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Victoria (Herzog) Variety of Volga German in Ellis County, Kansas

1 Introduction: Historical background

The variety of German still spoken by elderly members of the community of Victoria in Ellis County, Kansas, derives from the dialects spoken by colonists from primarily West Middle German states who began settling in the Russian Empire beginning in 1763. The Volga German colonies that were established on both sides of the Volga River in the mid-18th century developed their own distinctive varieties that have been the subject of much investigation (cf. Berend, Dinges). When the migration of Volga Germans to the New World began in the mid-1870s, Kansas became the destination of numerous groups of Catholic Volga Germans. Recruited for settlement by both the Santa Fe and Kansas Pacific Railroads, the scouts of these Catholic Volga Germans as well as some Protestant Volga Germans opted for land in west central Kansas near the right-of-way of the Kansas Pacific Railroad and began establishing settlements in Ellis, Rush, Barton, Russell and nearby counties beginning in 1875.

The largest and most important of the Volga German villages in Ellis County, located originally one-half mile north of the English settlement of Victoria near the tracks of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, was Herzog (on early maps the name Hartsook appears). With its dominant landmark St. Fidelis Church, the "Cathedral of the Plains," completed in 1911, the community remains today one of the best known of all the German settlements in Kansas. Incorporation of both communities as Victoria in 1913 (the earlier English settlers had left in the late 19th century), however, erased the German name of the town from the roadmap.

The original Volga German founders of Herzog/Victoria left Saratov, Russia, on October 24, 1875, and landed at the port of Baltimore, Maryland, on November 23. Traveling on by train, the group arrived in Topeka, where they spent the winter months. On April 8, 1876, the settlement of Herzog was established and soon the settlers began erecting dwellings on the east bank of Victoria Creek. A second large group of nearly 300 immigrants, primarily from Herzog in Russia, arrived on August 3, 1876. A third group arrived on September 15, 1878. Smaller groups continued to arrive until the period of the First World War. By the end of the 19th century, the population of the combined community of Herzog/Victoria hovered around 500-600 persons, most of whom can be assumed to have spoken the Herzog variety. By 2016, the population of Victoria is generally estimated to be around 1,500 persons, of whom approximately 40 are considered to "speak German in the home" by the American Community Survey (www.towncharts.com/Kansas/Demographics /67671-Zipcode-KS-Demographics-data.html). Other Volga German villages in the area have actually lost population. Victoria's proximity to the county seat of Hays and to Interstate 70 as well as its location on the major rail line ensures its continued survival, if not that of the German variety spoken there.

The earliest Volga Germans in Victoria began holding Catholic worship in the home of Aloysius Dreiling, with an early stone church building constructed in 1877 followed by a larger stone church in 1884 dedicated to St. Fidelis. The growth of the community in the early decades led to the construction of the monumental new church dedicated in 1911 with a Latin Mass and sermons in both German and English. For masses, Latin was the primary language with sermons, hymns and congregational prayers in German. In the parochial school established in 1879, both German and English were used in instruction (see *Towers of Faith and Courage*).

Based on information provided by J. Neale Carman in 1962, the early settlers of Herzog in Kansas came primarily from the village of Herzog in Russia, but also included some family groups from Obermonjou, Marienthal, Louis, Graf, Gattung and Kamenka (Graf, Louis and Marienthal were neighboring villages of Herzog on the Great Karaman River). The 1976 centennial history of the Volga German settlements confirms families from Obermonjou, Graf, and Louis in addition to the large number of families from Herzog, but does not mention the others. As we will see below, the linguistic characteristics of Victoria, largely reflect those of the dialects of the Catholic Volga German villages near Marienthal in Russia. Based on the work of linguists such as Georg Dinges and Nina Berend, we have much comparative material from these Russian colonial villages to relate to the variety spoken in Victoria and all point to a generalized West Middle German variety similar to that of the

western Palatinate in today's Germany (see Keel 1988 and 2004 on which the description of nouns and verbs is based).

2 **Sociohistorical and sociolinguistic aspects**

Initially, the Volga Germans of Victoria were restricted to the immediate area of their agricultural settlement. Even interaction with the other nearby Catholic and Protestant Volga German villages was limited. A marriage between a man and a woman from different Catholic villages was considered a "mixed marriage." With time, however, and especially after the introduction of the automobile and improved county roads, the interaction among the German-speaking villages and the English-speaking county seat of Hays increased. This increased contact also led to discrimination against the "dumb Russians" by the English-speaking community that continued to the end of the 20th century.

A socio-cultural study published in 1988 (Schmeller and Fundis) offered a profile of the typical Volga German Catholic in the villages of Ellis County that was valid for the inhabitants of Victoria:

> On the subject of language maintenance the survey confirmed the widely held belief that familiarity with Volga German dialects is comparatively low in the age group under thirty. In this group, less than half could speak or understand one of the dialects whereas, in the age group over fifty, more than 90% of the respondents indicated that they could speak or understand a dialect. In families where both spouses were of Volga German descent, facility with dialects was considerably higher than in "mixed" marriages. The fact that Roman Catholics scored higher in this category seems to reflect the greater degree of community cohesion in the Catholic villages.
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> Given the relatively high percentage of individuals with some degree of fluency in the dialects—the survey indicated that overall some 70% could speak or understand one of the dialects—it seemed surprising that less than a fourth actually used a dialect more or less regularly when conversing with Volga German friends and neighbors. While dialect usage was more pronounced in the age group over fifty, it was altogether negligible in the age group below forty. One might, therefore, conclude that the demise of the dialects is indeed only a matter of time.
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> From the variety of data collected in this survey, there emerges a profile of a "typical" Volga German: forty-four years old, Catholic,

married to another Volga German, most likely a high school graduate and a farmer, craftsman, or a housewife. Typical Volga Germans are more likely to understand than to speak a dialect and are more likely to understand than to read standard German. Generally, they will not have studied German, and their children will not speak a Volga German dialect nor will they read or understand standard German, even though they have allegedly been encouraged to take German lessons. Typical Volga Germans are likely to have friends who speak a local dialect, but they are less likely to use the dialect regularly when speaking with them. Typical Volga Germans have not visited either Germany or Russia and they do not correspond with friends or relatives there. They will probably claim to have some knowledge of the history or culture of Germany. They are not likely to be members of the local chapter of AHSGR, especially if they are young, and they will rarely attend any functions of that organization. While they feel that the German language as well as the folk songs are important in the cultural maintenance process, they are unlikely to study the language. They will hardly ever sing Volga German songs and they will not encourage their family to do so either.

Typical Volga Germans feel that the traditions of their people ought to be kept alive. They tend to be familiar with more customs (an average of eight) than they actually practice (an average of five). They are interested in their family trees, see themselves as hard-working, as victims of discrimination, and as people who center their lives around the church, especially if they are over forty-five years of age. They will most likely not read books or journals on the Volga Germans, and they tend to be primarily familiar with local rather than with nationally or internationally known Volga Germans.

The 1988 study also pointed out that Volga Germans in Ellis County often felt they suffered discrimination in the larger society. Over the course of the 20th century, the Volga Germans found themselves to be on the "wrong side" in not only the First World War (and to some extent in the Second World War) as "Germans" but also during the Cold War due their being associated with Russia.

3 Phonetics and Phonology: The Vowels and consonants of the Victoria dialect

As a point of departure, we can compare the sounds found in the Victoria dialect with the corresponding consonants and vowels of Standard German.

This, however, does not at all imply that the sounds of the Victoria dialect were derived from Standard German. Such a comparison only allows us to highlight the differences. Dialect forms are cited in an orthographic form based on the guidelines for such an orthography developed by Rudolf Post for Palatine-like dialects.

A common feature in the Victoria dialect is the weakening or lenition of certain consonants. This is realized in a variety of ways. Typically, Standard German *p, t, k*, are reflected in words in Victoria as *b, d, g*, respectively. In the same fashion Standard German *b/f, g, ch* tend to be reflected in Victoria as *w, ch/h, j*, respectively. For instance (Victoria/Standard German): *Wedder / Wetter* 'weather'; *Modder / Mutter* 'mother'; *Dochder / Tochter* 'daughter'; *bissje / bisschen* 'a little'; *griehe / kriegen* 'get'; *Beitsch / Peitsche* 'whip'; *Dach / Tag* 'day'; *gleen / klein* 'small'; *frohe / fragen* 'ask'; *sauwer / sauber* 'clean'; *Owe /Ofen* 'stove'.

Victoria also exhibits the consonants expected in a Rhine Franconian dialect as opposed to Standard German, i.e., the *pf* sound is not realized. For instance, we find *Kopp, Ebbel, Peif, Peffer, Dopp, Pund* instead of Standard German *Kopf, Apfel, Pfeife, Pfeffer, Topf, Pfund* ('head, apple, pipe, pepper, pot, pound'). We typically see the assimilation of *nd* to *nn* in such words as *Kinner, finne, unn* instead of *Kinder, finden, und* ('children, find, and'). The combination of *rst* is frequently realized as *rscht*: *erscht, Worscht, fahrscht, Berscht* instead of *erst, Wurst, fährst, Bürste* ('first, sausage, you drive, brush'). As occurs in some Rhine Franconian varieties, intervocalic/postvocalic *g* is lost as in *sahe/gsaht* vs. *sagen/gesagt* ('say, said'), *Waan* vs. *Wagen* ('wagon'), *Naal vs. Nagel* ('nail'), *frohe/gfroht* vs. *fragen/gefragt* ('ask, asked') and intervocalic *b* is realized as *w* as in *schreiwe* vs. *schreiben (*'write'*), glaawe* vs. *glauben* ('believe').

Vowels in Victoria exhibit several contrasts with their Standard German counterparts. Characteristically, the Umlaut (front rounded) vowels of Standard German (*ü, ö, eu/äu*) are unrounded to *ie, ee, ei*, respectively: *iewer / über* 'over'; *Leit / Leute* 'people'; *Heiser / Häuser* 'houses'; *scheen /schön* 'pretty'; *Fegeljer / Vögelchen* 'little birds'; *wiescht / wüst* 'nasty'; *greesser / größer* 'bigger'. A long *a* is typically a long *o* in Victoria: *Johr / Jahr* 'year'; *do / da* 'there'; *frohe / fragen* 'ask'; *Hoor / Haar* 'hair'; *schlofe / schlafen* ' sleep'.

The diphthongs (combinations of two vowels) reflected in Standard German *ei* and *au* that derive from the medieval German diphthongs *ei* and *ou* have developed into long vowels in Victoria, *ee* and *aa*, respectively: *Baam, Fraa, raache, glaawe / Baum, Frau, rauchen, glauben* 'tree, woman, smoke, believe' and *Steen, heeser, Seef, gleen / Stein, heiser, Seife, klein* 'stone, hoarse, soap, small'. The medieval diphthongs remain diphthongs today in Standard German, but they have collapsed together with the newly formed diphthongs derived from medieval German long *î* and long *û*. For these latter

new diphthongs, we find words in the Victoria dialect similar to the standard language: *Wein, mein, Haus, aus* / *Wein, mein, Haus, aus* 'wine, mine, house, out'. The distinction maintained in Victoria between the modern reflexes of the two sets of medieval vowels has been totally lost in Standard German.

Unstressed syllables in Victoria have a strong tendency to be reduced and even lost when compared to Standard German. A word-final *–e* or *–n* is normally lost. And the *-e-* in the prefix *ge-* is sometimes lost. For example: *schreib* / *schreibe* 'I write'; *schreiwe* / *schreiben* 'they write'; *Gens* / *Gänse* 'geese'; *Mick* / *Mücke* 'fly'; *Woche* / *Wochen* 'weeks'. Especially characteristic of the Victoria dialect is the loss of the entire final syllable *–en* in the past participle of the so-called "strong" verbs, e.g., *gschrieb* / *geschrieben* 'written'; *gholf* / *geholfen* 'helped'; *geritt* / *geritten* 'ridden'.

By and large, the sounds of the Victoria dialect exhibit the characteristics we would expect in a German dialect located somewhere to the southwest of Mainz, Germany, in the western Palatinate. The consistent loss of the ending of the strong or irregular past participles points us in the direction of the German dialects in the Saarland, Luxembourg, and even in the nearly extinct German dialect in Lorraine, France, for a possible linguistic comparison with this Kansas Volga German dialect.

4 Morphosyntax

4.1 Nouns and adjectives

As expected in a German dialect, nouns are assigned grammatical gender, traditionally labeled masculine, feminine and neuter. The gender distinction is characteristically marked by the definite article used with a particular noun.

Masculine nouns used with the definite article *der* 'the' include: *Mann* 'man', *Bruder* 'brother', *Vedder* 'uncle', *Baam* 'tree', *Gott* 'god', *Kerl* 'fellow', *Weez* 'wheat', *Brief* 'letter', *Fisch* 'fish', *Dach* 'day', *Jung* 'boy', *Gaul* horse', *Leffel* 'spoon', *Peffer* pepper', *Graawe* 'ditch, ravine', *Kopp* 'head', *Pader* 'priest', *Dopp* 'pot', *Ebbel* 'apple', *Reheworm* 'earthworm', *Ambar* 'grainary', *Nuschnik* 'outhouse', *Schteen* 'stone', *Freind* 'friend', *Sack* 'pocket', *Hahn* 'rooster', *Fuss* 'foot', *Weech* 'way', *Schlidde* 'sled', Fluss 'river', *Blatz* 'place', *Winder* 'winter', *Owe* 'stove', *Kuche* 'cake', *Oks* 'steer', *Hof* 'barnyard' *Hund* 'dog', *Disch* 'table', *Grund* 'ground', *Owend* 'evening', *Mornd* 'morning', *Korb* 'basket', *Danz* 'dance', *Dokter* 'doctor', *Indschin* 'motor', *Wein* 'wine', *Newel* 'fog', *Ometz* 'ant', *Bauer* 'farmer', *Schnee* 'snow', *Aff* 'monkey'.

Feminine nouns used with the definite article *die* 'the' include: *Fraa* 'woman', *Dochder* 'daughter', *Kerich* 'church', *Seef* 'soap', *Arweit* 'work', *Baddel* 'bottle', *Schul* 'school', *Berscht* 'brush', *Wand* 'wall', *Zeit* 'time', *Ernd* 'crop/ harvest', *Millich* 'milk', *Car* 'auto/car', *Modder* 'mother', *Brick* 'bridge', *Woch* 'week', *Mick* 'fly', *Peif* 'pipe', *Gruscht* 'crust', *Beitsch* 'whip', *Luft* 'air', *Schwester* 'sister', *Kuh* 'cow', *Wies* 'pasture/meadow', *Worscht* 'sausage', *Bank* 'bank'.

Neuter nouns used with the definite article *des* 'the' include: *Dorf* 'town/ village', *Brot* 'bread', *Kind* 'child', *Wasser* 'water', *Graut* 'cabbage', *Johr* 'year', *Buch* 'book', *Wedder* 'weather', *Herz* 'heart', *Bett* 'bed', *Pund* 'pound', *Schoof* 'sheep', *Auehoor* 'eyebrow', *Feld* 'field', *Ding* 'thing', *Eis* 'ice', *Feier* 'fire', *Salz* 'salt', *Fleisch* 'meat', *Gleid* 'dress', *Haus* 'house', *Schtick* 'piece', *Geld* 'money', *Gwehr* 'gun', *Zelt* 'tent'.

Neuter gender is also found for all nouns with the diminutive suffix –*je* (the lenited (weakened) form of the common suffix in German –*chen*): *Beemje* 'little tree', *Schtickelje* 'little story', *Seckelje* 'little pocket/sack', *Fegelje* 'little bird', *Meedje* 'little girl', *Zeltje* 'little tent', *Schpritzkennje* 'little oil can'. Note that nouns such as *Schtickelje* actually exhibit a double diminutive suffix (*-el + je*) characteristic of the region where suffixes found in Standard German –*chen* and –*lein* converge in Central Germany.

Nouns also exhibit different forms for singular and plural. The definite article in the plural for all nouns is *die* 'the'. One very common noun *die Leit* 'people' only exhibits a plural form. We also have an example of this noun in the compound *Nochbersleit* 'neighbors'.

Some nouns exhibit no distinction between singular and plural as in *der Kuche ~ die Kuche* 'cakes' or *der Owe ~ die Owe* 'stove(s)', *der Freind ~ die Freind* 'friend(s)', *der Reiber ~ die Reiber* 'robber(s)'. A few use a suppletive plural (different word): *der Jung ~ die Buwe* 'boy(s)'.

Many nouns express plural through a vowel change (Umlaut) alone: *der Gaul ~ die Geil* 'horses', *der Baam ~ die Beem* 'tree(s)', *die Kuh ~ die Kieh* 'cow(s)' *der Abbel ~ die Ebbel* 'apples'. Others add the suffix –*er* with or without Umlaut and sometimes altering the consonants as well: der Mann ~ die Menner 'man ~ men', *des Kind ~ die Kinner* 'child ~ children', *des Haus ~ die Heiser* 'house(s)', *des Loch ~ die Lecher* 'hole(s)', *des Beemje ~ die Beemjer* 'little tree(s)'. A final plural marker is the suffixe –*e* without vowel change, but at times a change in the final consonant: *der Berich ~ die Berije* 'hill(s)', *die Woch ~ die Woche* 'week(s)', *die Peif ~ die Peife* 'pipe(s)', *die Mick ~ die Migge* 'fly ~ flies', *die Zeit ~ die Zeide* 'time(s)', *der Kamaar ~ die Kamaare* 'mosquito(s)' *die Erbus ~ die Erbuse* 'watermelon(s)'.

Sentence function (subject, direct or indirect object, object of a preposition) is marked by grammatical case, traditionally labeled nominative,

accusative, and dative. Case markings in the Victoria dialect, however, are quite reduced in comparison to Standard German, reflecting the attrition of case distinctions exhibited in the German dialects. For instance, the genitive case has been totally lost. Possessives are typically indicated by combining the reflex of the historical dative case of the noun followed by a possessive adjective as in *den Meedje sei Dada hot e Farm dicht bei Scheenje* 'the girl's father [the girl-dative her father] has a farm near Schoenchen', *derre Fraa ihr Bruder wohnt in Hays* 'the woman's brother [the woman-dative her brother] lives in Hays' or *denne Leit ihre Kinner gehe in Vikdori in der Schul* 'those people's children [those people-dative their children] go to school in Victoria.'

The nominative case marking subject function as well as the function of predicate nominative with such verbs as *sin* 'to be' is well attested. The following examples with the case form in question underlined exemplify use of the noun with definite articles (*der, die, des*), indefinite articles (*e/en*) as well as possessive adjectives (*mei/dei/sei/ihr /unser/ eier/ihr* 'my/thy/his/her/ our/ your/their'):

<u>*Der gleene Baam*</u> *hot fill Ebbel*	'the little tree has a lot of apples'
<u>*Des gleene Beemje*</u> *hot fill Ebbel*	'the little tree has a lot of apples'
<u>*En grosser Mann*</u> *grawwelt aus den Pickup*	'a big man crawls out of the pickup'
Des is <u>*mei elderer Bruder*</u>	'that's my older brother'
<u>*Mei liebes Kind*</u> *bleib do hunne*	'my dear child stay down there'
Des is <u>*rodes Graut*</u>	'that's red cabbage'
<u>*Die jung Fraa*</u> *hot e gleener Abbel gess*	'the young woman ate a little apple'
<u>*E aldi Fraa*</u> *hot den lange Brief geles*	'an old woman read the long letter'
Do waar <u>*e gude Ernd*</u> *des Johr*	'there was a good crop this year'
<u>*Die frohe Kinner*</u> *sin aus der Schul gschprung*	'the happy kids ran out of the school'

Direct objects only receive a distinctive case marker for masculine nouns when used together with the definite article (labeled "accusative" in traditional grammars). The definite article is realized as *den*. Masculine nouns with the indefinite article *e/en* 'a' or a possessive adjective such as *mei* 'my', *unser* 'our' show no case distinction compared to the standard nominative case when functioning as a direct object. Neuter, feminine and plural nouns functioning as direct objects exhibit no "accusative" case and use the forms of the "nominative" case regardless of the article or possessive adjective used with the noun.

Masculine "accusatives" with the definite article:

Die Schloose han <u>den ganze Weez</u> ferschlah	'the hail destroyed the entire wheat crop'
Ich waar <u>den ganze Dach</u> in Hays	'I was in Hays all day'

Traditional "accusatives" of all genders exhibiting no change from the nominative:

Der hett <u>en lengerer Brief</u> gschrieb	'he would have written a longer letter'
Mir han <u>gebrotener Fisch</u> for Zunachtesse	'we're having fried fish for supper'
Die nekst Woch duhe mir <u>mei alder Vedder</u> besuche	'we're visiting my old uncle next week'
Mir giehe ball <u>besseres Wedder</u>	'we'll soon have better weather'
Ich han den <u>e grosses Buch</u> geb	'I gave him a big book'
Der Weez waar gut <u>des Johr</u>	'the wheat was good this year'
Ich gleich <u>die weiss Seef</u>	'I like white soap'
Die Kuh gebt <u>gudi Millich</u>	'that cow gives good milk'
Host du <u>weissi Seef</u> uff mei Disch gfunn	'did you find some white soap on my table'

Indirect objects (traditional "dative" objects, including those objects of so-called dative verbs in German) are kept distinct from the nominative case with the definite article for all genders. However, for masculine nouns the case marking is identical with the accusative, i.e., use of the definite article *den*. As with the "accusative" no difference is noted with indefinite articles and possessive adjectives. Neuters, feminines and plurals do have a distinctive definite article *den, der/derre, denne*, respectively, to mark the dative. However, the plural dative with the definite article is inconsistently marked and is frequently indistinguishable from the nominative/accusative (*die*). Otherwise (with indefinite article or possessive adjective) none of these genders exhibit differences with the common nominative/accusative forms.

"Datives" with the definite article:

Der hot <u>den alde Mann</u> e neies Buch gebrung	'he brought the old man a new book'
Ich han <u>den scheene Meedje</u> Blume geb	'I gave the pretty girl flowers'
Mir han <u>der gut Fraa</u> e bissje Kees geb	'we gave the good woman a little cheese'
Mir han <u>denne/die Menner</u> gholf	'we helped those men'

"Datives" without the definite article:

Ich han <u>en gleener Jung</u> e Buch gewies   'I showed a little boy a book'
Du sellst <u>dei Vedder</u> e Brief schreiwe   'You should write your uncle
                                                   a letter'

    Following prepositions we find masculine and neuter nouns patterning essentially as for the "dative" case above, with the definite article appearing as *den*, but no distinction made with other modifiers:

Do is mol was los <u>mit dort den braune Gaul</u> 'is there something
                                                   wrong with that brown horse'
Der musst <u>in so en diefer Graawe</u> dorchfahre 'he had to drive into a deep ravine'
Ich schlah dir <u>mit en helzener Leffel</u>   'I'm going to hit you with
                                                   a wooden spoon'
Der hot e Meedje <u>fun en anres Dorf</u> gheirat 'he married a girl from
                                                   another town'
Mir sin <u>in den kalde Wasser</u> gfall   'we fell into the cold water'
Der hot <u>in den kalde Wasser</u> gsotz   'he sat in the cold water'
Des is schtrack <u>fun sei Herz</u> kumm   'that came straight from his heart'

    With feminine and plural nouns we find two distinct cases after prepositions with the definite article (*die/der* or *die/die~denne*), reflecting the accusative/dative distinction above. As expected no change occurs with other modifiers:

Des kranke Kind is net <u>in die Schul</u> gang 'the sick child didn't go to school'
Die soll die Gleider fertich nehe   'she should finish sewing
<u>for dei Modder</u>   the clothes for your mother'
Mir sin <u>iewer e Brick</u> geritt   'we rode across e bridge'
Was fore Fegeljer sitze owe   'what kind of birds are sitting
<u>uff der gleen Wand</u>   up on the little wall'
Mach se sauwer <u>mit e Berscht</u>   'clean them with a brush'
Die duhe mol was <u>for die arme Leit</u>   'are they going to do something
                                                   for the poor people'

Die Buwe han <u>mit die Menner</u> gschaaft   'the boys worked with the men'
Was soll ich duhe mit denne fette Kieh   'what should I do with those
                                                   fat cattle'

    We may summarize case marking for the initial element of the noun phrase in the Victoria dialect in the following tables:

Definite articles:

	"Nominative"	"Accusative"	"Dative"	"Prepositional"
Masculine	*der*	den	*den*	*den*
Neuter	*des*	des	den	den
Feminine	*die*	die	*der*	*die/der*
Plural	*die*	die	die/denne	die/denne

Indefinite articles:

All singular nouns	*e/en*	*e/en*	*e/en*	*e/en*

Possessive adjectives:

All nouns	*mei*	*mei*	*mei*	*mei*

Adjectives modify nouns and typically follow a definite article, indefinite article or possessive adjective in the noun phrase. Adjectives modifying a masculine or neuter noun end in –*e* following a definite article. Otherwise they end in –*er* before a masculine noun or –*es* before a neuter noun:

-e   *der gleene Baam, den ganze Weez, den ganze Dach, den braune Gaul*
-e   *des gleene Beemje, den scheene Meedje, den kalde Wasser*
-er   *en lengerer Brief, mei alder Vedder, gebrotener Fisch, in en diefer Graawe, mit e helzener Leffel*
-es   *e grosses Buch, mei liebes Kind, besseres Wedder, vun en anres Dorf, rodes Graut*

Feminine noun phrases pattern a bit differently. After the definite article, an adjective modifying a feminine noun exhibits no ending. In other situations, the adjective modifying a feminine noun ends in –*i*:

-i   *die jung Fraa, die weiss Seef, die merscht Arweit, der gut Fraa, uff der gleen Wand*
-i   *e ganzi Baddel Wein, e aldi Fraa, weissi Seef, gudi Millich*

Adjectives modifying plural noun phrases simply have one uniform ending –*e* in all instances, without regard to the presence of absence of a definite article:

-e   *die frohe Kinner, die junge Menner, for die arme Leit, mit gleene rode Ebbel, bei gude Nochbersleit, mit denne gude Menner*

The following tables summarize adjective endings in the Victoria dialect:

Following definite articles:

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Prepositional
Masculine	-e	-e	-e	-e
Neuter	-e	-e	-e	-e
Feminine	-i	-i	-i	-i
Plural	-e	-e	-e	-e
Otherwise:				
Masculine	-er	-er	-er	-er
Neuter	-es	-es	-es	-es
Feminine	-i	-i	-i	-i
Plural	-e	-e	-e	-e

The grammar of the noun phrase in Victoria clearly makes gender and number distinction primary and the marking of case secondary. This is reflected to a great degree in the definite articles and especially so in the adjective declension. The declensional system for noun phrases without a definite article or an adjective is essentially null. Interesting, too, is the tendency to mark prepositional phrases with a special case, especially in the neuter nouns. All in all, the noun phrase of the Victoria dialect reflects a much greater simplification than does the verb phrase when compared to historical and contemporary stages of German and its dialects.

4.2 The verb phrase in the Victoria/Herzog dialect

Turning our attention to the grammatical forms of verbs in the Victoria/Herzog dialect, the verbs of this dialect hold few surprises for those familiar with dialects located in the southwestern area of Rhine Franconian in modern Germany. Little influence or interference on that morphology can be detected from English; none would be expected from Russian due to the near isolation of the Volga German villages in the Russian Empire. On the other hand, one can find numerous examples of English verbs that have been incorporated into the morphological structure of the Victoria dialect verb system. One of the most common of such adaptations from English in the dialect is the verb *to talk* as in such utterances as *der hot Deitsch mit uns getalkt* 'he spoke German to us'.

The traditional three-way classification of Germanic verbs is retained in the Victoria dialect. Based on the conjugational pattern and formation of past tense, verbs are assigned to a "strong" group, a "weak" group, or the group known as "preterite-presents." Modifications of the characteristics of these

three groups found in the Victoria dialect in Kansas are also typical of the variations in the groups found in the southern and western areas of Rhine Franconian.

Common to all three classes of verbs is the form of the infinitive which–except for the verbs *sin* 'to be' and *han* 'to have'–ends in *-e* or schwa. The dialect follows the large group of Middle German and western Upper German dialects in the reduction of the historical infinitive ending of *-en* to a final unstressed vowel: *esse* 'to eat'; *schreibe* 'to write'; *schpringe* 'to run'; *sitze* 'to sit'; *siehe* 'to see'; *finne* 'to find'; *duhe* 'to do'; *losse* 'to let' (all of the preceding classified as strong verbs in the dialect); *kaafe* 'to buy'; *mache* 'to make, to do'; *besuche* 'to visit'; *griehe* 'to get'; *sahe* 'to say'; *frohe* 'to ask' (all weak verbs in the dialect); *kenne* 'to be able to'; *selle* 'to be supposed to'; *misse* 'to have to'; *wisse* 'to know' (all preterite-present verbs in the dialect).

The inherited Germanic strong verbs in the Victoria dialect are distinguished from the other two classes by the form of the past participle utilized in forming the past tense. The historical participial ending for strong verbs in German, *-en,* has been completely lost in the dialect (as noted above). This radical development reflects similar situations in dialects in the extreme western areas of Middle German, including southwestern Moselle Franconian, western Palatine areas and the also the external regions of Luxembourgish and Lorrainese. Numerous other dialects exhibit partial loss of this ending as well.

From a synchronic perspective, the strong past participle in the dialect is formed by affixing the prefix *g(e)-* to the (un)modified stem of the verb. The syncopated form of the prefix is utilized if the verb stem begins with a vowel, *h,* or a voiceless fricative. Verbs whose stems begin with *g-* as well as the two verbs *kumme* 'to come' and *werre* 'to become' do not utilize the prefix in their past participles: *gess* 'eaten'; *gschrieb* 'written'; *gschprung* 'run'; *gsotz* 'sat'; *gsieh* 'seen'; *gfunn* 'found'; *kumm* 'come'; *geduh* 'done'; *geb* 'given'; *gezoh* 'pulled'; *geleh* 'lain'; *gholf* 'helped'; *gschlof* 'slept'; *gfahr* 'driven'; *geritt* 'ridden'.

One exceptional form in the data collected is *worre* 'become' which does evidence the preserved *-e* of the historical participial suffix. The introduction of *worre* as interference from literary German *(ge)worden* cannot be ruled out. The use of *werre* in the dialect is more restricted than in literary German since many of the functions performed by literary German *werden* 'to become' are covered in the dialect by *gebe* 'to give' as, for example, in the expressions *des gebt kelter* 'it's getting colder' or *du gebst grau* 'you're turning gray (referring to hair color)'. Similar usages are reported for western Middle German. In any event, *worre* is the only exceptional form collected in a past tense indicative utterance.

A second exceptional form to the general rule for strong past participles was that for *sin* 'to be'. However, this form–*gewehn* 'been'–only occurs in past subjunctive contexts. Again, this may also reflect interfence from literary

German *gewesen*. The past tense of *sin* in all indicative contexts is consistently *waar* 'was', conjugated with the appropriate personal ending.

Within the class of strong verbs, characterized by their lack of ending in the past participle, we can distinguish two types based on the stem vocalism in the two non-finite forms of the verb: the infinitive ending in *-e* and the past participle. Either we find stem alternation in the two forms or the verb stem remains unaltered in both forms.

> Type 1. Verbs with alternating stems:
>> *reide - geritt* 'to ride - ridden'
>> *schreibe - gschrieb* 'to write - written'
>> *ziehe - gezoh* 'to pull - pulled'
>> *schiesse - gschoss* 'to shoot - shot'
>> *schterbe - gschtorb* ‚to die - died'
>> *melge - gemolg* ‚to milk - milked'
>> *breche - gebroch* 'to break - broken'
>> *drinke - gedrunk* 'to drink - drunk'
>> *sitze - gsotz* 'to sit - sat'
>> *bringe - gebrung* 'to bring - brought'
>> *nehme - genomm* 'to take - taken'
>> *schtehle - gschtohl* 'to steal - stolen'
>
> Type 2. Verbs with non-alternating stems:
>> *kumme - kumm* 'to come - come'
>> *gebe - geb* 'to give - given'
>> *esse - gess* 'to eat - eaten'
>> *vergesse - vergess* 'to forget - forgotten'
>> *wesche - gewesch* 'to wash - washed'
>> *lade - gelad* 'to invite, load - invited, loaded'
>> *siehe - gsieh* 'to see - seen'
>> *wachse - gewachs* 'to grow - grown'
>> *anfange - angfang* 'to begin - begun'
>> *falle - gfall* 'to fall - fallen'
>> *schlofe - gschlof* 'to sleep - slept'
>> *duhe - geduh* 'to do - done'

Despite a few exceptional forms such as *sitze - gsotz, bringe - gebrung, duhe - geduh* and the like, the division of the Victoria strong verbs into the alternating and non-alternating types follows the traditional classification of Germanic strong verbs on the basis of Ablaut classes. In general, alternating strong verbs in the dialect derive from verbs representing Ablaut classes I, II, II, and IV. The non-alternating strong verbs in the dialect reflect verbs traditionally assigned to classes V, VI, and VII. For example:

Ablaut Class I:	*bleibe - geblieb* 'to remain - remained'
	greische - gegrisch 'to yell - yelled'
Ablaut Class II:	*fliehe - gfloh* 'to fly - flown'
	schiesse - gschoss 'to shoot - shot'
Ablaut Class III:	*finne - gfunn* 'to find - found'
	helfe - gholf 'to help - helped'
Ablaut Class IV:	*schtehle - gschtohl* 'to steal - stolen'
	nehme - genomm 'to take - taken'
Ablaut Class V:	*lese - geles* 'to read - read'
	gebe - geb 'to give - given'
	siehe - gsieh 'to seen - seen'
Ablaut Class VI:	*fahre - gfahr* 'to drive - driven'
	wesche - gewesch 'to wash - washed'
Ablaut Class VII:	*falle - gfall* 'to fall - fallen'
	loffe - geloff 'to walk - walked'
	blose - geblos 'to blow - blown'

In addition to the loss of the participial *-en* ending and the partial loss in some cases of the participial *ge-* prefix, several phonological developments have altered the shape of these verbs if compared to their historical antecedents in literary medieval German. Seventh class verbs with a long *â* in Middle High German are reflected in the Victoria/Herzog dialect with a backed rounded long *o* (*schlofe, blose*). Other vocalic shifts involve raising (*kumme, siehe*), fronting (*wesche*), and shortening (*loffe* with an alternate form *laafe* evidencing monophthongization of Middle High German *ou*). Postvocalic *g* has been lost in the Herzog dialect (*fliehe, schlahe, gezoh, geleh*). Assimilation of resonant and following obstruent has occurred (*finne, gfunn, werre, worre*). Some lenition of stop consonants is evidenced (*reide, greische, schreiwe* alternate of *schreibe*). These changes in addition to the more widespread changes such as diphthongization and lengthening have left very recognizable classes of strong verbs in the dialect.

One characteristic of the Middle High German strong verb has been completely leveled out in the Victoria dialect. Ablaut classes III-VII exhibited a vowel alternation between singular and plural in the indicative present. In the Victoria dialect the vowel of the infinitive is retained throughout the present indicative conjugation as in the verb *helfe* 'to help':

MHG		Victoria	
	ich hilfe		*ich helf*
	du hilfest		*du helfst*
	er hilfet		*er helft*

wir helfen	*mir helfe*
ihr helfet	*ihr helft*
sie helfent	*die helfe*

Additional examples of verbs in the dialect which have leveled out present tense indicative vowel alternation are *gebe - du gebst, fahre - du fahrscht, schlofe - du schlofst, lese - du lest*. This leveling of the present indicative stem vocalism in the strong verbs extends to the singular imperative as well where we find such forms as *helf!, geb!,* etc. This nearly complete elimination of allomorphy in the strong verbs is also characteristic of the verb systems in the southwestern Rhine Franconian area.

The traditional class of Germanic weak verbs is characterized in the Victoria dialect by the dental suffix on the past participle realized as *-t*. In rapid speech the participial suffix *-t* may be lost after a voiceless fricative rendering the verb in question identical with the non-alternating type of strong verb (*mache - gemacht* or *gemach*). The following weak verbs in the dialect exemplify the pattern:

heere - gheert	'to hear - heard'
han - ghat	'to have - had'
heirade - gheirat	'to marry - married'
blaudre - geblaudert	'to talk - talked'
schlose - gschlost	'to hail - hailed'
griehe - grieht	'to get - gotten'
sahe - gsaht	'to say - said'
frohe - gfroht	'to ask - asked'
kaafe - gekaaft	'to buy - bought'
petze - gepetzt	'to pinch - pinched'
warde - gewart	'to wait - waited'

As can be seen from the examples above, the class of weak verbs is further characterized by the total lack of stem alternation between infinitive and past participle. This holds true as well for those verbs traditionally characterized as exhibiting *Rückumlaut*: *kenne/gekennt* 'know, be acquainted with/known'; *brenne/gebrennt* 'burn/burned'; *denke/gedenkt* 'think/thought'. We may also note that the participial suffix *-t* of weak verbs assimilates to verb stems ending in a dental stop (*warde/gewart* 'wait/waited'; *antworde/gantwort* 'answer/answered').

For both strong and weak verbs the *ge-* prefix of the past participle is omitted when another inseparable prefix is attached to the verb stem: *verkaafe/verkaaft* 'sell/sold'; *sich verkiehle/verkiehlt* 'catch cold/caught cold'; *verzehle/verzehlt* 'tell a story/told a story'; *vergesse/vergess* 'forget/forgotten'; *besuche/*

besucht 'visit/visited'; *sich beheefe/beheeft* (sometimes a strong participle occurs, *behof*) 'behave/behaved'. The prefix *ge-* on past participles is not omitted with verbs corresponding to those in Standard German ending in the suffix *-ieren:* *bassiere/gebassiert* 'happen/happened'.

As is characteristic of verbs with separable prefixes in German and its dialects, the participial *ge-* is inserted between the separable prefix and the verb stem in the past participle: *induhe/ingedu* 'put in/put in'; *ausbrenne/ ausgebrennt* 'burn out/burned out'; *ausrobbe/ausgerobbt* 'pull weeds/pulled weeds'; *anfange/angfang* 'begin/begun'; *rumdrehe/rumgedreht* 'turn around/ turned around'; *inpenne/ingepennt* 'pen in/penned in'.

The class of preterite-present verbs in the Victoria dialect still evidences the vowel alternation in the present indicative that is characteristic of the inherited Germanic forms: *ich wees/ mir wisse* 'I know/ we know'; *ich kann/ mir kenne* 'I can/ we can'; *ich muss/ mir misse* 'I must/ we must'. A similar pattern in the present indicative is evidenced by the old optative verb *ich will/ mir wolle* 'I want/ we want'. Through analogy the modal verb *ich soll* (*sell*)/ *mir selle* 'I am supposed to/ we are supposed to' tends to follow that pattern of vowel alternation in its present indicative forms, although some variation in that pattern occurs in the singular forms of the verb.

A small group of verbs exhibit characteristics that do not permit them to be classified in any of the three basic classes discussed above:
(1) *sin* 'to be' – The suppletive character of this verb in the Germanic languages is retained in the Victoria dialect. Its present indicative conjugation

ich sin	*mir sin*	'am ~ is ~ are'
du bist	*ihr seid*	
der is	*die sin*	

features loss of the final dental stop in the third person singular form *is* and in the first and third person plural forms *sin.* Of special interest is the replacement of the historical first person singular form (corresponding to Standard German *bin*) with the plural form *sin*, typical of dialects in the western Palatinate in Germany. The past tense of *sin* is exceptional within the context of the dialect in that it is the only verb to regularly form its past tense non-analytically, without the use of an auxiliary verb and past participle (the previously mentioned past participle of this verb *gewehn* is used only in the forms of the past subjunctive; see that discussion below):

ich waar	*mir waare*	'was ~ were'
du waarscht	*ihr waart*	
der waar	*die waare*	

The singular imperative of *sin* is the inherited *sei* which also occurs in frozen forms of the present subjunctive in expressions such as *Gott sei Dank* 'thanks be to God'.

(2) *han* 'to have' – Although this verb generally follows the pattern of the weak verbs in forming its past participle *ghat* 'had', its irregular (contracted) infinitive form and its unique pattern of vowel alternation in the present indicative conjugation set it apart from other verb classes:

ich han	*mir han*	'have ~ has'
du host	*ihr hett*	
der hot	*die han*	

As with the verb *sin*, the first person singular form in *ich han* 'I have' has been adopted from the historically contracted first and third person plural forms. The second and third person singular forms exhibit a low back rounded vowel [ɔ]. The second person plural exhibits a fronted and raised (Umlauted) vowel [e].

(3) *gehe* 'to go' and *schtehe* 'to stand' – These two verbs must also be classified as suppletive from a synchronic perspective. Both of them, however, can be classified with the more typical strong verbs based on the forms of their past participles. Both the participle for *gehe, gang* 'gone', and that of *schtehe, gschtann* 'stood', exhibit the absence of the participial suffix corresponding to the *-en* in Standard German as well as the characteristic reductions in the prefix *ge-* preceding vowels and fricatives.

Personal Endings. With the exception of the verbs *sin* and *han* discussed above, there are two sets of personal endings for the present indicative conjugation. Non-preterite-present verbs, both strong and weak, follow the pattern exhibited by the weak verb *glaawe* 'to believe' and the strong verb *schlofe* 'to sleep':

ich glaab/ schlof – /	*mir glaawe/ schlofe – -e*	'I ~ we'
du glaabst/ schlofst – -st	*ihr glaabt/ schloft – -t*	'you'
der glaabt/ schloft – -t	*die glaawe/ schlofe – -e*	'he ~ they'

Verb stems ending in *-r* exhibit a predictable variation on this pattern. Instead of the *-st* ending of the second person singular, the fricative is palatalized and the ending is realized as *-scht* as in the verb *fahre* 'to drive':

ich fahr	*mir fahre*
du fahrscht	*ihr fahrt*
der fahrt	*die fahre*

Verb stems ending in a dental stop are assimilate that stop to the *-t* endings of the third person singular and the second person plural, as in the verb *reide* 'to ride':

<div align="center">

ich reid	*mir reide*
du reidst	*ihr reit*
der reit	*die reide*

</div>

The second pattern of personal endings for the present indicative occurs only in preterite-present class verbs. The typical pattern is exhibited by the verbs *derfe* 'to be permitted' and *kenne* 'to be able to':

<div align="center">

ich derf/ kann – / mir derfe/ kenne – -e
du derfst/ kannst – -st   ihr derft/ kennt – -t
der derf/ kann – /die derfe/ kenne – -e

</div>

Preterite-present verbs such as *misse* 'to have to' and *wisse* 'to know' accommodate the second person singular ending to their stems by deleting the *-s-* of the ending:

<div align="center">

ich muss/ wees	*mir misse/ wisse*
du musst/ weest	*ihr misst/ wisst*
der muss/ wees	*die misse/ wisse*

</div>

This present indicative pattern of personal endings for the preterite-present verbs, with the characteristic zero morpheme in the first and third person singular, is also utilized in the Victoria dialect for the subjunctive mood in general and in the unique indicative past tense of the verb *sin*.

Tense and Aspect. In the Victoria dialect the category of verb tense is realized essentially as a two-way distinction between actions that are complete and those that are perceived to be continuing or at least not complete. Traditionally these two tenses are referred to as "past" and "present" and have been so throughout this discussion. A more apt terminology might refer to them as "past" and "non-past." The preceding discussion has largely been devoted to the forms of the present tense indicative. This tense form may be characterized simply as consisting of the basic stem of the verb with the appropriate personal endings as described above, with the vowel alternations appropriate to some of the preterite-present verbs.

The past tense indicative, with the exception of the verb *sin* and some isolated occurrences of the preterite-present verbs, is always realized as a

periphrastic or analytic construction consisting of the present indicative form of an auxiliary verb, either *han* or *sin,* together with the past participle of the verb in question. The selection of *han* or *sin* as the auxiliary verb appears to follow the pattern characteristic of modern Standard German. The following examples of past tense indicative verb forms in collected data illustrate the typical expression of this tense category in the Herzog dialect:

Du <u>host</u> heit des beste <u>gschoss</u>.	'You shot the best today.'
Ich <u>han</u> den zehn Dollar <u>geb</u>.	'I gave him ten dollars.'
Mir <u>han</u> eich Erbuse <u>gebrung</u>.	'We brought you (some) watermelons.'
Der <u>hot</u> den net gut <u>gekennt</u>.	'He didn't know him well.'
Die Kinner <u>han</u> Deitsch <u>geblaudert</u>.	'The children spoke German.'
Ihr <u>hett</u> keen Eel in die Car <u>geduh</u>.	'You didn't put any oil in the car.'
Des <u>is</u> arrich kalt <u>worre</u>.	'It got real cold.'
Mir <u>sin</u> in den kalde Wasser <u>gfall</u>.	'We fell into the cold water.'
Ich <u>sin</u> hem <u>kumm</u> fer Weihnachte.	'I came home for Christmas.'
Die <u>sin</u> grad an mir langst <u>gschprung</u>.	'They ran right past me.'
Du <u>bist</u> in Matsch <u>gfahr</u>!	'You drove into the mud!'

A different pattern in the past indicative is exhibited only by the verb *sin* as discussed above and some preterite-present verbs as the following examples illustrate:

Do <u>waar</u> e gute Ernd des Johr.	'There was a good harvest this year.'
Alles <u>waar</u> gut, bis's gereent hot.	'Everything was fine until it rained.'
Ich <u>waar</u> froh, dich widder zu siehe.	'I was happy to see you again.'
Du <u>waarscht</u> noch net in Kansas City.	'You haven't been to Kansas City yet.'
Wieviel <u>wold</u> der wisse.	'He wanted to know how much.'
Ich han alles geduh, was ich <u>kunnt</u>.	'I did everything I could.'

In addition to the two basic tenses, a past perfect or "double past" can be used when making reference to an event that occurred prior to another in the past. The Victoria dialect utilizes three distinct structures to express the past perfect:

1) Simple verb: The verb *sin* 'to be' has no distinctive past perfect as such. In sentences where past perfect would occur with other verbs, the verb *sin* appears in its simple past tense form: *Nochdem dass ich bei den Dokter waar, . . .* 'After I had been at the doctor's, . . .'

2) Auxiliary verb and past participle: Verbs whose past tense auxiliary verb is *sin* form the past perfect with the simple past tense of *sin* (*waar*) and the past participle of the verb in question: *Wie ich bei den Dokter gang waar, . . .* 'When I had been at the doctor's, . . .'

3) Auxiliary verb and double past participle: Verbs whose past tense auxiliary verb is *han* form the past perfect with the present tense forms of the auxiliary verb *han* combined with the past participles of both the main verb and the auxiliary verb *han*: *Nochdem dass ich e Brief gschrieb hot ghat, . . .* 'After I had written a letter, . . .'

Future time is normally expressed by the present indicative, accompanied by appropriate adverbs of time. But use of *wolle* and *werre* as auxiliary verbs with the infinitive of the main verb can also express future time:

Der geht morje jachte.	'He's going hunting tomorrow.'
Mir gehe heit Owend uff en Danz.	'We're going to a dance tonight.'
Mir griehe ball besseres Wedder.	'We'll soon have better weather.'
Ich werr uff en Danz sin.	'I'll be at a dance.'
Ich will des net meh widder duhe.	'I won't do it again.'

Aspectual use of the verb *duhe* 'to do' as an auxiliary verb with an infinitive of a main verb is also quite common as the following examples illustrate:

Die druckene Bledder duhe in der Luft rumfliehe.	'The dry leaves fly around in the air.'
Die Leit sin all draus in Feld unn duhe mehe.	'The people are all out in the field and mowing'
Die junge Menner duhe hart schaafe.	'The young men work hard.'
Des duht ball uffheere.	'It will soon stop.'
Ich duh dir iewer en Kopp schlahe.	'I am going to hit you over the head.'
Die wieschte Gens duhe dich dot beisse.	'The mean geese will bite you to death.'

In the first three examples of *duhe* plus infinitive, we could characterize the usage as a means of indicating continuous verbal action or, in aspectual

terms, the durative aspect. In the second three examples, however, the verbal action has not yet begun, but is about to begin. These last three examples exhibit an inchoative or ingressive aspect. In all six examples we see a use of *duhe* that is quite distinct from the English use of *do* with an infinitive. This aspectual role of the verb *duhe* is found in many German dialects and parallels to its use as the auxiliary verb in the subjunctive mood discussed below.

Mood. The verb in the Victoria dialect exhibits three distinct moods: indicative, subjunctive and imperative. The forms of the indicative present and past have been presented above. The subjunctive for most verbs can express both present and past times using an auxiliary verb plus infinitive for the present and an auxiliary verb plus past participle for the past. Distinctive present subjunctive forms are evidenced only for the verbs *sin*, *han* and *brauche* 'to need' and for some of the preterite-present verbs:

ich weer	*hett*	*breicht*	'I would be, have, need'
du weerscht	*hest*	*breichst*	'you (sg.) would be, have, need'
der weer	*hett*	*breicht*	'he would be, have, need'
mir weere	*hedde*	*breichte*	'we would be, have, need'
ihr weert	*hett*	*breicht*	'you (pl.) would be, have, need'
die weere	*hedde*	*breichte*	'they would be, have, need'

Samples of preterite-present verbs:

Mir kennte den Weez sehe.	'We could sow the wheat.'
Wann ich die Antwort wisst.	'If I knew the answer.'

The present subjunctive for all other verbs is exemplified for the verb *schreiwe* 'to write' using the special subjunctive conjugation of the helping verb *duhe* together with the infinitive of the main verb:

ich deet schreiwe	'I would write'
du deest schreiwe	'you (sg.) would write'
der deet schreiwe	'he would write'
mir deede schreiwe	'we would write'
ihr deet schreiwe	'you (pl.) would write'
die deede schreiwe	'they would write'

To form the past subjunctive, all verbs use the compound past tense structure with the subjunctive form of either *sin* or *han* together with the past participle as exemplified by the following sentences:

Wann der Zeit hett ghat, hett der e Brief gschrieb.
    'If he had had time, he would have written a letter.'
Wann ich in Hays weer gewehn, weer ich noch Viktori gfahr.
    'If I had been in Hays, I would have driven to Victoria.'
Wann der dort gewehn weer, weer des net gebassiert.
    'If he had been there, that wouldn't have happened.'
Wann dass du den nore gekennt hest, do weere Dinger anschter gewehn.
    'If you had only known him, things would have been different.'

The imperative mood presents no irregularities. The second person singular form is simply the verb stem with no ending or modification of the vowel: *duh!* 'do!', *geh!* 'go!', *geb!* 'give!', *schier unne* 'stoke the coals!', *dummel dich!* 'hurry up!'. The exceptional form *sei!* 'be!' has been discussed above. The second person plural imperative is identical with the indicative present: *beheeft eich!* 'behave yourselves (pl.)!', *kaaft eich doch en Car!* 'buy yourself (polite) a car!'. The last example illustrates the use of *ihr* when addressing an older relative or stranger.

Voice. Although the active voice of the verb is the preferred form for most situations, passive constructions do occur. Attempts to elicit a passive sentence using English cues often resulted in an active response as in 'the cows are getting/being milked' yielding *mir melge die Kieh* 'we're milking the cows'.

However, some genuine passive constructions were found in our data, again exhibiting two tenses, present and past, as well as two moods, indicative and subjunctive. The present tense typically uses a form of the verb *gebe* 'to give' as an auxiliary together with the past participle of the main verb as in:

Der Brief gebt grad jetz geschrieb.
    'The letter is being written right now.'
Ich besser duh des Geld niewer noch Saratov fahre in die Bank, suns gebt's vielleicht verlor.
       I had better get the money over to Saratov to the bank, otherwise it
       might be lost.'

The use of *gebe* 'give' as the auxiliary in such passive constructions is well attested for German dialects in the southwestern parts of Rhine Franconian, particularly in the vicinity of Trier, Luxembourg and Saarbrücken. Similar use of *gebe* instead of *werre* 'become' occurs in other contexts such as in the phrases *des gebt kelder* 'it is getting colder' or *du gebst grau* 'you're getting gray'.

The past tense of the passive does use the compound past forms of *werre* with the past participle of the main verb as in:

Der Brief is gester Owend gschrieb worre.   'The letter was written
last night.'

Other passive-like constructions occur with the verb *sin* and the past participle of the main verb. This type of verb construction is frequently characterized in grammars as a statal passive to distinguish it from the other passive constructions:

Der Indschin is ausgebrennt.   'The motor is burned out.'
Die Kuche sin schwarz verbrennt.   'The cakes are burned black.'
Ihr seid gelad.   'You are invited.'

Finally, we have evidence of a past subjunctive construction in the passive voice in the following sentence:

Wann mir aach geneedigt weere gewehn, weere mir doch net gang.
'Even if we had been invited, we wouldn't have gone.'

4.3 Word order

In subordinate clauses, the conjugated verb typically may be occur at the end of the clause as in the examples noted above, but in a compound past tense, the auxiliary verb may proceed the past participle:

Wann der Zeit <u>hett</u> ghat, hett der e Brief gschrieb.
     'If he had had time, he would have written a letter.'
Wann ich in Hays <u>weer</u> gewehn, weer ich noch Viktori gfahr.
     'If I had been in Hays, I would have driven to Victoria.'
Wann der dort gewehn <u>weer</u>, weer des net gebassiert.
     'If he had been there, that wouldn't have happened.'
Wann dass du den nore gekennt <u>hest</u>, do weere Dinger anschter gewehn.
     'If you had only known him, things would have been different.'
Wann ich die Antwort <u>wisst</u>.
     'If I knew the answer.'
Wie mir hem <u>sinn</u> kumm gester Owend, hann die andere schun in Bett geleh unn hann gut gschlof.
     'When we got home last night, the others were already in bed and
     were fast asleep.'

> *Der John hot mir ferdeitscht, wie mer de Car fahre <u>soll</u> unn dass ich allegebott Eel in <u>muss</u> duhe.*
>> 'John explained to me, how to drive the car and that I had to put oil in now and then.'

The last two examples also exhibit the position of the auxiliary when an adverb is closely associated with the verb or could be interpreted as a separable prefix: *hemkume, induhe*

In more complex verbal constructions, the auxiliary verb may occur between two past participles or precede an infinitive construction with *zu* or *for*:

> *Wann mir aach geneedigt <u>weere</u> gewehn, weere mir doch net gang.*
>> 'Even if we had been invited, we wouldn't have gone.'
> *Schier Kohle in den Owe, sodass die Milich ball widder <u>anfangt</u> zu koche.*
>> 'Put coals into the oven so that the milk starts to boil soon.'
> *Der hot gemach als wie die den gedingt <u>hedde</u> for dresche, awwer die hann des selwer geduh.*
>> 'He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing but they did it themselves.'

In yes/no questions, we frequently find the use of the particle *mol* with normal declarative sentence word order rather than verb first:

> *Ihr <u>kennt</u> mol e bissje warde for uns unn dann gehe mir mit eich.*
>> 'Can you all wait a bit for us and then we'll go with you?'
> *Vetter Niklas, ihr <u>hett</u> mol kee Eel in die Car geduh.*
>> *Uncle Nick, didn't you put any oil in the car?*

5 Lexicon

The vocabulary of the Victoria dialect evidences a considerable number of borrowings, some very likely going back to the dialects origins in the western area of Rhine Franconian. For instance, the word for 'bottle of wine' occurs as *Boddel* in the following sentence:

> *Du bist net groos genunk for e ganzi Boddel Wein zu drinke.*
> 'You aren't big enough to drink a whole bottle of wine.'

At first glance, one might be tempted to associate *Boddel* with the American English 'bottle.' On the other hand, it may reflect an older borrowing from French prior to emigration to Russia in the 18th century. A

comparison with the same form in the Volga German colonies in the 1920s (Berend 1997, map 46) shows that nearly all of the Volga German villages exhibit a form transcribed orthographically as *Boddel* and Rhine Franconian dialects such as Palatine, South Hessian and Lorrainese (dwv.uni-trier.de/de/die-woerterbuecher/das-pfaelzische-woerterbuch) as well as Pennsylvania Dutch (Beam and Brown, 131) exhibit similar forms in older speakers. Thus, the word *Boddel* in the Kansas Volga German dialects is likely a reflex of the *French bouteille.*

As one would expect, with a sojourn of some 100 years in Russia and over 100 years in Kansas, we encounter both Russian and English borrowings in the variety of Victoria. Russian borrowings occur to a limited extent in everyday conversation, depending on the subject matter. One encounters a number of words borrowed from Russian such as *Ambar* 'granary'; *Nuschnik* 'outhouse'; *Erbus* 'watermelon'; *Kamaar* 'mosquito'*;* and *Schtepp* 'prairie' that also occurs in combination with the English word *fence* as *Schteppfence* (used for the very common limestone posts [post rock] with barbed wire in the area). The one word associated with the Volga Germans and other German groups in Kansas who have emigrated to the U.S. from colonies in Russia is the proverbial *Bierock* 'pastry pocket with savory filling' which derives from Russian *pirog*. In the Victoria dialect one also hears the German-based form *Mauldasch.*

American English borrowings and loan translations abound: *car*, county, *talke* < to talk, as in *Der hot Deitsch mit uns getalkt* 'He spoke German with us.' Or older forms such as *uffringe* < to telephone, from to 'ring up'—as was the case with older wall telephones. Discourse markers such as "you know", "anyway" or "well" etc. also occur with high frequency dialect.

The common ending for the tag question is *gelle (gella)* derived via assimilation from the present subjunctive form *gelte* of the historical German verb *gelten* 'to be true/valid'. This ending for tag questions is common in various forms throughout the southern German dialects in Central Europe. Interestingly, this tag question form from the dialects is also utilized frequently in English, such as "You're driving over to Hays today, gella?" The ubiquitous nature of this "gella" in English usage has made it a shibboleth for Volga German identity and to a high degree for discrimination by the non-German society in Ellis County toward the German group there (personal communication Oren Windholz, Hays, KS, September 2017). To top it all off, a craft brewery in Hays has chosen to call itself *Gella's*, reflecting the widespread awareness of the term (www.lbbrewing.com/ourstory/thename.html).

One item of interest in lexical formation (as noted earlier) is the double diminutive suffix added to morphemes that end in a velar plosive as in *Schtick* > *Schtickelje/Schtiggelje* 'little piece' = 'brief story/anecdote'. The normal

diminutive suffix in Victoria is the simple *–je* (derived from the suffix *–chen*) as in *bissje* 'a little', *Seije* 'baby pig'. However, when the final consonant of the word in question ends in a velar plosive, an additional suffix *–el* (reflecting southern diminutive suffixes in the German dialects) is inserted prior to the *–je* (see Schirmunski, 479-80).

6 Conclusions

The Volga German dialect in Victoria, Kansas, is on the verge of extinction. At this stage, with only a handful of elderly speakers present, nothing will prevent that. The data recorded, however, can be utilized for comparative purposes with Volga German-type dialects in parts of the former Soviet Union, both historically and contemporaneously (see Berend), as well as with varieties in South America where the Entre Rios province of Argentina exhibits similar dialects (see Kopp).

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