuch*, 1925, p. 31) gives a typical mixture; Römer (*Kalender*, 1914, p. 19), discussing an election of county officials, uses German words for all the offices, appending (at first mention) the English terms in parentheses. The terms were, of course, basically English, the offices being required by Texas law.