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Pennsylvania Dutch

1 Historical and sociolinguistic background

The roots of the language known by its speakers as *Deitsch*, in English either *Pennsylvania Dutch* or *Pennsylvania German*, extend back to 18th-century Pennsylvania. Between 1710 and 1770, some 81,000 German-speaking migrants from mainly the Palatinate and adjacent regions in southwestern Germany, as well as smaller numbers from Alsace and Switzerland, arrived in America through the port of Philadelphia (Wokeck 1999). Most were farmers and craftspeople who settled in rural southeastern and south-central Pennsylvania, an area that still today is known as the Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Already by 1800, Pennsylvania Dutch–speakers began forming secondary settlements in western Pennsylvania (e.g., Somerset County) and further west, especially Ohio, and north into Southern Ontario in what was then known as Upper Canada. Other Pennsylvania Dutch speakers migrated southward along the eastern edge of the Appalachian Mountains establishing communities in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.

Precise information on exactly where the original German-speaking immigrants to colonial Pennsylvania originated is lacking, but on the basis of passenger lists for the ships on which they traveled we have a good sense of approximately how many people came and in which years thanks to a 1999 study by the historian Marianne Wokeck. According to Wokeck (1999: 144–46), approximately two-thirds of the Pennsylvania Dutch founder population arrived in Pennsylvania before 1755, with a peak occurring between 1749 and 1755. After 1755, migration from German-speaking Europe declined dramatically and all but ceased with the onset of the American Revolution.

Although in many cases we do not know the specific communities in Central Europe from which German-speaking migrants to colonial

Pennsylvania hailed, the linguistic evidence supports that long-held view that most came from the Palatinate (*Pfalz*). Virtually all non-English vocabulary in Pennsylvania Dutch has close cognates in Palatine German (Louden 2016: 13–17). The two most well-known examples of lexical items of non-Palatine origin are the second person plural pronoun *dihr* used by Mennonite and Amish (traditional Anabaptist) speakers and the diminutive suffix *-li* (e.g., *Meedli* 'little girl'). Both are found in Swiss German dialects, which makes sense, since the ancestors of most Anabaptist Pennsylvania Dutch came from Switzerland, though in most cases after one or two generations of living in the Palatinate.

Although Pennsylvania Dutch bears a strong resemblance to Palatine German, the two languages have diverged over the past three centuries due to the differing sociolinguistic situations of their speakers. Since the colonial era, all Pennsylvania Dutch speakers have been bilingual in English to some degree. In the earliest known representation of what we might consider nascent Pennsylvania Dutch, a parody of a conversation between two German speakers in Pennsylvania that was published in 1759, the singular feature is an excessive use of English loanwords (Louden forthcoming). Indeed, all descriptions of Pennsylvania Dutch, from the scholarly to the fanciful, from the 18th century onward note the linguistic effects of English. In the Palatinate and the rest of German-speaking Europe, the *Dachsprache* (umbrella language), especially since the 19th century, has been standard German. Whereas English has left an indelible linguistic imprint on Pennsylvania Dutch, mostly in the form of borrowed words and calques, Palatine German has been affected by standard German, especially today, when all *Pfälzisch* speakers also speak (and are often dominant in) the standard variety.

Indirect evidence suggests that Pennsylvania Dutch existed by the early 1780s. Already in 1784 there is the first reference in print to a distinct "Pennsylvanische[r] Deutsche[r] Dialect" spoken in the hinterlands of southeastern Pennsylvania (Louden 2016: 88–92). Further, one of the oldest secondary settlements of Pennsylvania Dutch speakers outside of the traditional Dutch Country that still exists, in Southern Ontario, was formed in 1786 or 1787 (Steiner 2015: 36). Given the strong similarity between Ontario Pennsylvana Dutch and varieties spoken in the United States, it is highly likely that children who were born in America to mid-18th-century immigrants and who would have reached adulthood by the 1770s and 1780s comprised the crucial generation in the genesis of Pennsylvania Dutch.

In the 1830s, German-speaking migrants started coming to America again, but these 19th-century arrivals had little impact on the Pennsylvania Dutch language and the emerging folk culture with which it was associated, in part because the two groups did not live in close proximity to one an-

other. Pennsylvania Dutch has always been spoken by mostly rural dwellers; if speakers moved to towns and cities, where English dominated, they or their children soon came to speak mostly or exclusively English. For later waves of German speakers to have had an impact on Pennsylvania Dutch, they would have had to settle outside of urban areas and intermarry with the descendants of 18th-century migrants. This did not happen on a large scale. German speakers who were inclined to farm or pursue agriculture-adjacent occupations in the 19th century did not settle in rural Pennsylvania, but typically went farther west, to territories and states where land was still available.

The two to three generations that separated the Pennsylvania Dutch and German newcomers, whom the former dubbed *Deitschlenner* (Germany people), coincided with major cultural changes in German-speaking Europe that further set the two groups apart from one another. Members of the Pennsylvania Dutch founder population left during an era before the Enlightenment when few Germans, especially rural dwellers, identified with a supraregional, secular German culture. For most early Pennsylvania Dutch, their Christian faith was at the center of their identity. Although there has always been denominational diversity within Pennsylvania Dutch society, their spirituality and culture had a strongly Pietist character. Many Pennsylvania Dutch – especially those who were not members of pacifist or nonresistant groups such as the Mennonites, Dunkards (Brethren), and Amish, sectarians who comprised a small minority of the earliest Pennsylvania Dutch – also displayed a strong affinity for the values of the American Revolution. With their departure from Europe in the 18th century, the connection with the homeland was largely lost. Many *Deitschlenner*, on the other hand, identified with a spirit of *Deutschtum* (Germanness), even if they also felt just as American as their distant Pennsylvania Dutch cousins.

Over the course of the 19th century, the number of Pennsylvania Dutch speakers increased, reaching a high point of perhaps 750,000 speakers between 1870 and 1890 (Seifert 1971: 16–17). At that time, and into the 20th century, most Pennsylvania Dutch speakers were descended from Lutheran and German Reformed immigrants and were known as the "Church People" or "Fancy Dutch"; in the scholarly literature they are also described as nonsectarians. Pennsylvania Dutch–speakers who are members of traditional Anabaptist groups, mostly Mennonites and Amish, are the "Plain People" or sectarians. In the first half of the 20th century, many nonsectarians shifted to speaking English only, while the most traditional Mennonites and Amish, especially the Old Orders, continued to maintain Pennsylvania Dutch. Today, the youngest fluent nonsectarian speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch who grew up with the language are in their 70s. However, among today's Old Orders, who currently live in thirty-two US states and four Canadian provinces and whose populations are growing exponentially, Pennsylvania Dutch is thriving.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, when Pennsylvania Dutch was still widely spoken by nonsectarians, linguists identified patterns of regional variation, mostly lexical, within the traditional Dutch Country of southeastern Pennsylvania. There was a general divide between the Pennsylvania Dutch spoken in Lehigh County, located in the northeastern part of the Dutch Country, and the varieties in Lancaster and York counties in the southwest. Berks County, which is situated between Lehigh and Lancaster counties, formed a transitional area. Historically and still today, most Amish and Mennonite sectarians were concentrated in Lancaster County and spoke southwestern varieties. The Pennsylvania Dutch of their coreligionists living outside of Pennsylvania, including Ontario and Midwestern states, is descended from the historical Lancaster/York varieties (Louden 2016: 321–22). Since the 19th century, there has been further differentiation within sectarian varieties such that today we can broadly distinguish between the Pennsylvania Dutch spoken by Amish and Old Order Mennonites living in or affiliated with Lancaster County (Lancaster Pennsylvania Dutch), the varieties used by Amish with historical ties to Ohio (Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch), and the Pennsylvania Dutch spoken by Old Order Mennonites in Ontario (Ontario Pennsylvania Dutch). Within the Lancaster variety, it should be noted that there are some differences between the speech of Amish and Old Order Mennonites (see Louden 2016: 325). The variation across all Pennsylvania Dutch varieties is not so significant as to impede mutual intelligibility. The discussion below will focus on data from Lancaster and Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch.

2 Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Vowels

Pennsylvania Dutch long and short monophthongs are arranged into a system that distinguishes between four degrees of height and three degrees of backness. Table 1 gives the inventory of long monophthongs with examples and standard German cognates. The spelling of the Pennsylvania Dutch words follows the Buffington-Barba-Beam convention (Beam 2004–11).

In modern Pennsylvania Dutch there are two diphthongs, [aɪ] and [ɔɪ]. The latter diphthong occurs in both Lancaster and Midwestern varieties, e.g., *Moi* [mɔɪ] 'May'; *Hoi* [hɔɪ] 'hay'. The distribution of [aɪ] varies between the two varieties. Lancaster varieties in this respect are more conservative and preserve the diphthong inherited from Palatine German, as in [daɪtʃ] 'PA Dutch, German', whereas in Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch, [aɪ] has been monophthongized to [ɛː], as in [dɛːtʃ]. There is incipient monopthongization of [aɪ] in Lancaster varieties before the liquids [ɹ, ɫ], e.g., *mir heiere* [miːɐ hɛːɹ]

Table 1: Long monophthongs in Pennsylvania Dutch

Long monophthongs	Examples
high front unrounded [i:]	dief [di:f] *tief* 'deep'; Hiet [hi:t] *Hüte* 'hats'
high-mid front unrounded [e:]	lese [le:sə] *lesen* 'to read'; Deel [de:l] *Teil* 'part'; bees [be:s] *böse* 'angry'; Freed [fre:t] *Freude* 'joy'
low-mid front unrounded [ɛ:] (mostly in Midwestern PD; see discussion)	deitsch [dɛːtʃ] *deutsch* 'PA Dutch, German'; deich [dɛ:ç] *durch* 'through'
low front unrounded [a:]	Haus [ha:s] *Haus* 'house'
low-mid back rounded [ɔ:]	Haas [hɔ:s] *Hase* 'rabbit'; Fraa [frɔ:] *Frau* 'woman'
high-mid back rounded [o:]	Hof [ho:f] *Hof* 'yard'; schloofe [ʃlo:fə] *schlafen* 'to sleep'; bloo [blo:] *blau* 'blue'
high back rounded [u:]	gut [gu:t] *gut* 'good'; wu [vu:] *wo* 'where'; uff [ʔu:f] *auf* 'up'

'we marry'; *Meil* [mɛ:ł] 'mile'. Conversely, in Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch [aɪ] is retained before unstressed central [ə, ɐ], e.g., *mir heiere* [mi:ɐ haɪərə] 'we marry'; *ich heier* [ʔɪç haɪɐ] 'I marry' (Louden 1997: 81). The difference between [aɪ] and [ɛ:] is the most salient shibboleth between Lancaster and Midwestern varieties; see Keiser 2012: 75–115 for an extensive sociolinguistic analysis of this phenomenon.

A third diphthong, [aʊ], is documented in older varieties of Pennsylvania Dutch, for example, in Albert F. Buffington's 1937 doctoral dissertation, which was based on data from nonsectarian speakers from Pennsylvania. Examples cited by Buffington (1937:109) include native vocabulary, e.g., *Haus* [haʊs], *Gaul* [gaʊl], *laut* [laʊt], as well as English borrowings, e.g., *ebaut* [əbaʊt] 'about', *ennihau* [ɛnɪhaʊ] 'anyhow', and *Kraud* [kraʊt] 'crowd'. Other studies from the same era, namely the dissertations of Alfred L. Shoemaker (1940) and J. William Frey (1941), describe a vowel intermediate between [aʊ] and the modern long monophthong [a:] that they still identify as a diphthong. Shoemaker was a native speaker of the nonsectarian variety spoken in Lehigh County, PA, located in the northeastern region of the traditional Pennsylvania Dutch Country, who studied the Midwestern speech of Amish in Arthur, IL. Frey spoke and studied the Pennsylvania Dutch variety of eastern York County in the southwestern Dutch Country. Shoemaker (1940:14–15) describes the Arthur Amish pronunciations of *Haus, Gaul,* and other words with historical [aʊ] as long monophthongs followed by a "slurred vowel" (schwa): [a:ə]. In a section comparing lexical differences between Arthur Amish Pennsylvania Dutch and his native variety, Shoemaker includes Lehigh pronunciations that also include [a:ə] in words that once were pronounced with [aʊ]. e.g., *versaue*

[fɐsaːə] 'to soil'; *Schpeckmaus* [ʃpɛkmaːəs] 'bat' (Shoemaker 1940:73). Like Shoemaker, Frey (1941:9–10) describes the vowel in question as a diphthong consisting of a long [aː] followed by a schwa, which he represents as an offglide, i.e., [ãᵊ]. The "diphthong" described by Shoemaker and Frey, that is, a long monophthong followed by an offglide, is a plausible intermediate stage in the monophthongization of [aʊ] to [aː] in Pennsylvania Dutch.

The historical development of the long vowel system of Pennsylvania Dutch likely proceeded as follows. Already in Palatine German, there is evidence that monophthongization of [aʊ] and backing and rounding [aː] were underway. For example, the entry in the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch* (Christmann et al. 1965–1998) for *Frau* 'woman' includes variants of the word with [au], [aː], [ɔː], and even [oː] (written as <au>, <aa>, <åå>, and <oo>, respectively). The long vowel system would have started to develop from a triangular to a rectangular system, as in figure 1.

Figure 1: Restructuring of the Pennsylvania Dutch long vowel system (stage 1)

iː		uː		iː		uː
eː	oː		>	eː		oː
	aː			(aʊ >) aː	(aː >) ɔː	
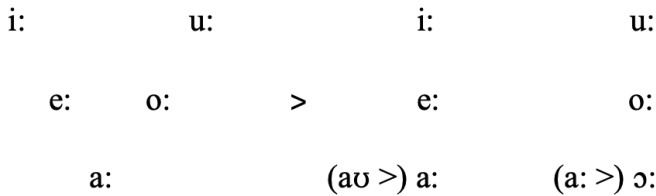
In the next stage, the rectangular system developed into a triangular system again, with [aː] occupying the bottom corner (vertex) position and [ɔː] being located on the right side of a new low-mid level. The later monophthongization of [aɪ] to [ɛː], which is now largely complete in Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch, was thus motivated by the systemic pressure to maintain or restore symmetry; see figure 2.

Figure 2: Restructuring of the Pennsylvania Dutch long vowel system (stage 2)

iː		uː		iː		uː
eː	oː			eː		oː
			>			
ɔː				(aɪ >) ɛː	ɔː	
aː					aː	
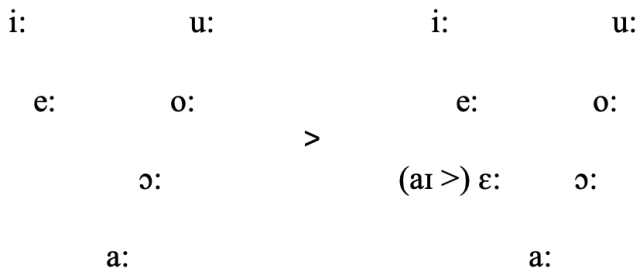
The system of short vowels in Pennsylvania Dutch involves three levels of height and three levels of backness, as shown in table 2:

Table 2: Short monophthongs in Pennsylvania Dutch

Short monophthongs	Examples
near-high near-front unrounded [ɪ]	bin [bɪn] *bin* '(I) am; dinn [dɪn] *dünn* 'thin'; siwwe [sɪvə] *sieben* 'seven'
low-mid front unrounded [ɛ]	esse [ɛsə] *essen* 'to eat'; Leffel [lɛfəl] *Löffel* 'spoon'; gewwe [gɛvə] *geben* 'to give'
low front unrounded [a]	Nacht [naxt] *Nacht* 'night'; Gawwel [gavəl] *Gabel* 'fork'; Hasch [haʃ] *Hirsch* 'deer'; Bascht [baʃt] *Bürste* 'brush'; schtarewe [ʃdaɹəvə] *sterben* 'to die'; kannich [kanɪç] *körnig* 'grainy'; Watt [vat] *Wort* 'word'; darich [daɹɪç] *durch* 'through'
low-mid back rounded [ɔ]	Kopp [kɔp] *Kopf* 'head'; Bodde [bɔdə] *Boden* 'ground'; Monn [mɔn] *Mann* 'man'
near-high near-back rounded [ʊ]	Budder [bʊdɐ] *Butter* 'butter'; kumme [kʊmə] *kommen* 'to come'; Hunnich [hʊnɪç] *Honig* 'honey'
mid central [ə]	Dore [dɔɐɹə] (Lanc. PD [dɔɹ]) *Tore* 'gates'; heiere [haɪɐɹə] *heiraten* 'to marry'; geguckt [gəgʊkt] *geguckt* 'looked (ptc.)'
near-low central [ɐ]	Dor [dɔɐ] *Tor* 'gate'; heier [haɪɐ] *heirate* '(I) marry'

A comparison of the examples of short diphthongs in the table above with their cognates in standard German, whose vocalism is in this respect more conservative than what we see in Pennsylvania Dutch, points to two historical processes. First, shortening has affected all historically long vowels in closed syllables except for [u:], a process that was apparently already completed in Palatine German before the migration of speakers to colonial Pennsylvania. This is demonstrated by the cognates of words like *siwwe, gewwe, Gawwel,* and *Bodde* listed in the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*.

A second change affecting short monophthongs in Pennsylvania Dutch that was incipient in Palatine German but dramatically accelerated in Pennsylvania Dutch is the lowering of all historically non-low short vowels to [a] before tautosyllabic /r/. This was followed by the simplification of /r/+C cluster through either the deletion of /r/ (*Hirsch > Hasch*) or the insertion of an epenthetic vowel between /r/ and C, either [ɪ] before dorsals (e.g., *durch > darich*) or [ə] before labials (e.g., *sterben > schtarewe*). In Midwestern

Pennsylvania Dutch, the deletion of /r/ after [a] has been advanced to include ambisyllabic /r/ especially before dorsals, e.g., *deich* [dɛːç] 'through' (cf. Lancaster PD [daɹɪç]), a phenomenon first noted by Alfred Shoemaker (1940: 2, 16). As discussed in Louden 2024, the lowering of short mid and high vowels before /r/ and cluster reduction are due to koineization (new dialect formation) in the history of Pennsylvania Dutch. These changes have done the most to differentiate Pennsylvania Dutch phonologically from its distant Palatine German cousins.

2.2 Consonants

The consonant inventory of Pennsylvania Dutch is generally similar to what is found in Palatine and other Central and Upper regional varieties of European German, as shown in table 3.

Table 3: Consonants in Pennsylvania Dutch

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
nasal	m		n			ŋ	
plosive	p b		t d			k g	ʔ
affricate			ts	tʃ			
fricative		f v	s	ʃ	ç	x	
approximant				ɹ	j		
tap/flap			ɾ				
lateral			l ɫ				

Pennsylvania Dutch consonantism shows the effects of historical lenition, especially intervocalically, but also initially before /r/, /l/, /n/, and /v/. In intervocalic and initial positions, Old High German [p, t, k] are lenited to [b, d, g] in Pennsylvania Dutch; [b] lenites to [v] and [g] is deleted intervocalically only. See examples with Old High and standard German cognates in table 4. Note that in Palatine German, and by extension Pennsylvania Dutch, West Germanic [p] did not undergo affrication as part of the High German Consonant Shift.

In nouns and verbs that have multiple inflectional forms, one could argue that the fortis consonants /b/ and /g/ are preserved at the phonemic level. Pennsylvania Dutch, like its European German cousins, has a rule of final-obstruent devoicing, which means that unlenited phonemes are not actually produced, however the most parsimonious phonological analysis of the alternation between [p] and [v] and between [k] and ø would require positing that these sounds are the phonetic realizations of phonemic /b/ and /g/.

Consider, for example, the first person singular and plural forms of the verbs

Table 4: Lenition in the history of Pennsylvania Dutch

	OHG	PA Dutch	Standard German	English
p > b	apful pflanzōn	[abəl] [blansə]	Apfel pflanzen	'apple' 'to plant'
t > d	butera treffan	[bʊdɐ] [drɛfə]	Butter treffen	'butter' 'to make contact'
k > g	stecko knopf quellen	[ʃdɛgə] [gnɔp] [gve:lə]	Stecken Knopf quälen	'stick' 'button' 'to torment'
b > v	gilouba	[glɔ:və]	Glaube	'faith'
g > ø	regan	[ɾe:ə]	Regen	'rain'

glaawe 'to believe' and *draage* 'to carry': [glɔ:p] '(I) believe' ≈ [glɔ:və] '(we) believe', [drɔ:k] '(I) carry' ≈ [drɔ:ə] '(we) carry'. The underlying stems of these verbs would be /glɔ:b-/ and /drɔ:g-/.

The phonology of Pennsylvania Dutch is largely unaffected by contact with English except with respect to the liquids /r/ and /l/. Historically, /r/ was pronounced as an apical tap [ɾ]. This tap is preserved intervocalically and in word-initial clusters in Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch, e.g., *faahre* [fɔɐɾə] 'to drive' and *gross* [gɾo:s] 'large'. When /r/ occurs alone at the beginning of a word in Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch, the "American" [ɹ] is used, e.g. *rot* [ɹo:t] 'red'. In Lancaster varieties, [ɹ] has replaced the alveolar tap completely. These varieties also have a rule of schwa-deletion after /r/, thus the following forms occur: [fɔɹ] 'to drive' (but [fɔɐ] '(I) drive'), [gɹo:s] 'large', [ɹo:t] 'red'. Regarding /l/, Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch is again conservative relative to Lancaster varieties. The "light" [l] produced by the tip of the tongue making contact with the alveolar ridge is used, whereas the velarized "dark" [ɫ] characteristic of most American English varieties has been borrowed into Lancaster Pennsylvania Dutch. The difference between Midwestern and Lancaster pronunciations of /l/ is most audible post-vocalically, as with the word *Mol* 'time, occasion': Midwestern [mo:l] vs. Lancaster [mo:ɫ]. The Lancaster post-vocalic [ɫ] is so velarized as to sound almost vocalized.

2.3 Loanword phonology

When a word is borrowed from one language into another, its sound structure may be altered to fit the phonological patterns of the recipient language. In that situation, the loanword is said to be adapted, otherwise it is adopted. Earlier generations of speakers, both sectarians and nonsectarians,

though bilingual, were typically Pennsylvania Dutch–dominant, meaning that their English was "Dutchified," that is, influenced by the phonological patterns of their first language. Over the history of Pennsylvania Dutch, the phonological adoption of loanwords has become more common as speakers have become more balanced bilinguals, which is the situation of most Anabaptist sectarians today. The trend is demonstrated by the fact that older, phonologically adapted loanwords have been replaced by partially or fully adopted borrowings, which in some cases leads to generational variation. The words for 'porch' are an example. When he conducted his field work in the late 1930s and early 1940s, J. William Frey noticed a difference between older speakers who used the adapted *Bortsch* [bɔɐtʃ] for 'porch' and younger consultants, who produced the partially adapted form *Portsch* [pɔɐtʃ], which is the most common variant most today (Frey 1941: 54–55; 1942: 94–95). Other examples of such doublets of older and contemporary loanwords are *Beint* ≈ *Pint*, *Bressen* ≈ *Prison*, and *Kaerpet* ≈ *Carpet*.

Phonological adaptation of loanwords involves two processes, the first being the substitution of segments that are not part of the native inventory of sounds with their nearest phonetic equivalents. Examples of substituted sounds in words borrowed from English into Pennsylvania Dutch are given in table 5.

Table 5: Phonological adaptation of loanwords in Pennsylvania Dutch: sound substitutions

English > PA Dutch sound substitutions	Examples
[aʊ] > [a:]	*Kaundi* [ka:ndɪ] 'county', *Kautsch* [ka:tʃ] 'couch'
[ʌ] > [ɔ]	*fannich* [fanɪç] 'funny', *schnock* [ʃnɔk] 'snug, cute'
[æ] > [ɛ]	*ketsche* [kɛtʃə] 'to catch'
[dʒ] > [tʃ]	*Intschein* [ʔɪntʃaɪn] 'engine', *Tschtotsch* [tʃɔtʃ] 'judge'
[ð, θ] > [d]	*Badder* [badɐ] 'bother', *Dimmedi* [dɪmədɪ] 'timothy (hay)'
[w] > [v]	*Watsch* [vatʃ] '(pocket)watch', *Wipp* [vɪp] 'whip'
[z] > [s]	*Sipper* [sɪpɐ] 'zipper', *reese* [re:sə] 'to raise (e.g., crops)'

Of these seven substitutions, the replacement of [æ] may perhaps be the least frequent since there are several adopted and partially adapted loanwords that do not replace [æ] with [ɛ], including *baethe* [bæðə] 'to bathe', *Baetschler* [bætʃlɐ] 'bachelor', and *Schkraeps* [ʃkræps] 'scraps'.

There are a number of English loanwords in Pennsylvania Dutch in which substitutions of certain vowels appear to have occurred, e.g., PD [ɛ] ≈ E [a] before /r/, e.g., *tschaertsche* [tʃɛɐtʃə] 'to charge'; PD [ɛ] ≈ E [ɪ] *Rewwer* [ɪɛvɐ] 'river'; PD [ɔɪ] ≈ E [aɪ], e.g., *Boi* [bɔɪ] 'pie'. However, these are not actually

substitutions but examples of older pronunciations in regional English that in many cases have fallen out of use (cf. Frey 1941: 61–62). The pronunciation of *Iowa* in Pennsylvania Dutch as "Ioway" [ʔaɪəve:] is another example of the preservation of an archaic English pronunciation.

The second form of adaptation of English loanwords to Pennsylvania Dutch phonology occurs when borrowings are made to conform to the phonological rules that govern the distribution of native sounds. Table 5 shows examples of the application of five rules of Pennsylvania Dutch phonology: lenition of /p, t, k/, final-obstruent devoicing, /r/-vocalization, spirantization of /s/ before C, and short vowel lowering before /r/ and simplification of /r/+C clusters. Following the table are comments on the application of these rules.

Table 6: Phonological adaptation of loanwords in Pennsylvania Dutch: rules

PA Dutch phonological ruies	Examples
lenition of /p, t, k/ before /l, r/	*blendi* [blɛndɪ] 'plenty', *Grick* [grɪk] 'creek'
final-obstruent devoicing	*Tschap* [tʃap] 'job', *Loot* [lo:t] 'load', and *Tschock* [tʃɔk] 'jug'
/r/-vocalization	*Pickder* [pɪkdɐ] 'picture', *Portsch* [pɔɐtʃ] 'porch'
palatalization of /s/ before C	*schmeile* [ʃmɛlə] 'to smile', *schnieke* [ʃni:kə] 'to sneak', *Schlipper* [ʃlɪpɐ] 'slipper', *schpende* [ʃpɛndə] 'to spend', *rooschde* [ro:ʃdə] 'to roast', *schkippe* [ʃkɪpə] 'to skip'
short vowel lowering before /r/, simplification of /r/+C clusters	*Baricks* [baɪɪks] 'Berks', *Yarick* [jaɪɪk] 'York', *parebes* [pa(ɪ)(ə)bəs] '(on) purpose', *Schgwalli* [ʃgvalɪ] 'squirrel'

English loanwords beginning with voiceless obstruents /p, t, k/ + /l, r/ are consistently lenited to /b, d, g/ since that is the pattern for native Pennsylvania Dutch vocabulary, e.g., *Blatz* 'place', *draage* 'to carry', *griege* 'to receive'. Before vowels, lenition of historical fortis obstruents is inconsistent, e.g., *bappe* 'to adhere', *Deel* 'part', *gedolisch* 'Catholic' but *Paad* 'path', *Tee* 'tea', *Kopp* 'head'. Since /p, t, k/ + vowel is a licit combination of sounds for native vocabulary, it makes sense that many loanwords retain initial voiceless obstruents, e.g., *Puppy* [pɔpɪ], *teesde* [tesdə] 'to taste', *kicke* [kɪkə] 'to kick'. As Frey (1942: 95) speculates, borrowings that show syllable-initial lenition prevocalically, such as *Battboi* [batbɔɪ] 'potpie', likely entered Pennsylvania Dutch very early in the history of the language.

The rule of final-obstruent fortition is consistently applied to English loans in Pennsylvania Dutch. Its productivity is reflected in the reanalysis of

voiced obstruents as voiceless in borrowed verbs such as *beheefe* 'to behave' (Frey 1941: 57). The voiceless obstruent yielded in inflected forms such as *beheef* [bəhe:f] '(I) behave' is generalized to forms in which the obstruent occurs medially as well, e.g., *beheefe* [bəhe:fə] '(we/they) behave'. Although [v] does occur medially in the inflected forms of native verbs like *hewe* [he:və] 'to lift', the [v] is an allophone of an underlying /b/ (cf. the first, second, and third singular forms [he:p], [he:pʃt], [he:pt]. It appears that final obstruents in the stems of borrowed verbs in Pennsylvania Dutch have only a single allophone that is identical to the underlying phoneme.

When English loanwords are adapted phonologically to any degree, the vocalization of non-prevocalic /r/ occurs just as consistently as final-obstruent fortition. Both rules are exceptionless in Pennsylvania Dutch phonology. Not surprisingly, then, both final-obstruent fortition and /r/-vocalization have been documented as characteristic of a stereotyically "Dutchy accent" in English in earlier generations. It makes sense that the most consistently applied phonological rules, both of which are at odds with the sound patterns of Pennsylvania English, would be a source of interference for Pennsylvania Dutch speakers whose proficiency in English was relatively limited.

In Pennsylvania Dutch, as in Palatine German and many other especially southwestern German dialects, historical /s/ has become /ʃ/ before consonants, not only syllable-initially, as in standard German, but also medially and finally. Examples include *Dunnerschdaag* [dʊnɐʃdɔ:k] 'Thursday' and *Weschp* [vɛʃp] 'wasp'. Although /ʃ/ is technically a post-alveolar fricative, this process is commonly referred to as palatalization. Palatalization is blocked if an /s/ is immediately followed by a morpheme boundary. For example, when the third singular present suffix *-t* is attached to a verbal stem ending in /s/, the conjugated form is [st], e.g., *heest* [he:st] '(he/she/it) is called'. In English loans with /s/+C, the fricative is palatalized, but, as with native vocabulary, not when blocked by a morpheme boundary. An example of this is the borrowed verb *reese* [ɹe:sə] 'to raise (e.g., crops)', the third singular present form being *reest* [ɹe:st] '(he/she/it) raises'.

As discussed above, the most salient difference between Pennsylvania Dutch and its Palatine German linguistic cousins is the across-the-board lowering of short vowels before /r/ and the simplification of /r/+C clusters through either the deletion of /r/ or vowel epenthesis. These changes were underway in the very earliest stages of the language in the 18th century and continued into the 20th (Louden 2024). In table 6, there are examples of Pennsylvania place names that include short vowels or schwa plus /r/, *Baricks* [baɹɪks] 'Berks', *Yarick* [jaɹɪk] 'York', also *Harrisbarick* [haɹɪsbaɹɪk]. The legacy of these changes is reflected in the family names of Amish and Mennonite Pennsylvania Dutch speakers with pronunciations that differ clearly between Pennyslvania Dutch and English. Examples include *Hershberger* (historically

Hirschberger) PD [haʃbaɪɐ] vs. E [hɚʃbɚgɚ]; *Hertzler* PD [hatslɐ] vs. E [hɚtslɚ]; *Kurtz* PD [kats] vs. E [kɚts]; *Horst* PD [haʃt] vs. E [hɚst].

3 Morphosyntax

3.1 Nominal morphosyntax

One of the most obvious grammatical differences between Pennsylvania Dutch and its European German cousins, including Palatine German, is in its case system. Into the 20th century, Pennsylvania Dutch had a three-case system for personal pronouns, nominative, accusative, and dative. Noun phrases (specifically, definite articles and attributive adjectives) were marked for two cases, common (historically, nominative) and dative. Into the 20th century, the accusative masculine definite article *den* was preserved, but only when used demonstratively to mean 'this [noun]' (Frey 1941: 158). That form is nonexistent today.

In the first decades of the 20th century, specifically in varieties spoken by sectarians born during or after the 1920s and 1930s, the dative case was partially or entirely lost. In Lancaster Pennsylvania Dutch, the dative is completely gone. Among some older Midwestern speakers, especially the highly traditional Swartzentruber Amish, it is preserved to some extent (Louden 2016: 322–324). An important source of data for the loss of the dative case is *Di Heilich Shrift* (2013), a Pennsylvania Dutch translation of the Bible that was produced by a committee of native speakers from Ohio under the leadership of Henry D. "Hank" Hershberger (1923–2023), who was born in precisely the era when evidence suggests that the dative was being lost. The dative was still partially productive in the varieties spoken by Hershberger and his team, thus data from *Di Heilich Shrift* offer documentation for an intermediate stage between older Pennsylvania Dutch, when the dative was fully productive, and the modern language. Tables 7a and 7b shows the nominative, accusative, and dative forms for personal pronouns in historical and modern Pennsylvania Dutch. The data in *Di Heilich Shrift* are consistent with the historical system, in other words, the dative is still fully productive.

Table 7a: Personal pronouns in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

PRONOUNS	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
1 sg ≈ pl	ich ≈ mir	mich ≈ uns	mir ≈ uns
2 sg ≈ pl	du ≈ dihr	dich ≈ eich	dir ≈ eich
3 sg ≈ pl	er/es/sie ≈ sie	ihn/es/sie ≈ sie	ihm/ihm/ihre ≈ ihne/ sie

Table 7b: Personal pronouns in modern Pennsylvania Dutch

PRONOUNS	Nominative	Accusative
1 sg ≈ pl	ich ≈ mir	mich ≈ uns
2 sg ≈ pl	du ≈ dihr	dich ≈ eich
3 sg ≈ pl	er/es/sie ≈ sie	ihn/es/sie ≈ sie

The two-case system for definite articles is given in table 8a. Data from *Die Heilich Shrift* (= conservative Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch) show that the dative forms of the feminine singular *der* [dɐ] and plural *de* [də] were replaced by the common form *die* [di:] (table 8b). In the speech of Lancaster sectarians and younger Midwesterners, the masculine neuter singular *em* [m] is now gone (table 8c).

Table 8a: Definite articles in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

DEFINITE ARTICLES	**masculine**	**neuter**	**feminine**	**plural**
Common	der	es	die	
Dative	em		der	de

Table 8b: Definite articles in conservative Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch

DEFINITE ARTICLES	**masculine**	**neuter**	**feminine**	**plural**
Common	der	es	die	
Dative	em			

Table 8c: Definite articles in Lancaster/progressive Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch

DEFINITE ARTICLES	**masculine**	**neuter**	**feminine**	**plural**
Common	der	es	die	

The expansion of the feminine *die* form as a first step in the loss of the dative is paralleled in the strong declension of Pennsylvania Dutch adjectives, that is, adjectives not preceded by an article, e.g., *hees-er Kaffee* 'hot coffee', *sauwer-ø Wasser* 'clean water', *gud-i Supp* 'good soup', *gross-i Hend* 'large hands'. As with definite articles, the feminine and plural common forms first replace the dative in conservative Midwestern varieties. Interestingly, in his fieldwork with nonsectarian adults in the 1930s and 1940s, Frey (1941: 153) noted that some, presumably younger, consultants used *-i* [i] instead of the older *-e* [ə], which is indicated in table 9b. The *i*-suffix was expanded further in conservative Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch (table 9b). Table 9c shows the complete replacement of dative with common forms in the most progressive modern varieties.

Table 9a: Strong adjective declension in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

STRONG DECLENSION	masculine	neuter	feminine	plural
Common	-er	ø	-i	-e (-i)
Dative	-em		-er	

Table 9b: Strong adjective declension in conservative Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch

STRONG DECLENSION	masculine	neuter	feminine	plural
Common	-er	ø	-i	
Dative	-em			

Table 9c: Strong adjective declension in Lancaster/progressive Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch

STRONG DECLENSION	masculine	neuter	feminine	plural
Common	-er	ø	-i	

The loss of the dative in the weak declension system in Pennsylvania Dutch affecting adjectives followed by a definite article, e.g. *der hees-ø Kaffee* 'the hot coffee', *s'sauwer-ø Wasser* 'the clean water', *die gut-ø Supp* 'the good soup', *die gross-i Hend* 'the large hands', also began with plural and feminine singular forms, as documented by Frey (1941: 153) and the data from *Di Heilich Shrift*. The historical, conservative, and progressive systems are given in tables 10a, b, and c.

Table 10a: Weak adjective declension in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

WEAK DECLENSION	masculine	neuter	feminine	plural
Common	ø			-e/-i
Dative	-e			

Table 10b: Strong adjective declension in conservative Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch

WEAK DECLENSION	masculine	neuter	feminine	plural
Common	ø		ø	-i
Dative	-e			

Table 10c: Strong adjective declension in Lancaster/progressive Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch

WEAK DECLENSION	**masculine**	**neuter**	**feminine**	**plural**
Common	ø			-i

    The mixed declension of Pennsylvania Dutch adjectives was affected by changes in the forms for indefinite articles *en* 'a(n)' and *ken* 'not' and possessive articles, which were historically inflected for number and gender in the dative case only. The dative forms of *en* were *em* for masculine and neuter nouns and *re* for feminines. The possessive articles and their inflected forms are given in tables 11a and 11b.

Table 11a: Possessive articles in Pennsylvania Dutch

POSSESSIVE ARTICLES	**singular**	**plural**
1st person	mei	unser
2nd person	dei	eier
3rd person (m/n/f)	sei/sei/ihre	ihre

Table 11b: Possessive article declension in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

INDEF/POSS ART DECLENSION	**masculine**	**neuter**	**feminine**	**plural**
Common	ø			
Dative	-m		-re	-ne

Already in conservative Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch, the dative indefinite and possessive article forms were replaced by the common forms. Tables 12a and 12b show the mixed adjective declensions (i.e., the endings on attributive adjectives preceded by indefinite and possessive articles) historically and in the contemporary language. The replacement of the dative singular and plural ending *-e* [ə] with *-i* was incipient in Frey's study (1941: 153).

Table 12a: Mixed adjective declension in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

MIXED DECLENSION	**masculine**	**neuter**	**feminine**	**plural**
Common	-er	ø	-i	-e (-i)
Dative	-e (also -i for feminine)			

Table 12b: Mixed adjective declension in modern Pennsylvania Dutch

MIXED DECLENSION	masculine	neuter	feminine	plural
Common	-er	ø	-i	

The difference between the weak and mixed declensions with and without dative forms in conservative Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch is nicely illustrated by the examples from *Di Heilich Shrift* in (1) and (2). Hyphens have been added before the endings to show the contrast.

(1) Er zeelt eich daafe mit <u>em</u> heilich-e [DAT] Geischt, un mit Feier (Matthew 3:11)
'He will baptize you with <u>the</u> Holy Spirit and with fire'

(2) Griesset nanner mit <u>en</u> heilich-er [COM] Kuss (Romans 16:16)
'Greet one another with <u>a</u> holy kiss'

3.2 Verbal morphosyntax

With regard to forms, the verbal system of Pennsylvania Dutch has been remarkably stable over the history of the language and continues to strongly resemble what is found in European, especially Palatine German varieties. Pennsylvania Dutch verbs fall into one of two classes, strong (stem vowel–changing) or weak; use either the auxiliary *hawwe* 'to have' or *sei* 'to be' to form the perfect tense according to rules essentially the same as what is found in German; and are conjugated in the present tense according to person and number. Semantically, however, the Pennsylvania Dutch verbal system has developed away from Palatine German to some extent, largely under the influence of English. Two changes are especially noteworthy: the development of an obligatory (i.e., not optional) distinction between progressive and non-progressive forms and the grammaticalization of verbs of counting to become future auxiliaries. These changes, which were accelerated during the 20th century, are discussed in some detail below.

In their descriptions of the Pennsylvania Dutch verbal system, scholars such as Buffington (1939), Shoemaker (1940), and Frey (1941) followed the practice of German grammarians and distinguished forms according to tense, e.g., past, present, and future. In reality, the semantic differences between verbal forms in Pennsylvania Dutch (and likely also Palatine German) have less to do with temporal distinctions than with whether the action expressed by the main verb is (or was or will be) bounded or not, which has to do not with tense but aspect.

> The term "aspect" designates the internal temporal organization of the situation described by a verb. The most common possibilities are the *perfective*, which indicates that the situation is to be viewed as a bounded whole, and the *imperfective*, which in one way or another looks inside the temporal boundaries of the situation. The latter may be divided into *habitual* and *progressive*. (Bybee 2003)

The Pennsylvania Dutch "tense system" is better viewed as an "aspect system" in which the distinction between perfective and imperfective, including the subcategories habitual and progressive, is most salient.

At the core of the Pennsylvania Dutch verbal system are the two forms traditionally described as the present and present perfect, as in (3) and (4) below.

(3)   Ich ess en Schtick Boi
         'I eat a piece of pie'

(4)   Ich hab en Schtick Boi gesse
         'I ate a piece of pie'

The basic semantic distinction between the present and present perfect in Pennsylvania Dutch is aspectual, namely imperfective versus perfective. In (3) the action of eating a piece of pie is unbounded, whereas in (4) it is completed. Although present expressions are structurally simple, certain formulations in the present, like (3), are less common than alternatives in which the imperfective quality is made explicit through constructions with explicitly imperfective semantics. Habitual aspect, for example, is marked in Pennsylvania Dutch through the use of the auxiliary *duh* 'to do', as in (5).

(5)   Ich duh en Schtick Boi esse alli Owet nooch Supper
         'I (regularly) eat a piece of pie every evening after supper'

A second way of expressing imperfective aspect in Pennsylvania Dutch is with the construction *sei* 'to be' + *an* (historically *am* 'at the') + infinitive; cf. (6).

(6)   Ich bin en Schtick Boi an esse nau
         'I'm eating a piece of pie now'

The habitual and progressive constructions resemble one another through the use of an infinitive, which has long been recognized as having a fundamentally

imperfective meaning in Germanic languages (Behaghel 1924: 305). Other examples of complex imperfective verbal constructions with infinitives in Pennsylvania Dutch including modal expressions (7) and those formed with the auxiliary *zeele*, which has been grammaticalized from the verb *zaehle* 'to count' and refers to future events and states (8).

(7)   Ich da(r)f/kann/muss/sett/will en Schtick Boi esse
        'I may/can/must/should/want to eat a piece of pie'

(8)   Ich zeel en Schtick Boi esse
        'I will/am going to eat a piece of pie'

As in German, the simple present tense can be used to express future unbounded (i.e., imperfective) actions. Cf. the expanded version of (3) in (9).

(9)   Ich ess en Schtick Boi so gschwind as ich heem kumm
        'I'll eat a piece of pie as soon as I come home'

The imperfective semantics of Pennsylvania Dutch infinitives is underscored by how they are rendered into English in an early Pennsylvania Dutch dictionary, namely as gerunds and not in the typical gloss form with 'to', e.g., *esse* (*Essa*) 'eating' (not 'to eat'; Rauch 1879: 100). The correlation between the infinitive and unboundedness could also explain why the present perfect of modal expressions takes the form in Pennsylvania Dutch, as in German, of a "double infinitive" rather than rendering the modal as a past participle, which has a fundamentally perfective meaning; cf. (10).

(10)   Ich hab en Schtick Boi esse kenne (*gekennt)
        'I was able to eat piece of pie'

A notable feature of Pennsylvania Dutch that exemplifies that correlation between past participles and perfective semantics is the frequency of what are usually described as past perfect constructions, as in (11).

(11)   Ich hab en Schtick Boi gesse ghatt
        'I had eaten a piece of pie'
        lit. 'I have a piece of pie eaten had'

Traditional grammars of German and other languages prescribe that past perfect expressions as in (11) refer to a point in time anterior to a more recent past moment, e.g., 'I had eaten a piece of pie before I left home to go to work'. Consistent with the fact that the semantics of the Pennsylvania Dutch

verbal system are fundmentally aspectual and not temporal, the meaning of expressions like (11) is more related to emphasizing the boundedness (completedness) of the action or state expressed by the main verb than its anteriority, though boundedness and anteriority can both be indicated in the same expression.

The emphatic quality of the past perfect in Pennsylvania Dutch is illustrated in (12). This is an excerpt from a children's Bible story describing the disobedience of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The passage includes examples of present perfect, including double infinitive modal expressions, and one example of past perfect (underscored).

(12) Die Fraa hot mol's Fruit geguckt. Des Fruit hot gut geguckt. Sie hot welle Weisheit griege. Noh hot sie naus glangt un samm groppt. Sie hot's versucht und der Aadam aa samm gewwe, un er hot aa gesse devun. <u>Awwer sie hen net gheicht ghatt</u>. Sie hen nimmi welle laafe un schwetze mit Gott. Sie hen sich gfeicht weeich Gott. Gott hot sie noh nimmi glosst in daer schee Gaarde bleiwe. Sie hen misse naus geh un hatt schaffe. (Vella Deitsh 1997: 11; spelling adapted to Buffington-Beam-Barba norms)

'The woman looked at the fruit. The fruit looked good. She wanted to get wisdom. Then she reached out and picked some. She tried it and gave some to Adam, too, and he also ate of it. <u>But they had not obeyed God</u>. They no longer wanted to walk and talk with God. They were afraid of God. God no longer let them stay in that beautiful garden. They had to go out and work hard.'

In this passage, the act of disobedience did not precede the picking and eating of the fruit. The two actions cooccur; the past perfect here does not mark anteriority. (The same could be said of the use of the past perfect in the English translation, 'But they had not obeyed God'.) What the past perfect does do is underscore the gravity of the very much bounded action, which is central to the overall meaning of the story.

A further example of the use of the past perfect to mark emphatic boundedness is with the verb *sei* 'to be', the only verb in Pennsylvania Dutch that has preserved a historical preterite. It is unusual for speakers to use *sei* in the present perfect, e.g., *Ich bin datt gwest* 'I have been there'; more common is the preterite, e.g., *Ich waar datt* 'I was there'. To reinforce the perfective meaning of an expression using *sei*, the past perfect may be used, e.g., *Ich waar datt gwest* 'I was (definitely) there'. The use the past perfect of *sei* contrasting with a simple preterite is shown in (13), from another children's Bible story,

this one discussing God's creation of the world. The clause with the past perfect of *sei* is underscored.

(13) Der negscht Daag hot Er all die Fisch, Grebse, Whales, un so Sache gmacht. Der sechst Daag hot Er gsaat, "Es soll Vieh sei." Des waar so Sache wie Kieh, Geil, Hasch, un Haase. <u>Un sie waare gwest</u> yuscht wie Er gsaat hot. Gott hot gsenne as die Sache as Er gmacht hot all gut waare. (Vella Deitsh 1997: 9)

'The next day He made all the fish, crabs, whales, and such things. The sixth day he said, "Let there be cattle." This was such things as cows, horses, deer, and rabbits. <u>And they were</u> just as He said. God saw that the things that He made were all good.'

In this example, the past perfect cannot mark anteriority, as the literal, inaccurate translation *'And they had been just as He said' shows.

3.3 Clause structure

Pennsylvania Dutch clause structure is largely the same as what is found in spoken varieties of European German and can be captured by the so-called topological (field) model (*Feldermodell*) for German word order. The clause is opened by the prefield (*Vorfeld*), which may contain maximally one element. Following the prefield is the left (verbal) bracket (*linke Klammer*), which in main clauses is occupied by a conjugated verb. The middle field (*Mittelfeld*), which can contain multiple constituents, is located after the left and before the right bracket (*rechte Klammer*), which marks the right periphery of the clause. A simple example of a Pennsylvania Dutch main clause, taken from the start of the example in (12), is given in (13).

(13)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET
Die Fraa	hot	mol's Fruit	geguckt

Die Fraa hot mol's Fruit geguckt
'The woman looked at the fruit'

As in German, the prefield in a main clause may be occupied a constituent other than a subject or it may be empty, as in a yes-no question. See examples in (14) and (15).

(14)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET
S'Fruit	hot	die Fraa mol	geguckt

S'Fruit hot die Fraa mol geguckt
'(It was) the fruit the woman looked at'

(15)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET
ø	Hot	die Fraa mol's Fruit	geguckt?

Hot die Fraa mol's Fruit geguckt?
'Did the woman look at the fruit?'

    Pennsylvania Dutch, consistent with oral vernacular varieties of European German, also makes productive use of what is known as the postfield (*Nachfeld*), located to the right of the right bracket. The most common elements to occupy the postfield in Pennnsylvania Dutch are adverbial expressions, especially prepositional phrases that are not verbal complements. An example of a main clause with content in the postfield is found in the fifth line of text in (12), reproduced below in (16).

(16)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
Er	hot	aa	gesse	devun

Er hot aa gesse devun
'He also ate of it'

It is reasonable to analyze elements occurring in the Pennsylvania Dutch (and German) postfield as having been moved there from the middle field, a process known as extraposition (*Ausklammerung*). This is shown by the optional rightward movement of constituents in the middle field, such as *aa* 'also' in the example above. See (17).

(17)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
Er	hot	ø	gesse	devun aa

Er hot gesse devun aa
'He ate of it, too'

Another type of constituent that is frequently extraposed is verb phrases that consist of a simple infinitive or an infinitive plus complements. There are examples of this in the excerpt from the collection of Bible stories given in (12), reproduced here in (18) and (19).

(18)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
Sie	hen	nimmi	welle	laafe un schwetze mit Gott

Sie hen nimmi welle laafe un schwetze mit Gott
'They no longer wanted to walk and talk with God'

(19)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
Sie	hen	ø	misse	naus geh

Sie hen misse naus geh
'They had to go out'

Note that the prepositional phrase *mit Gott* 'with God' in (18) has also been moved to the right of the verb it modifies, *schwetze* 'to talk'.

As in European German, in subordinate clauses in Pennsylvania Dutch the conjugated verb is positioned in the right bracket. The left bracket may be empty or, commonly, occupied by the complementizer *as* 'that' (G *dass*), which also serves as to introduce relative clauses. Pennsylvania Dutch, unlike standard German, lacks true relative pronouns. The last sentence in (13), reproduced in (20), includes examples of *as* serving to introduce both a clausal complement and a relative clause.

(20)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
Gott	hot	ø	gsenne	[as die Sache [as Er gmacht hot] all gut waare]
	as	die Sache [as Er gmacht hot] all gut	waare	
	as	Er	gmacht hot	

Gott hot gsenne as die Sache as Er gmacht hot all gut waare
'God saw that the things that he made were all good'

In standard German, a relative pronoun may be the object of a preposition. In that instance, the preposition precedes the relative pronoun in the prefield of the relative clause, as in (21) and (22). In Pennsylvania Dutch, in such relative clauses the prefield is empty and a preposition or a resumptive prepositional adverb (*da*-compound) is placed in the postfield; see (23) and (24).

(21)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
mit denen	ø	ich	gesprochen habe	

[die Leute] mit denen ich gesprochen habe
'[the people] (that) I spoke with/with whom I spoke'

(22)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
an dem	ø	ich	gearbeitet habe	

[das Haus] an dem ich gearbeitet habe
'[the house] (that) I was working on/on which I was working'

(23)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
ø	as	ich	gschwetzt hab	mit

[die Leit] as ich gschwetzt hab mit
'[the people] (that) I spoke with/with whom I spoke'

(24)

PREFIELD	LEFT BRACKET	MIDDLE FIELD	RIGHT BRACKET	POSTFIELD
ø	as	ich	an schaffe waar	draa

[s'Haus] as ich an schaffe waar draa
'[the house] (that) I was working on/on which I was working'

Although Pennsylvania Dutch maintains the basic clausal structure of European German (whereby the left and right verbal brackets are separated by a middle field) as well as the asymmetry between main and subordinate

clauses with respect to the location of the conjugated verb, the high degree of productivity of extraposition into the postfield in Pennsylvania Dutch sets it apart from standard German, including many spoken varieties.

4 Lexicon

As mentioned in the first section, the bilingualism of speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch has meant that English has had a noticeable influence on the language, mostly in its lexicon. In that respect, Pennsylvania Dutch is no different from any other language; the transfer of linguistic material, especially borrowed words, is a universal phenomenon across human languages. A useful descriptive typology to identify the lexical influence of languages on each other was formulated by Einar Haugen (1969). Donald Winford, in a handbook on language contact, modified Haugen's typology slightly (Winford 2003: 45). See (25).

(25) Typology of lexical borrowing based on Haugen 1969, Winford 2003: 45
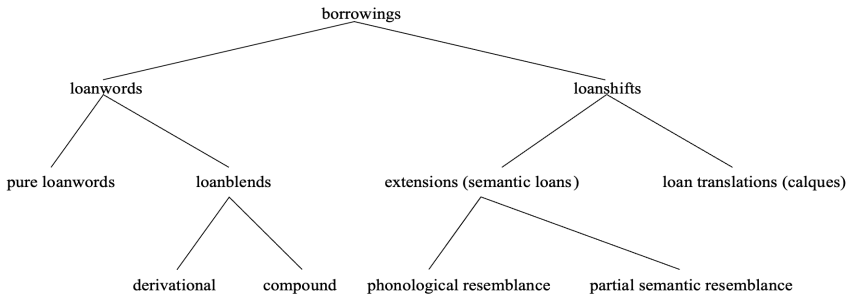
Loanwords are divided into two types: pure loanwords, lexical items that are directly taken from one language into another, and loanblends, morphologically complex words that combine both native and borrowed elements. Examples of English-derived pure loanwords in Pennsylvania Dutch are *die Schtori* 'story', *tietsche* 'to teach', *fannich* 'funny', *ferschur* 'for sure, certainly', and the discourse marker *well* 'well'. Loanblends may be either derivational, where an affix is involved, or compound. There are many derivational loanblends in Pennsylvania Dutch that combine a borrowed stem with a native prefix or suffix, e.g., *uffbaecke* 'back up'. An example of a compound loanblend is *der Kascheboi* 'cherry pie'. Most previous research on the lexical influence of English on Pennsylvania Dutch has focused on pure loanwords and loanblends. Approximately 15%–20% of Pennsylvania Dutch vocabulary consists of loanwords (Louden 2019).

Less thoroughly investigated in studies of the Pennsylvania Dutch lexicon are loanshifts, which involve the semantic modification of native vocabulary under the influence of a contacting language. Extensions, also

known as semantic loans, may be motivated either by a phonological or semantic resemblance between words in contacting langauges. An example of an extension in Pennsylvania Dutch due to its phonological resemblance with an English word is *biede*, which originally, like its German cousin *bieten*, meant 'to offer', but now means 'to defeat, win' under the influence of English *beat*. Semantic influence is at play in the alteration of the semantics of the Pennsylvania Dutch word *gucke*, which means 'to look' both in the (historically original) sense of 'to direct one's gaze' but also 'to appear', e.g., *du guckscht gut* 'you look good'. The second major type of loanshift is loan translations or calques, verbatim translations of complex words or phrases from one language into another. There are many examples of loan translations in Pennsylvania Dutch, such as *Feierblatz* 'fireplace'. The word *Dokterschtofft* literally 'doctor stuff', which was an older American English expression for 'medicine', is a calque whose second element is an extension due to phonological resemblance: *Schtofft* originally meant 'woven fabric', also figuratively 'kind, type' or 'remainder, residue', but now means 'stuff' in all its senses in English.

The *Vella Laysa* collection of Bible stories offers a nice data set for the analysis of lexical borrowings, both loanwords and loanshifts. There are no loanblends in this sample. The raw numbers and percentages of borrowed vocabulary are given in table 13, with open class words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) and closed class words (prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions, and discourse markers) viewed separately. The percentages are based on types, not tokens.

Table 13: Pure loanwords and loanshifts in *Vella Laysa* (Vella Deitsh 1997)

	pure loanwords	loanshifts	pure loanwords + loanshifts
nouns	17/126 (13%)	3/126 (2%)	20/126 (16%)
verbs	6/114 (5%)	6/114 (5%)	12/114 (10%)
adjectives	4/46 (9%)	0/46 (0%)	4/46 (9%)
adverbs	10/52 (19%)	2/52 (4%)	12/52 (23%)
loan vocabulary (open classes)	**37/338 (11%)**	**11/338 (3%)**	**48/338 (14%)**
prepositions	0/15 (0%)	4/15 (27%)	4/15 (27%)
pronouns	3/20 (15%)	2/20 (10%)	5/20 (25%)
conjunctions	0/16 (0%)	2/16 (13%)	2/16 (13%)
discourse markers	0/4 (0%)	1/4 (25%)	1/4 (25%)
loan vocabulary (closed classes)	**3/55 (6%)**	**9/55 (16%)**	**12/55 (22%)**
loan vocabulary (open and closed classes)	***40/393 (10%)***	***20/393 (5%)***	***60/393 (15%)***

If one looks only at pure loanwords in this data set, the percentage of directly borrowed open and closed class vocabulary is, at 10% (40/393), modest. However, when loanshifts are added to the mix, that percentage rises to 15% (60/393). Focusing just on open class words, the inclusion of loanshifts increases the percentage of total borrowings by just 3%, for a total of 14% percent. The situation is quite different for closed class vocabulary. Pure loanwords are quite infrequent: no prepositions, conjunctions, or discourse markers are borrowed, and just 3 out of 20 pronouns are. But 16% of closed class words, especially prepositions, are loanshifts. The semantic influence of English on Pennsylvania Dutch closed class vocabulary, at least in this sample, is considerable.

The analysis of borrowings based on a specific data set such as the *Vella Laysa* collection of Bible stories is illuminating, however it is important to examine multiple samples to see if there is variation according to factors such as medium (i.e., speech vs. writing) or topic. If one wants to look more holistically at a language, one could consider data from dictionaries. In 2011, C. Richard Beam and research assistants completed the twelve-volume *Comprehensive Dictionary of Pennsylvania German*, which was the culmination of more than six decades of lexicographic research (Beam 2004–2011). Since Pennsylvania Dutch loanblends such as *uffbaecke* 'to back up' are also evidence of the semantic influence of English, it is instructive to examine them along with loanshifts to assess the degree to which the Pennsylvania Dutch lexicon overall is affected by contact.

Verbs that are prefixed with *uff-*, which corresponds to the particle 'up' in English, are numerous in Pennsylvania Dutch. Beam's dictionary lists a total of 299 *uff*-prefixed verbs, of which 168 (57%) are inherited from Palatine German e.g., *uffschtoose* 'to burp' and *uffkumme* 'to come up'. The remaining 43% are loanblends like *uffbaecke* (n=46; 15%) and loanshifts (n=85; 28%), an example of which is *uffgucke* 'to look up (something)'. These are considerable figures, compared to the 22% of pure loanwords and loanshifts in *Vella Laysa*. Further, the 168 native *uff*-verbs can be divided between those, like *uffschtoose*, that have no *up*-particle verb counterparts in English and those, like *uffkumme*, that do. Ninety-two of the 168 native *uff*-verbs, that is, 55%, are like *uffkumme* and have direct, morpheme-for-morpheme English equivalents, e.g., *uffbaue* 'to build up' and *uffesse* 'to eat up'. If we add these 92 semantically aligned native *uff*-verbs to the 46 loanblends and 85 loanshifts with *uff-*, fully 75% of *uff*-verbs in Pennsylvania Dutch (233/299) have a direct formal and semantic equivalent in English. The main takeaway here is that although the number of pure loanwords borrowed from English into Pennsylvania Dutch is relatively modest, the less visible semantic influence of the former on the latter is substantial. While part of the reason Pennsylvania

Dutch and English closely resemble each other on the level of meaning is their shared West Germanic origin, contact-induced change has clearly intensified the semantic alignment of the two languages.

5 Conclusions

While most German-related varieties spoken in North America by European immigrants and their descendants are moribund, Pennsylvania Dutch, along with three other heritage vernacular languages of traditional Anabaptist groups, Hutterite German (Hutterisch), Mennonite Low German (Plautdietsch), and Amish Swiss German (Shwitzer), as well as their distant linguistic cousin, Yiddish, are in a robust state of health. This is due to the exceptional demographic situation of their speakers, members of religious communities who intentionally maintain a measure of distance between themselves and the larger society. The birth rates of these groups are three to four times that of their US American and Canadian neighbors, and most of their children make the decision, in the case of the Anabaptists, to formally join the church. Among Yiddish-speaking Hasidic Jews, for whom being part of their community is a birthright, the retention rate is also very high. For traditional Anabaptists and Hasidim, the maintenance of their distinctive Germanic languages is an important symbolic connection to their Christian and Jewish spiritual heritages.

As long as the Amish and Old Order Mennonites continue to thrive, so will Pennsylvania Dutch. And in the same way that these Anabaptist groups continuously "negotiate with modernity," as the Amish studies scholar Donald Kraybill has observed, so will English continue to play an important role in the evolution of Pennsylvania Dutch. No longer a German dialect, it is truly an American language.

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