Wilfried Schabus

The Hutterites: Anabaptists in Isolated Colonies in North America

1 The Hutterites today: A description

Present-day Hutterites are a Christian community based in Canada and the USA. They are Anabaptists, meaning that they reject infant baptism. The English term *Anabaptist* is Greek in origin and means "one who baptizes over again" because those who first joined an Anabaptist sect had already been baptized as infants by a Catholic priest. Through their conversion to Anabaptism, they were re-baptized as adults.

The origins of the Anabaptists are rooted in Europe, mainly in Switzerland, Austria and Germany.[1] The ruling classes regarded them as a threat to the political order, and consequently they were brutally persecuted. As early as 1529, the death penalty against the Anabaptists was introduced under the reign of Charles V. Charles was an Emperor from the Habsburg dynasty, and his empire was known as the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." This enormous Catholic realm was not going to accept any religious deviation. 2000 Anabaptists became victims of the so-called "Anabaptist decree" within the first two years after it was passed as an imperial law.[2] For the Hutterites, their story of persecution and martyrdom became one of migration via numerous temporary locations in Europe and then southern Russia to areas near the Black Sea. From there, in 1874, they embarked on their journey to the USA, where these accomplished farmers and reliable taxpayers were initially given land in South Dakota (see Figure 1).
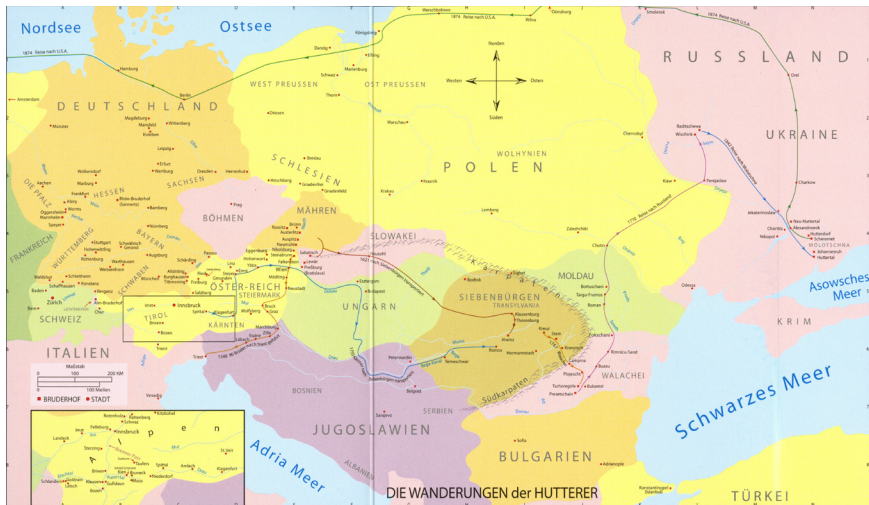
Figure 1. Routes and Stopovers of the Hutterite Migratory Speech Island.
© Gerald Hofer, Starlite Colony.

According to Anabaptist belief, a commitment to Jesus Christ requires adult judgment. Such a bond with God—after thorough education in Christian teachings—must be entered into voluntarily and out of a deep religious conviction.[3] The Hutterites see baptism as a reincarnation of the baptized in the spirit of God.[4] "Serenity," i.e., submission to God's will and the rules of life within the community, is an important aspect of this reincarnation, for Baptism establishes an eternal bond with God and His baptized followers, hence also with the members of one's own community. The Hutterites share the principle of adult baptism with other Anabaptists such as the Amish or the Mennonites.

What distinguishes the Hutterites from the aforementioned sects and makes them special among the Anabaptist communities is their life of joint property ownership, in which every member must renounce almost all personal property. Hutterite communities are organized as colonies; most of these communal units engage in agricultural activities even today. The colony's daily schedule is subject to strict rules, which may appear ascetic or even monastic. The days pass in alternating rhythms of work and prayer, prayer and work.[5] A Hutterite brotherhood comes across as a spiritually ascetic community living according to established rules [6] and serving not only God, but also their neighbor with their work. Thus, the biblical commandment of active brotherly love is not only voluntary in the colony, but it is also officially established and practiced by the community members.

The Anabaptists also refuse to swear oaths, including those to worldly organizations because they are committed only to Jesus Christ in the ultimate matters of their earthly existence. In case of military deployment, the refusal

to swear oaths automatically led to a refusal to bear arms out of conscientious objection for religious reasons. Consequently, many American Hutterites were still arrested during World War I. Two of them died in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1918.[7] As the Hutterites were threatened with the dissolution of their communities, they decided to flee to Canada. There they were granted the possibility of alternative service, but as counter-consideration from 1922 on they had to accept the Canadian compulsory education in English.[8] Later on Hutterites began to settle in the USA again.

Within their communities, the Hutterites speak a German dialect, and they also use an archaic German liturgical language. (More about the supposed diglossic situation see section 4). Nowadays, though, they are bilingual and speak English with their Anglophone business partners and friends. This definitely goes for the colony management, especially the preacher and the manager and perhaps also for the "fabric purchaser"[9] or the main cook,[10] who, however, as women were not part of a colony's management team. In their work, the Hutterites are not averse to technological innovations and thus must be distinguished from the Amish or traditional Mennonites, who are known for their distinctive lifestyle that includes limiting certain aspect of technology. But the Hutterites do, like the Amish and orthodox Mennonites, reject the radio, TV, and avoid the use of the internet as much as possible.
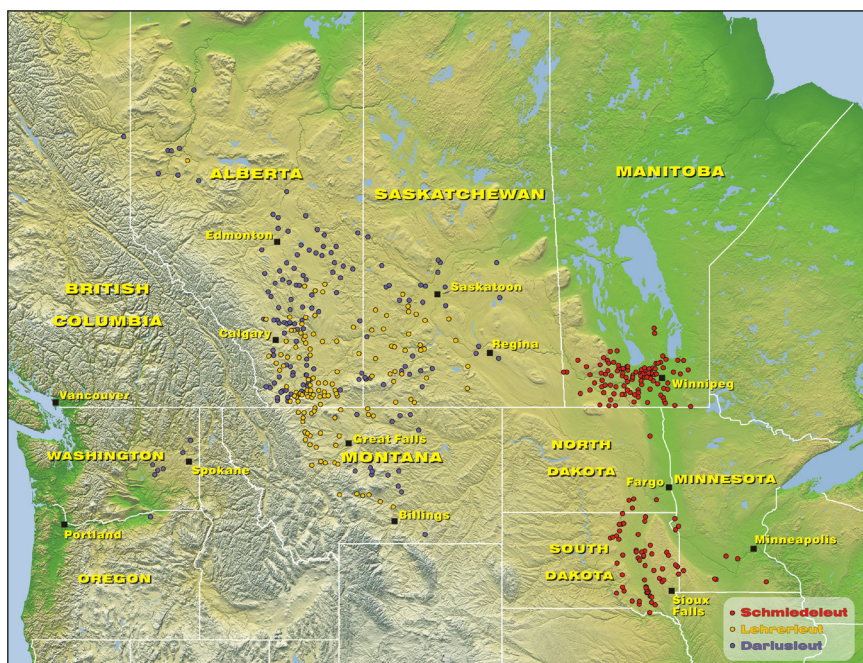

Figure 2. Hutterite Colonies in N. America.
© John C. Lehr, Dep. of Geography, University of Winnipeg.

Since their arrival in North America, the Hutterites have been divided into three subgroups named after their original leader's occupation/name, each of which has its own bishop: the moderately progressive "Schmiedeleut," the moderately conservative "Dariusleut" and the "Lehrerleut," the latter seen as very conservative by the *Schmiedeleut* group. The *Schmiedeleut* settled in the Midwest, while the *Dariusleut* and *Lehrerleut* still live farther west; see Figure 2. Most of the *Schmiedeleut* and *Dariusleut* groups arrived in 1874, the *Lehrerleut* in 1877. All three consisting of more than 400 members back then established their first colony in the same state, South Dakota.[11]

At this time, the Hutterites are a congregation of over 50,000 members. They are spread out over roughly 500 colonies. They themselves refer to their colony as a *Gma:n* or *Gma:* (MHG *gemeine* 'community'); ideally a *Gma:* consists of 60-120 individuals. About two-thirds of Hutterite colonies are now in Canada and one-third in the USA. When a colony's population grows to more than 120 members, a new colony is established, to which about half of the members move with their own preacher.[12] Hutterite economic and demographic expansion is strong.

In general, even today a farm is established as far away as possible from densely populated urban areas.[13] Hutterites sometimes remark that a colony should be like an ark of God in the world's sea of sin. As wide open spaces in isolated locations are becoming rarer even in North America, the "branching off" of secondary colonies is becoming more expensive so that the pressure to succeed economically is also increasing.

Discipline rooted in the fear of God, diligence and a stringently organized work flow are givens in daily Hutterite life. Thus, most of the colonies are very successful enterprises. In the past, some non-religious farming families reacted with envy and tended to call the Hutterites "communists."[14] The hardworking brothers and sisters of a colony managed by other baptized members owe their brotherhood management[15] obedience and do not receive a wage beyond a modest amount of personal spending money. Obviously it is easy to economize successfully under these circumstances. Critics often overlook the fact that the community's management take excellent care of its members. From what I have seen,[16] nobody suffers material hardship or a lack of medical care. Children are raised in the spirit of a long tradition among their peers in the freedom of a rural environment, and the sick and the dying receive loving care until their last breath. Within the colony, members live in apartments they would not be able to afford in the "outside world." One of the things indeed missing in these apartments is a proper kitchen because members have their meals in the dining hall of the big kitchen building, of utmost significance in the colony. Food is good and plentiful even though it must be consumed within fifteen minutes, quickly and in

silence. Nevertheless, a colony is a joyful place, and the Hutterite love of song is legendary.

Life in a community without private property is a biblical commandment for the Hutterites, in reference to Acts 2:42, which says, "Yet all who became believers lived together and owned all property together." The Hutterites believe that they embody a recreation of God's community on earth through a life in accordance with the original Christian community of Apostles in Jerusalem, as set forth in this biblical quote.

2 The establishment of a migratory speech island

2.1 The Reformation in Europe

Anabaptism was a result of the Reformation in Europe during the Early Modern Age. The Reformation of the existing Catholic church, which eventually led to a schism, was triggered by the German, Martin Luther. Luther was an Augustinian monk. There were abuses in religious practice at the time that deeply irritated Martin Luther, a devout Christian. Most of all, he protested against the Dominican monk Johann Tetzel's noisily advertised deal that offered a plenary indulgence from all one's sins in return for money. A letter of indulgence certified by the Pope would guarantee eternal life in Heaven—totally without penance, remorse and independently of the grace of God.

Not only Luther was convinced that this practice had to change because the proceeds were not used solely for the construction of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome. The luxurious Italian Renaissance Papacy was seen by many critics as the place where the clergy squandered the money of the faithful, kept mistresses and haggled over lucrative positions. It was all about power and sovereignty.[17]

Martin Luther the monk, also a professor of theology, responded by drawing up a list of theological arguments against the abuse of indulgence, in Latin, which was the language of the educated classes at the time. On October 31, 1517, he is said to have posted his 95 theses on the door of the castle and university church of Wittenberg. This date marks the day on which the Reformation began, the day which led to the political and religious upheaval that has changed the world up to the present.

Emperor Charles V demanded that Luther withdraw his arguments, but Luther refused. Consequently, in 1521, at the Imperial Diet in Worms, an imperial ban was imposed on Luther, meaning that he had no legal status whatsoever anymore. Any citizen of the Holy Roman Empire could have killed him with impunity.

But Luther also had a powerful patron, the regent and Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who had Luther hidden in Wartburg Castle, where Luther, restless and working frenetically, translated the New Testament from Ancient Greek to German by September 1522. By 1534, he had also translated the Old Testament from Ancient Hebrew. All of Scripture was thus available in the language of the people. The recent invention of printing led to rapid reproduction and widespread availability. Now everyone had access to the written source of Christianity either through reading it oneself or by having it read. The clergy's dominance in interpreting God's will was broken. "You make them poor; I will keep them dumb": The old teamwork between Pope and Emperor with respect to the subjects of the realm wasn't going to work anymore.

Sola scriptura was one of Luther's main ideas. The Latin phrase means that only the word—not the Pope's or the clergy's opinion—can reveal God's spirit and will. Access to God's word through the translation of the Bible emancipated the faithful, and this also had political implications: through conversion to Protestantism, the princes wanted to emancipate themselves from the Emperor. Cities wanted to emancipate themselves from their regents, peasants from their landowners. A brutal response from the absolutist Catholic authorities ensued immediately. The Counter-Reformation began. Ownership of a Bible was life-threatening.

Even completely apolitical individuals, who only wanted to learn about true faith and who were committed to their Christian beliefs, were burned at the stake, especially the Anabaptists, rejected also by Luther. How was it possible for so many to bear so much suffering, apparently voluntarily? The biblical concept of life after death was probably an undeniable fact to a much greater extent in those days than a present-day secular person can imagine. Yet the afterlife meant either eternal life in Paradise or eternal damnation. Through the study of Luther's Bible, many believed that they had come to understand God's word and consequently divine truth. A return to Catholicism would have meant a betrayal of this divine revelation and thus the loss of eternal salvation. And losing salvation was a much greater threat than any conceivable human suffering.

A dangerous political consequence of the enlightenment due to the Reformation was not only the Peasants' Wars of 1525 in Central Europe, but also the radical "Anabaptist Empire" in the German city of Münster in the 1530s. This Anabaptist regime was a very worldly one of violence and even polygamy.[18] Other Anabaptist movements were strictly pacifist and not at all interested in changing or dismantling the existing social order. They were called "Stäbler" = "stick holders." In contrast to the militant "Schwertler" = "sword wielders" of Münster, they did not use swords when threatened by the

authorities, but resorted to the walking stick.

In 1547, Peter Riedemann from Silesia presented his Creed and simultaneously the Hutterite social system, valid to the present day, in his text "Rechenschaft" = "Reckoning," translated as "Confession of Faith."[19] It reads like a program of theological reform for the moral improvement of man, thereby also supporting the authorities' goals (Chudaska 2003: 237). Still, many Hutterites died as martyrs; men were burned at the stake, women drowned.

In those days, Austria was constantly threatened by the Turks; in 1529, they occupied the capital city of Vienna for the first time. In the face of the danger from outside, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, a brother of Emperor Charles, wanted to at least maintain religious peace within the realm, and he did so with all the means at his disposal. The religious battles eventually led to the disastrous 30 Years' War, which ended in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia. Lutheranism and Catholicism were now formally equal before the law although only the princes had the privilege of religious choice, meaning that the regent determined the religion of his subjects.

Whoever wanted to be Protestant rather than Catholic like his regent had to emigrate. Such émigrés were granted permission to move to a Protestant area of their choice and sufficient time to sell their property. Such were the legal stipulations in force, which, however, the Habsburg rulers circumvented in dealing with the "transmigration" of Lutherans. Hence, the Counter-Reformation was still not over for a long time in Austria. Section 2.3 describes what this meant for the fate of the Hutterites.

2.2 Jakob Hutter and his Tyrolean Brotherhood in Moravia (Czechia)

Anabaptism originated in the 1520s in Switzerland as a radical branch of the Reformation. Konrad Grebel from Zurich, who argued against infant baptism together with other Protestants, to the great displeasure of the authorities,[20] is considered the founder of this movement. In January of 1525, the former Catholic priest Jörg Blaurock is said to have spontaneously asked to be baptized by Grebel at one such meeting.[21] Hence, this was probably the first ana-baptism of an adult. While traveling to South Tyrol as a missionary, Blaurock was captured and burned at the stake in 1529 at a castle near the town of Klausen/Chiusa (now Italy).[22]

In the meantime, Anabaptism had spread to the rest of Tyrol, Upper Austria and all of southern and central Germany, including Hesse, Thuringia and Silesia. As soon as in 1526 there had been established an Anabaptist community in Nikolsburg (Moravia) by the Bavarian Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier. In 1528 Hubmaier was burned at the stake in Vienna, his wife

being drowned in the Danube. In the same year there was established a brotherhood community in Austerlitz, where there was practised a life of joint property ownership. Austerlitz also is located in Moravia, then part of the Kingdom of Bohemia (now the Czech Republic). A large part of the Bohemian aristocracy was not Catholic but rather Hussite Bohemian Brothers,[23] who were theologically similar to the Anabaptists and thus tried to protect the Anabaptists from Habsburg persecution.

The hatter Jakob Hutter was also a devout follower of Anabaptism. He was from the little village of Moos near Bruneck/Brunico in the Puster Valley in South Tyrol (now Italy), only about 30 miles from Klausen, where Blaurock was executed. Hutter, a charismatic public speaker, attracted followers quickly, whom he took to Moravia in small groups. Anabaptists of various origins met in Austerlitz, and soon theological controversy arose. In 1531, the discontented separated from the Austerlitz brethren and founded their own colony in southern Moravia's Auspitz (Hustopeče). The schism was also due to the "increasing preponderance of the Tyroleans from Hutter's homeland" (see Packull 2000: 267).

In 1533 Jakob Hutter is instated as a "servant of the word," in other words, as a preacher, and the influx of Tyroleans from the Puster Valley becomes even stronger.[24] Hutter is a confirmed believer in community property. Whoever among the Anabaptists does not wish to abide by this principle cannot be a Hutterite. Not everybody wanted to live in a colony, making oneself an easy target for persecution with this highly visible lifestyle.—By justifying the concept of isolation from a sinful world theologically in his "Confession of Faith," Peter Riedemann defines Hutterite Anabaptism as a religion in its own right (cf. Chudaska 2003: 299). In 1535, Jakob Hutter travels to Tyrol, where he is captured by Ferdinand's henchmen and burned alive in Innsbruck in February 1536, but his name remains alive in the church he founded to the present day.

In 1527, Ferdinand of Austria was also crowned King of Bohemia. Thus, the Habsburgs gained greater power in Moravia, too. The Hutterites were now also persecuted there, particularly during periods when the threat to Austria by the Turks happened to subside as in1535 or 1548, so that the community lost all its property then.[25] Yet when 1562 Ferdinand's pro-Anabaptist son Maximilian II became King of Bohemia, the Hutterite "Golden Age" began with the founding of their main colony Neumühl (Nove Mlýny) near Nikolsburg (Mikulov) in southeastern Moravia. Economically they were very successful, either as peasants, craftsmen or healers. They also became famous far and wide for their artistic Haban pottery.[26] For a time, the Hutterite church consisted of over 20,000 members.[27]

In 1618, the 30 Years' War began. The battle at the White Mountain

near Prague in 1620 ended with a victory of the Habsburgs' Counter-Reformation over the Bohemian Brethren. Many were executed and the Hutterites driven out of Moravia. Most of them found a safe haven in northern Hungary (now Slovakia), where there were already Hutterite "Haushaben" 'households' in Sabatisch (Sobotište) and other places. At the same time, envoys of the Hungarian Prince Béthlen Gábor came to Moravia's Neumühl to recruit Hutterite settlers for Siebenbürgen (Transylvania). The hard-working Hutterites would invigorate the area's economy. Transylvania was a principality in those days under Ottoman rule. In 1621 and 1623, many[28] Hutterites settled in the village of Alwinz, then still heavily populated by Transylvania Saxons.[29] Economically, they were free to pursue the work of their choice, but they had to refrain from trying to spread their religion in this area populated by Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans.

The Hutterites were very successful in various crafts. Many prospered with the production of stove tiles or their famous Haban faiences. There is substantial evidence that personal gain became more important to some than that of the community.[30] "Under these circumstances the community of goods became more and more of a burden," says John Horsch (1994: 74).[31] Hence, the beginning of the end of the colonies of Winz dates back to a period of particular prosperity. Ultimately, when the region became war-torn,[32] community property was abandoned in Alwinz around 1707. In the end, the plague reduced the colony to a population of 36 in 1738. Even the two teachers died, and the colony of Sabatisch was asked to send a teacher in this time of need. Sabatisch, also in dire straits, sent the teacher Mertl Roth to Alwinz.[33] This shows how important the academic and religious education of their boys and girls always was for the Anabaptists.

2.3 A decisive encounter: Hutterites and Carinthians in Transylvania

As early as the 11th century, the King of Hungary had settlers from Germany brought to the sparsely populated Transylvania. These were then known as the Saxons of Transylvania.[34] Besides the Hungarians and Széklers, they were the third nationality represented in the legislative assembly of Transylvania. In 1691, Transylvania became Austrian after an Austria's victory over the Ottomans. In 1734, the Habsburgs began to deport Protestants to Transylvania,[35] with the intention of integrating them into the Transylvania Saxons' Protestant church. Even the Habsburgs had to tolerate this Protestant religion in Transylvania, which had been founded there back in 1547.

In 1755, yet again under-cover Protestants were deported from the area around Spittal on the Drau in Carinthia.[36] Those who were successfully settled in Transylvania were later known as "Landler."[37] The deportees, who refused

to swear an oath of allegiance to the Habsburg Emperors,[38] had to work for the Transylvanian peasants as day laborers. Some of them came to Alwinz in this capacity in 1756.[39] Two of them came into contact with the Hutterite community, which was in a state of disarray. They attended the sermon, and Joseph Kuhr, the preacher, tells them about the Hutterite religion and gives them Hutterite literature. The two Carinthians realize "that these teachings reveal divine truth and the way to eternal life." They decide to assume the Hutterite religion.[40]

Outwardly, the Transylvania Saxons were of the same religion as the transmigrants, but for those two Carinthians the official dogmatic "religious regulation of all Germans in Transylvania" was probably not much more than the ethnic regulation of the Transylvania Saxons[41] because the Carinthian deportees were persecuted martyrs at the time and consequently more than ever before searching for a community of inner religious spirituality. They welcomed the Hutterite concept of community property. The still Tyrolean-sounding Hutterite German of the time was probably also much less foreign to them than the dialects of the Transylvania Saxons.[42] Thus, many Carinthians who had transmigrated to Transylvania became Hutterites rather than Landler.[43] With this act, Johannes Waldner writes, from the light of truth God has kept over a little sparklet and saved it unto the present day, see Younger Chronicle 263. It is no exaggeration to state that today's "Hutterian Brethren Church" would not exist in North America without these Carinthians.[44]

2.4 Escape through Wallachia to Southern Russia

The Jesuit monk, who was sent by the Habsburgians, offered the Hutterites the choice, either to leave the country or to become Catholics, Protestants or Zwinglians.[45] Instead of this, in 1762, the Carinthian converts founded two colonies of their own in Transylvania, in which they practiced community property,[46] these "Neo-Hutterites" thereby dangerously exposing themselves politically because Anabaptism was also relentlessly persecuted in Transylvania, which had come under Habsburg rule in the meantime. Even the original Hutterites were punished for violating the ban to proselytize, which had been in place in Winz since they settled there.

Many Hutterites were imprisoned, and in 1767, many fled over the Carpathian Mountains to Wallachia (now Rumania), still Ottoman at the time. This group consisted of 51 mainly young Carinthians and only 16 original Hutterites.[47] These numbers had a lasting effect on the development of the Hutterite dialect.[48] In 1768, Wallachia became the scene of the Russian-Ottoman war, which led to great suffering among the Hutterites. The Russian

commander, Count Pjotr Alexandrovitsh Rumjanzev-Sadunajski, rescued the Hutterites by settling them on his land in Vishenky, which is situated on the Desna River in today's northeastern Ukraine. The Russian Czarina Catharine II promoted the settlement of hard-working peasants and craftsmen. After Rumjanzev's death (1796), the government gave the Hutterites land a few miles upstream in Raditshev.

The community in Vishenky became larger: Some Hutterites moved there after serving prison sentences in Transylvania. In 1780, after the death of the Habsburg Empress Maria Theresia, who had ordered the deportations of the Carinthians, Hutterites from Vishenky traveled to Alwinz und Sabatisch to bring former Hutterites to Russia (Maendel/Hofer 1997: 51ff).

During their 72 years on the Desna River in today's Ukraine, the Hutterites enjoyed a quiet life in their speech-island location. Some prospered with the sale of their artistic Haban pottery, according to what locals told me in Raditshev in 2004, where the memory of the excellent "German" craftsmen remains alive to the present day.[49] Perhaps this beginning economic inequality among the Hutterites and a shortage of land were contributing factors to tensions within the community. The colony impoverished, and community property was abandoned again in 1819.[50] The famous Hutterite school system now no longer had its organizational backbone, and the younger Hutterites had long become illiterate by the time they moved farther south in 1842.

The Hutterites were able to move from the Desna to the Molotchna in the Governorate of Tauria north of the Black Sea thanks to the Mennonites residing there. Through their intervention, about 50 Hutterite families received Russian government land on the Molotchna.

This is where the Hutterites established their Hutterthal = "Hutter Valley" as well as several other villages, all according to the model of Mennonite settlements. The Mennonites are Anabaptists, like the Hutterites, but they do not practice community property. They had come to southern Russia from the Vistula delta in Poland 50 years before, and they spoke a Low German dialect.

Johannes Cornies, the chief mayor of the Mennonite colonies, incorporated the Hutterites into the Mennonite administration by order of the Russian government. He sent the young Hutterites to Mennonite schools and settled them with Mennonite farmers so that they could learn modern methods of production from them.[51] This would later enable the Hutterites to start a new life of economic success in North America. Cornies did not allow the re-introduction of community property, though, and some Hutterites now feared that this would lead to the total collapse of their traditional Hutterite identity.

2.5 Renewed search for religious identity and escape to the New World

These Hutterites maintain their own dress code and evidently also their own dialect.[52] They hold their own prayer services and read their old Hutterite texts. When they read about the "faithful who were together and possessed all things in common," they experience a sense of guilt. During a serious illness, an angel appears to Michael Waldner, of Carinthian descent, and reminds him that only those in the ark survived. For him, the ark was but a symbol for the old community that they had abandoned (Hofer 1996: 56f).

In 1859, Michael Waldner, a blacksmith, returned to community property in his village of Hutterthal with his group.[53] Thus "Blacksmith Mike" became the ancestor of the *Schmiedeleut.* Darius Walther's group followed his example (the *Dariusleut*), see Hofer 1996: 57. Many miles from Hutterdorf, in Johannesruh, Jakob Wipf also wants to found a community of brethren, but he only really succeeds in doing so eighteen years later in North America. Wipf had attended the Mennonite school of education and thus became the ancestor of the *Lehrerleut* (Hofer 1996: 60).

When Czar Alexander II withdrew Anabaptist privileges in 1870, threatening them with obligatory military service and Russification of their schools,[54] Hutterite and Mennonite envoys traveled to North America together in search of land. From 1874, almost all of the then 1,265 Hutterites and almost half of the 45,000 Russian Mennonites immigrated to the New World.

In the course of their history, the Hutterites have often subjected themselves to great sacrifice for their faith. The last Hutterite martyrs so far died around the end of 1918 in Fort Leavenworth. They were Joseph J. Hofer and Michael J. Hofer, of Carinthian descent.[55]

3 Hutterite texts and their transmission

3.1 Anabaptist writing

The Reformation and Anabaptism created an abundance of literature,[56] and this goes for the Hutterites, too. They produced religious treatises, commentaries and interpretations of passages from the Bible as well as texts that defend and justify their religion, later also chronicles, epistles, prayers, sermons and, of course, lyrics. The songs are almost always spiritual in content, e.g., psalms or hymns and songs of moral edification.[57] Peter Riedemann, a shoemaker from Silesia,[58] is not only one of the most important theological Hutterite authors with his "Rechenschaft" (see section 2.1), but also perhaps their most important songwriter.

The Anabaptist epistles, e.g., those of Andreas Ehrenpreis, a miller from

Württemberg, are of particular significance. He is the Dean of the Hutterite church during a period of its decline. In 1652, from his community in Sabatisch/Sobotište (northern Hungary, Slovakia today), he also sends an epistle to the community in Alwinz in Transylvania. The letter is an appeal to the brotherhood for spiritual and moral renewal and stricter discipline. At that time, Ehrenpreis also draws up his rules for Hutterite communities,[59] thereby granting us insight into Hutterite life.

3.2 Written tradition

3.2.1 Compiling and copying by hand

The aforementioned epistle was already printed in Scottdale, Pennsylvania, in 1920. The publisher of the "Huterische Brüder Gemeine" published Peter Riedemann's "Rechenschaft," written in the 1540s and the most important religious text, in German in Indiana already in 1902.

Page 2 of this edition says, "The book was published several times in the 16th century . . . Perhaps the only remaining copy of the earlier publications is in the library of the University of Chicago. The current edition is an unaltered reprint." "Unaltered" may apply to the content, but not for the language because almost every new edition contains changes to the old so as to modernize the text. Literature that is almost 500 years old would hardly be intelligible in its original Early NHG version. Modernizations in form are present even in the title "Rechenschafft vnserer Religion / Leer vnnd Glaubens / Von den Bruedern, so man die Hutterischen nennt" (edition of 1565) vs. "Rechenschaft unsrer Religion, Lehre und Glaubens. Von den Brüdern, die man die Huterischen nennt" (edition of 1902) = "Reckoning of our religion, teachings and beliefs. About the brethren known as the Hutterites." The word-for-word edition of the "Älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder" = "The Oldest Chronicle of the Hutterite Brethren" (Zieglschmid 1943) grants particularly clear insight into the development of Early NHG writing.

Apart from editorial or linguistic projects, print editions or reprints were not the most important type of Hutterite text transmission, but rather handwritten copies. The above mentioned "Rechenschaft . . ." of 1902 alludes to this on page 2: "The book was published . . . in print. . . in the 16th century; thereafter it was republished through copying."

Another handwritten book with the following title is from 1792 (see Figure 3): Erklärung und / Außlegŭng Etlicher Kapitel / aŭs dem Newĕn Testament. / Handlen von der frölichen / Sigreichen aŭfferstechŭng ŭnd / Himmelfarth unsers Lieben / Herrn und Heillandts / Jesu Christo. / Aus Etlicher Alten Leerer / der Jacob Hŭetterischen gmain, Sch= / rifften, Zu samen getragen, ŭnd aŭf / ein Newĕs Beschriben in Klein Rŭß= / land im
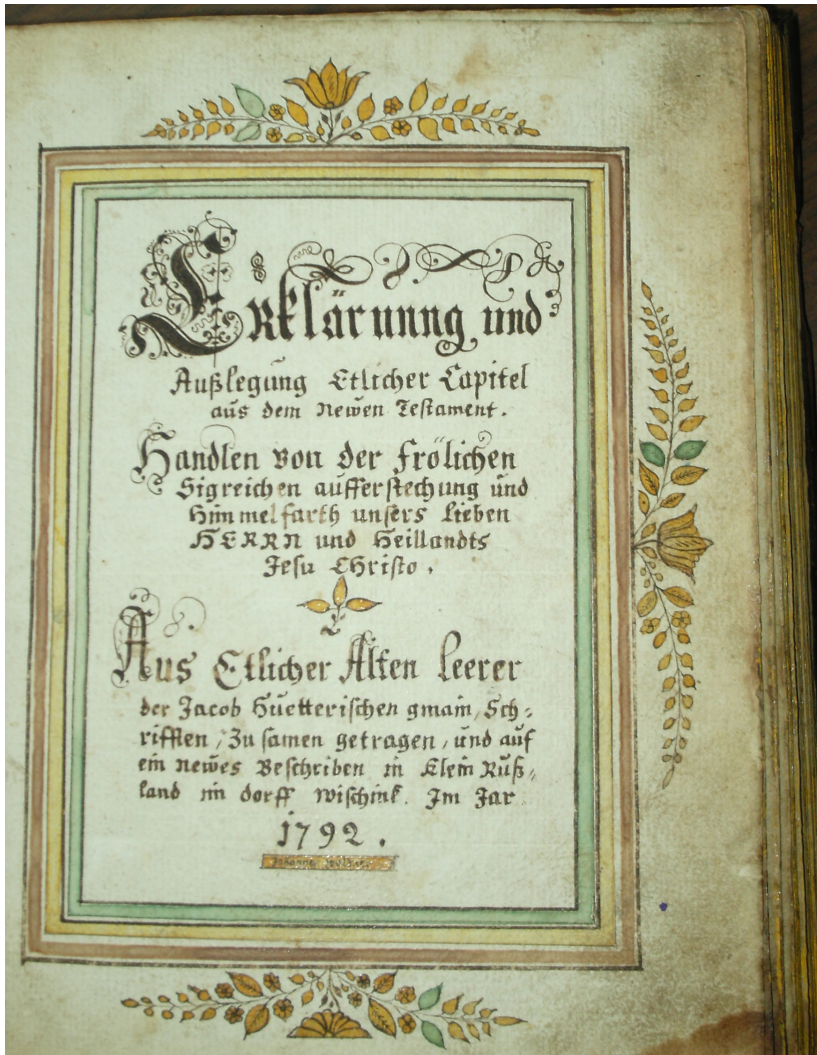
Figure 3. A book of the Hutterite Brethren, written by hand in 1792 in Little Russia (now Ukraine). Photograph W. Schabus 2003.

dorff Wischink. Im Jar /1792.

This book is now in a community of the *Schmiedeleut* in Manitoba, Canada. It was written by Johannes Waldner, the elderman of the brotherhood of Vischenky in what was then "Little Russia" (now Ukraine), where the Hutterites lived in a rather isolated location. According to the title, this theological text is about the resurrection and ascension of Christ. The author himself says that he has "Zu samen getragen" = "compiled" the relevant content from old Hutterite texts. One of Waldner's sources is also "alte Leerer" = "old teachings." This remark is of particular significance because it is especially the Hutterite sermons that were copied again and again. Every community has a collection of these texts that may vary considerably among communities.

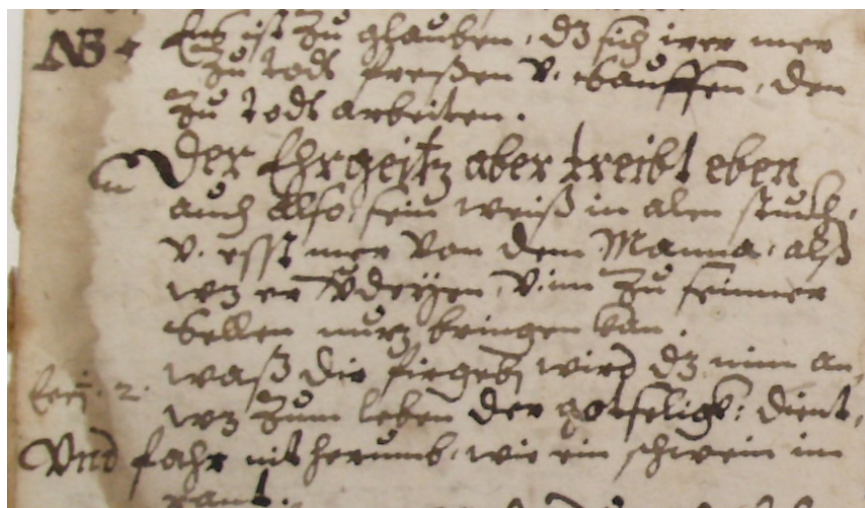### 3.2.2 The transmission of the teachings

Figure 4. Excerpt from the Old Testament's Book of Sirach, written about 1600. Foto W. Schabus 2003.

Figure 4 shows an excerpt from the Old Testament's Book of Sirach. This handwritten original dates back to about 1600 and also resides in the aforementioned brotherhood in Manitoba. The excerpt shown here is an admonition to maintain discipline in one's eating and drinking habits. The following is a digitized rendition of the text with an attempt to reproduce the abbreviations and ligatures:

> Es ist zŭ glaŭben, dʒ sich irer mer / zŭ todt freßen v. saŭffen, den / zŭ todt arbeiten. / Der Ehrgeitz aber treibt eben / aŭch alſo ſein weiß in alen ſtŭckhɧ, / v. eſſt mer von dem Manna, alß /wʒ er fvdeÿen,

v. im zŭ ſeinere / Sellen nŭrʒ [Nutzen?] bringen kan. / waß dir firgeɥ wird dʒ nim an, / wʒ zŭm leben der gotſeligk: dient, / Vnd fahr nit herŭmb, wie ein ſchwein im / rant.

The same brotherhood also owns the following more recent copy of the text, written in German handwriting around 1900.
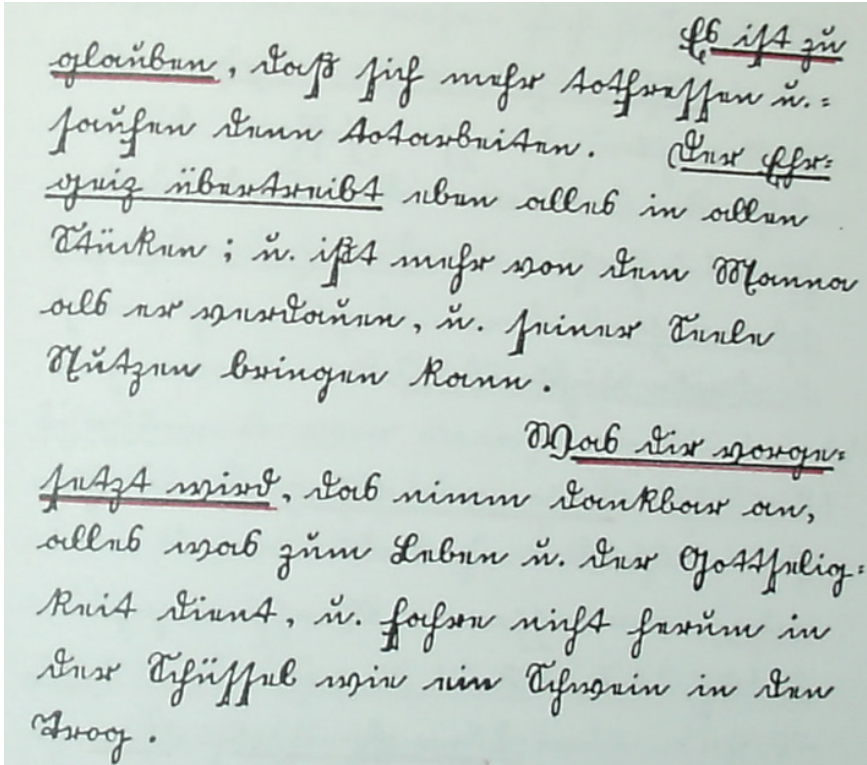

Figure 5. The same text as in Figure 4, copied in German handwriting around 1900. Photograph W. Schabus 2003.

The digitized version of this later copy is the following (see Figure 5):

Es iſt zŭ / glaŭben, daß ſich mehr totfreſſen ŭ. =ſaŭfen denn totarbeiten. Der Ehr= /   geiz übertreibt eben alles in allen / Stücken; ŭ. ißt mehr von dem Manna / als er verdauen, ŭ. ſeiner Seele / Nŭtzen bringen kann. / Was dir vorge= / ſetzt wird, das nimm dankbar an, / alles was zum Leben ŭ. der Gottſelig= / keit dient, ŭ. fahre nicht herum in / der Schüſſel wie ein Schwein in den / Trog.

> One must believe that more eat and drink than work themselves to death. Ambition exaggerates in all things; and eats more manna than it can digest or do good to its soul. What you receive, accept with gratitude, whatever is beneficial to life and the grace of God, and do not stir around in your bowl like a pig in its trough.

A comparison of the two texts (see Figures 4 and 5) clearly reveals the changes that have been made, probably in various intermediate steps, while copying the text over a period of three centuries, changes in every aspect of writing—the handwriting, the technique or spelling—stylistically, idiomatically, grammatically or lexically. The substitution of the noun *rant*[60] (last word), which has long since become incomprehensible, with the modern word *Trog* 'trough' is particularly striking.

The blunt vocabulary[61] still mirrors Luther's language. In his Bible of 1545,[62] this passage looks like this: "Too much food makes one sick, and a glutton has stomach aches. Many have eaten themselves to death, but he who eats in moderation, will live that much longer." In contrast to Luther's original, the Hutterite version contains a lengthy and autonomous interpretation, vividly adapted to life in their farming communities. The educational religious value of work, of great moral significance in a brotherhood, is also stressed.

3.2.3 Present-day written tradition and copying

Almost all present-day Hutterite teachings are written in German handwriting (Figure 5). Thus, Hutterite German schools also teach this script in Ludwig Sütterlin's version, which was introduced to Prussia in 1915. This handwriting style as well as all previous versions of the so-called "German script" have not been used in the German-speaking countries since 1941. The Hutterites still widely use Suetterlin script and Gothic type printing—a challenge for school children. The last 20 years have seen an attempt to abandon this tradition in some communities. Many preachers object that such modernization may detract from the religious dignity of Hutterite literature.

On the other hand, a continuation of the old tradition has some downsides, too. Previously texts were copied and re-copied by hand and constantly modernized. Each time the scribe had to engage with the language and theology of that religious text. Even today, there is a great demand for copied texts because of the increasing number of communities although nowadays the old texts are reproduced by machine so that the study of the texts is no longer necessary. Transliteration to modern script could have a positive effect, to avert the danger that the Hutterite version of "High German" could become an ever more unintelligible archaic liturgical

language. Andreas Ehrenpreis already demanded great discipline in copying the texts over 370 years ago in 1641. He instructed the preachers to copy the sermons themselves instead of hiring pupils or scribes.[63]

4 Hutterite "High German"

The Hutterites themselves call this variety of their language in their dialect ˈ*huchtaitʃ* , 'High German'.[64] This High German is the language of the Hutterites' transmitted religious writing and songs and is thus religious in nature. The spoken variant of their High German is the reading language at the "German School" as well as the preacher's language in church for the daily prayers and the sermons on Sundays. The teacher or preacher usually provides interpretations of the transmitted texts in the Hutterite German dialect. In spite of early modernizations, this variant of High German sounds archaic to people familiar with European standard German, thus effectively underscoring the religious style of the text, similar to the effect of the language of the King James Bible to English speakers. Nevertheless, a non-Hutterite German speaker can easily understand many of these texts. The sermon on New Year's Day 2004 at James Valley Colony in Manitoba is one of the most moving experiences I have ever had although in general I am rather indifferent to religious services. Unforgettable is the passage that says: "Wir sind schon wieder einen Schritt den Grabe näher kommen. Ein Jahr ist nun wieder verflossen, und o wie schnell ist es vorüber gegangen. Ein Jahr ist unser kurzes Leben wieder kürzer worden, ja ein Jahr näher zu den Richterstuhl Christi. Ein Jahr näher zu der grenzenlosen Ewigkeit gekommen, wo wir ewig selig und fröhlich, oder verloren sein werden." (Again, we are one step closer to the grave. Again, a year has passed, and oh, how quickly it has come and gone. Our short life has become even shorter by a year, a year closer to Christ's seat of judgment. We are a year closer to eternity, where we will be eternally blessed and joyous or eternally lost).[65]

Preachers play a dominant role in the communities. A complicated procedure selects two candidates from the members of a colony. All the preachers of the specific Hutterite sub-group can participate in the actual "preacher voting," but the final choice of one of the two candidates is determined by drawing a name. Ordination of the chosen preacher by the current bishop takes place after a trial period of two years.

Teachers, preachers or bishops are all selected from among the working brethren and continue their work in the community. Like all married brethren, the preacher is also addressed by his first name plus *fetr̩* 'cousin' (see 5.2.2). Theological education is provided to all the children of a community in its own religion school although thorough knowledge of the many Hutterite teachings is a lifelong journey.

Figure 6. A preacher's locker from a Dariusleut colony in Saskatchewan.
Photograph W. Schabus 2004.

Every preacher has his own ˈpreːdɪgɐ̯ˌɔlmər[66] 'preacher's locker' for his ˈlɛːɐ̯ˌpɪhələ̯ 'teaching books' (see Figure 6). Every preacher has his own individual style, sometimes similar to Catholic liturgical song.—It is always a special occasion when a preacher from another colony visits a community because these visiting preachers bring variety to church services. They often have their own materials, some of which may never before have been heard by the community they are visiting. This type of sermon can lead to interesting conversations for several days. I have heard a visiting preacher from a colony of Darius people in Saskatchewan talk about the "Mamelukes," who were Ottoman warriors whose attacks led to great suffering among the Hutterites during their time in Wallachia (section 2.4). In spite of the serious historic background here,[67] just the word "Mameluke" created humor. And the expression HuttG *ɛr hɔt miç pə ˈhɔndl̩t wɪ-ɐ̯ ˈtirkh* 'he has treated me like a Turk (i.e., badly)' also has this historical background.

Regarding the high response of such texts within the community we cannot agree, that this "High German" cannot be understood by most of the Hutterites any longer and has been transformed itself to a 'fossilized' liturgical language long ago.[68] There was yet another old metaphorical expression used by the preacher, which was lively discussed, i.e., chatty people would behave *wie Gänse auf der Wortweide* 'like geese on a pasture of words'. Some preachers really do try to engage their audience on a spiritual level while also entertaining them. A culture without modern means of entertainment still places great value on oral storytelling.

In reading the High German texts out loud, the old Early NHG diphthongs /ie/, /üe/ and /ue/ often retain the original Upper German pronunciation, e.g. *liːə̯b* 'nice' (OHG *liab*), *guːə̯t* 'good' (OHG *guot*) or ˈrɪçtə ʃtuːə̯l 'seat of judgment' mentioned above. The preacher addresses his congregation as *liːə̯bən priːə̯dər* 'Dear Brethren'. Standard NHG would be *liːbə bryːdər;* with the old diphthongs having become monophthongs. The word *liːə̯bən* inflected with {-en} instead of Standard German *liːbə* is the same as Early NHG.

In words like *priːə̯dər* 'brothers' (MHG *brüeder*), Upper German dialects unround [y] > [i], as in *vinʃn̩* 'wish' for Standard German *vynʃn̩.* Unrounding also affects [ø]; thus it is not *frøːlɪç* 'happy', but *freːlɪç* in the preachers' language. Sermons in the *Schmiedeleut* communities of Manitoba also use genuine dialect features, e.g. *dər pɛːɐ̯sə faːɪnd* 'the bad enemy' as a metaphor for the devil or in *pɛːɐ̯trus* for 'Petrus' = 'Peter'. The speech sound [ɛːɐ̯] for MHG /ê/ and /œ/ is the same as that of the South Bavarian dialect area, the homeland of both the Tyrolean and the Carinthian Hutterites. On the other hand, genuine church vocabulary such as ˈeːwikhaɪ̯t 'eternity' or ˈseːlikhaɪ̯t 'salvation' will be pronounced according to Standard German also by the *Schmiedeleut.*

Nowadays there is a linguistic loyalty conflict among many Hutterites in view of the overwhelming influence of English in Canada. Preachers often resort to English Bible translations in order to better understand German passages, but the Hutterite teachings read during daily prayer in church are only German. At wakes and funerals, also occasionally attended by non-Hutterites, not only German, but also English is used. John Hofer, the preacher of James Valley in Manitoba, an author and one of the leading experts in Hutterite history, obviously does not approve, "Our soul does not preach in English."

5 Hutterite German (HuttG)

The High German of the sermons handed down in old texts hardly contains any elements from foreign languages. By contrast, everyday Hutterite German is totally different, with the powerful force of English present on every level of language. Because of HuttG's history as a migratory speech island, there are still numerous other influences, such as the many Russian loan words in Hutterite dialect lexis. All this explains why some Hutterites disparage their dialect and see it as a "deteriorated" language, as reflected in the title of the book by Lorenz-Andreasch (2004): "*Mir sein ja kolla Teitschverderber*" ("We Are Just Corrupters of German"). The following refers only to HuttG in general while bearing in mind that this HuttG varies somewhat between communities.

Hutterites call their dialect *taɪ̯tʃ* 'German' or also *tɪˈroːᵍlɪʃ* or *tɪˈruːlɪʃ* 'Tyrolean', their Tyrolean heritage having remained very strong in their collective memory because Jakob Hutter, a martyr and the founder of their religion, was a South Tyrolean from the Puster Valley. Thus, the early Hutterite community in Moravia is very much under the influence of Tyroleans (see section 2.2). After the Hutterite theological revival by Carinthians in Transylvania, these converts from Carinthia became the dominant group (see section 2.4). Consequently, it is not surprising that the linguistic analysis of HuttG shows much greater similarity to Carinthian than Tyrolean, the difference not being very significant as both South Tyrol and Carinthia are part of the South Bavarian dialect area with many language features in common.

5.1 Sample of the Hutterite dialect

The following sample comes from a HuttG text containing a liturgical passage (Child's Prayer, lines 10–11). The author recorded the text on which the transcription is based on December 14, 2003. The speaker is *David-*

Vetter, 65 years old at the time, from the *Schmiedeleut* James Valley Colony in Manitoba. He was the teacher at the colony's German religious school. He is one of the few Hutterite teachers who have been offered the opportunity to make an educational journey to Germany, see note 119. The recording talks about the father taking his children to bed.

For the recording, the author is visiting the speaker in the latter's apartment in the community. John, the speaker's son, is also present but leaves soon, remarking that he has to go take his children to bed. At this point, the author wants to know whether taking care of the children in this manner is also customary in other families within the colony. The speaker says this is so. Then the author asks him how he would behave if he were a young father. As it is close to Christmas, the speaker spontaneously comes up with the Biblical Christmas story contained in the following text:

1   Joːᵘ, dɔs tum ɔndra laːɪ̯d-aːh. – ma ʃɛrfn̩ se áːɪ̯̃, dɔs si in di muːətr̩ hɛlfɚ̃,
    Ja, das tun andere Leute auch. – Wir⁶⁹ schärfen ihnen ein, dass sie der Mutter helfen,
    Yes, other people do that, too. We teach them to help mother.

2   di khindr̩ woːʃən hɛlfn̩ . . . ɛː . . . t͡suˈrɛçtmo[hn̩] fan peːt.
    die Kinder waschen helfen . . . zurechtmachen für das Bett.
    help the children wash . . . get ready for bed.

3   obr̩, si misn̩ ah sɛndr̩ aːufkoːp ʃaːugŋ̩,
    Aber, sie müssen auch ihre Aufgabe schauen,
    But they (the fathers) also have to check their children's homework.

4   dos si sɐ khɛnɛ̃ fɐn nɛkstn̩ toːg in di daːɪ̯t͡ʃɐ ʃuːəl.
    dass sie sie können für den nächsten Tag in der Deutschen Schule.
    so that they (the children) can do it at the German School the next day.

5   Wɔn si ə liːədl̩ hoːᵇm̩ t͡sə lɛːˀnɛ̃, ɛ fɛrs sinɛ̃ ʔɔdr̩⁷⁰ ʔiːbɐleːsɚ̃.
    Wenn sie ein Liedl haben zu lernen, einen Vers singen oder überlesen.
    When they have to learn a song, a verse (stanza) or read it.

6   Unt-ə – nɛrə se áːɪ̯̃ʃɛrfɚ̃, wɔs si nuh hoːᵘm-pfɔr-ɛ . . . hɔːəm . . .
    Und – dann ihnen einschärfen, was sie noch haben für eine *home* . . .
    And – then tell them (the children) what they have for *home. . .*

7   dɐ'haːmʔɔrbɛt – miə haːzn̩-z hɔːumwœɪk. Und nɔɐ, wɔn si dɔs gətɔ̃ːɚ̃ hoᵇm̩,
    Daheimarbeit – wir heißen es *homework.* Und dann, wenn sie das getan haben,
    Work at home - we call it *homework.* And then, when they (the fathers) have done that,

8 ɔ^ukhe: – Khumps ɐmol o:lɐ hɐɐ, gɐts pe:tn̩! – Nɐ misɔ̃ si hiŋkhni:ənɔ̃
okay: – *"Kommt einmal alle her, geht beten!"* – Dann müssen sie [sich] hinknien
okay: – "Come here, all of you. Go and pray!" – Then they have to kneel down

9 nɛ^bmɔ̃ fo:tr̩, unt-ɛ, nɐ pe:tn̩ se ũ:sə fo:tr̩ unt-ɛ –
neben den Vater, und-äh, dann beten sie *"Unser Vater"* und-äh –
next to the father, and uh, then they say *"Our Father"* and uh -

10 khristi plu:ət uŋ gəʀɛçtiçkhaɪt, d̲az⁷¹ is^t mãɪ̯ ʃmukh und ɛ:ʀənkhlaɪ̯d,
"Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit, das ist mein Schmuck und Ehrenkleid,
"The blood of Christ and justice, that is my jewelry and festive dress,

11 d̲ɐmit wil ɪc⁷² fo˚ gɔt pəʃtɛ̃:n, wɛn ɪç tsũ himbl̩ wɐʀt á:ɪ̯gɛ̃:ɐ, ɔ:^umɔ̃.
Damit will ich vor Gott bestehn, wenn ich zu Himmel werd' eingehn. Amen."
With that I want to stand before God when I enter Heaven. Amen."

12 Un so tum-pse . . . fi:ə . . . draɪ, fiə gəbe:ˡtlɛ̃ i:b̲əbe:ˡtn̩. Und wɛn si fɛrtic sint,
Und so tun sie . . . vier . . . drei, vier Gebetlein überbeten. Und wenn sie fertig sind,
And so they say. . . four. . . three, four prayers. And when they are done,

13 dan sits͡n̩ se hɪn . . . unt-ə . . . ɛt͡ʃ wɛm-ə ɛŋkh ə khla: t͡ʃɪçtl̩ fət͡seln̩:
dann sitzen sie hin. . . und-äh: "Jetzt werden wir euch ein kleines Geschichtlein erzählen:
then they sit down. . . and uh, "Now we (the father) will tell you a little story:

14 Wast, wɔs i:ət͡s khump? – Wa:ɪ̯nahtn̩! Wɛr kho^um bo^ʊs fət͡seln̩
Wisst ihr, was jetzt kommt? – Weihnachten! Wer kann was erzählen
Do you know what comes now? – Christmas! Who can tell something

15 fum b̲a:ɪ̯nahtn̩? Unt-ɛə khla:ɪ̯nə juŋ, d̲eə wil, d̲eə wil ˈah wɔs wisɔ̃.
von Weihnachten?" Und der kleine Jung, der will, der will auch was wissen.
about Christmas?" And the little boy, he wants, he wants to know something, too.

16 Sɔk ɛə: Fun di hɪ:ərtn̩! - ɔ:^ukhɛ:e! – D̲e saɪ̯n da:ʊsgweisɔ̃ ɐfɔ̃ lɔnt
Sagt er: "Von den Hirten!" – "Okay: – Die sind draußen gewesen auf dem Land
He says: "About the shepherds!" – "Okay: – They were out in the countryside

17 un hɔ^bm d̲i ʃo:f ʔo:lɐ gə t͡selt, ɛntɐ d̲ɔs d̲i su:nɐ is untəgɔŋə,
und haben die Schafe alle gezählt, bevor dass die Sonne ist untergegangen,
and counted all the sheep before the sun set,

18 is ə pisl̩ fĩːstɐ wɔːɐdn̩. Nɐɐ hɔm-tsi t͡ʃauk, dɔs kha wuːlf khum,
    ist [es] ein bissl finster geworden. Dann haben sie geschaut, dass kein
    Wolf kommt,
    it got a little dark. Then they (the shepherds) watched so no wolf would
    come,

19 khanɐ fuɹɹɪgɐ ăːuᵍn̩, unt hoᵇm̩ di ʃoːf duːət ĩ ʔaː haːɪfl̩ ˈoːlɐ gwatʃt.
    keine feurigen Augen, und [sie] haben die Schafe dort in einem Häuflein
    alle *gewatcht*.
    no firy eyes, and they watched all the sheep there in a little group.

20 Mid̲ ˈãːs khump ɛ liːəçd fũ himbl̲. Tse:⁷³ ʃãːugn̩, is ə ɛŋgl̩!
    Mit eins kommt ein Licht vom Himmel. Sie schauen, ist [es] ein Engel!
    Suddenly there comes a light down from heaven. They look – it is an
    angel!

21 Dr̩ ɛŋgl̩ gɔn͡ts oikhumã̃ af di ɛːɐᵈn̩. Unt fɔŋk ã̃ː mit sẽː reːᵈn̩ː
    Der Engel [ist] ganz herabgekommen auf die Erde. Und fängt an mit
    ihnen reden:
    The angel came all the way down to earth. And starts talking to them.

22 Wast-dez, wɔz háːĩd pɐsiːəd iːs? – Iç priŋ ɛŋkh ə gruːsɐ fraːɪd̲! –
    'Wisst ihr, was heute passiert ist? – Ich bring euch eine große Freude!'
    "Do you know, what happened today? – I am bringing you great joy!"

23 Hɔm-pse khɔla kʃtaːr t͡ʃaːʊ̥k. – Tat-des dəʃɹekhã̃? Si ɔᵇm̩ ɔŋks gəkhriːək!
    Haben sie nur starr geschaut. – Tätet ihr erschrecken? Sie haben Angst
    gekriegt!
    They (the shepherds) just stared. – Would you (you children) be
    frightened? They (the shepherds) were frightened!

24 – Nɐɐ sɔk dr̩ ɛŋgl̩ː Nid hɔps ɔŋksd! ɛs jeːsulãĩ̯ is háːĩ̯ŋ gəpuːədn̩.
    Dann sagt der Engel: ,Nicht habt Angst! Das Jesulein is heut geboren.
    Then the angel says (to the shepherds): 'Have no fear! Baby Jesus is born
    today.

25 Duːəd wɛt dez əs fintn̩. – Im b̲eːitlɐhɛm; – ĩ ʃtoːl; – pɐ ʃtruː; – bɐ di
    khuːa.
    Dort werdet ihr es finden. – In Bethlehem. – Im Stall. – Beim Stroh. –
    Bei der Kuh.
    You will find Him there. – In Bethlehem. – In the stable. – At the straw.
    – Close to the cow.

26 U-mpɐ di ʃoː�натf. – Und ə ʃtɛndl̩ wɛt ɛŋkh ə t͡saːgə sãːɪ̲.
    Und bei den Schafen. – Und ein Sternlein wird euch ein Zeiger sein.'"
    And with the sheep. -. And a little star will be your (the shepherds') a
    guide.'"

5.2 Brief linguistic analysis of the dialect sample

For more detailed analyses, see Schabus 2006: 282–90; Schabus (2008); Schabus 2011: 338–41. A comparison of HuttG with today's basic German dialects in the areas of origin is viable because the primary features are already fully developed around 1300 (Kranzmayer 1956: 4f) although the difference in period must also be taken into account.

The text is German, specifically High German (not Low German), because it contains features of the High German Consonant Shift, e.g., (1) *dɔs* 'that', (1) *hɛlfʃ* 'help', (2) *mohn̩* 'make', (11) *͡tsu* 'to', or (26) *ʃoːᵊf* 'sheep'.

Within the High German area, the dialect belongs to the Upper German group, as shown by the diphthongs in (1) *muːɐtr̩* (SG *Mutter* 'mother'), (4) *ʃuːɐl* (SG *Schule* 'school') or (5) *liːɐdl̩* (SG *Liedlein* 'little song') and the last example's diminutive suffix -*l̩* [74] or the present perfect instead of the preterite (see lines 17, 19, 21, 23). Even the SG preterite *war* 'was', commonplace in the Bavarian dialects, is unusual in HuttG (see section 6).[75]

5.2.1 Sample of the dialect as South Bavarian

Preliminary remark: From a linguistic point of view, not only the dialects of Bavaria are Bavarian. So are the dialects of Austria, with the exception of Alemannic in the province of Vorarlberg. The German dialects of the historic region of South Moravia were also Bavarian.

The plural pronouns (22) *(d)es* for SG *ihr* 'you' and (13) *enk* for *euch* dative 'you' clearly show the Upper German-Bavarian language of the text. Other forms, which are only Bavarian nowadays, are HuttG *iːɐtıç* for SG *Dienstag* 'Tuesday', *͡pfıŋstıç* for SG *Donnerstag* 'Thursday' and *͡pfaːt* for SG *Hemd* 'shirt'. Phonetically, the raising of /a/ > [ɔ ~ o], e.g. (4) *toːg* 'day', or secondary umlaut /ä/ as [a], e.g. (23) *taːt* 'would do' is Bavarian. /ü, ö, äu/ are unrounded, e.g. (5) *iːbɐ* (SG *yːbɐ*) 'over', (22) *fraːɪd* (SG *frɔːɪdə*) 'joy' or (4) *khɛnɛ̃* (SG *kœnən*) 'can'. Occasional infinitives ending in -ɛ̃ like the last example are not to be misinterpreted as Alemannic. Older speakers most often pronounce the ending after a fricative at the end of the lexeme and after -*t* or -*l* as -*n̩*, e.g. (2) *hɛlfn̩* 'help', (3) *misn̩* 'must', (13) *si͡tsn̩* 'sit', (13), (8) *peːtn̩* 'pray', (14) *fɔ͡tseln̩* 'tell'. Younger speakers tend to use an open [-ɛ] in these cases. In high-frequency words, they may use strongly simplified forms, e.g. ˈɔrbɐ instead of ˈɔrbɛtn̩ (SG *arbeiten*) 'work' (Cf. *gewesen* 'been', section 6.).

As mentioned above, we may expect a prevalence of Southern Bavarian (s-bav) features in HuttG, based on Hutterite history.[76] The diphthongization of originally long ê- and œ is such a distinct s-bav feature, e.g. (11) *gɛ̃ːɐ̃* (MHG

gên) 'go'. Other examples in the blacksmith people's HuttG are *ʃnɛ:ɐ̯* 'Schnee' (MHG *snê*) 'snow', *plɛ:ɐ̯d* (MHG *blœde*) 'shy', etc.[77] On the pronunciation of liturgical words with [ɛ:ɐ̯], see section 4. On the pronunciation of originally long ô, see section 7.

S-bav features are also present in the consonant system, e.g., initial fortition in [p-] for /b-/ and slightly affricated [kh-], e.g., (2) *pe:t* 'bed', *khindr̩* 'children'. In contrast to Middle Bavarian (MBav), the prefix {ge-} is retained preceding stops, e.g., (24) *gə ˈpu:ɘdn̩* 'born', (17) *gə ˈʦelt* 'counted', (23) *gə ˈkhri:ɘk* 'gotten'.

The inflectional {-t} merges with the final consonant of the lexeme, e.g., (24) *sɔk* (instead of MBav *sɔgt*) 'says' like (23) *ʧa:uk* 'looked', (14) *khump* 'comes'. Although the Hutterites were in close contact with Anabaptists from MBav Upper Austria as well as Tyroleans from the lower Inn Valley, also under MBav influence, in the early days, HuttG is devoid of important MBav features such as MBav lenition[78] in forms such as (1) *mu:ɘtr̩* 'mother', (9) *fo:tr̩* 'father' (instead of MBav *mu:ɐ̯dɐ, fɔ:dɐ*). HuttG retains /l/ in all positions, e.g. (2) *hɛlfn̩* 'help', (15) *wil* 'will' (vocalized MBav *hœ:fɐ, wy:*). /r/ is vocalized to [a] in some positions, e.g. in *gɔ:ɐ̯tn̩* 'garden', as in present-day South Bavarian dialects. See 5.2.4. for more on MBav features in HuttG.

5.2.2 Are Tyrolean or Carinthian features more prevalent in HuttG?

[a:] for MHG /ei/, e.g., in (7) *dɐ ˈha:m* (MHG *daheime*) 'at home' or (26) *ʦa:gɘ* 'pointer' (s-bav generally *dɐ ˈhɔ:ɐ̯m, ʦɔ:ɐ̯gɐ*) cannot provide an answer to the question because the feature is present both in South Tyrol's Puster Valley (PustV) and in Carinthia (CAR). Definitive PustV features are missing in HuttG, such as [ui] for MHG /uo/, e.g., PustV *pu:ɪ̯* (MHG *buobe*) 'boy'. HuttG says *pu:ɘ* 'boy' just like CAR and the rest of Upper German.[79] PustV raising of pre-nasal long a: to [u:] (e.g., PustV *hu:nɛ* 'Hahn', *gi ˈtu:n* 'done') is missing in HuttG , cf. (7) *gə ˈtɔ̃:ɘ̃* 'done'.[80]

Yet the sample shows distinctly Carinthian features, such as the principal feature of the CAR vowel system, the so-called Carinthian lengthening[81]: (2) *wo:ʃn̩* 'wash', *su:nɐ* (17) 'sun', (8) *o:lɐ* 'all', (25) *ʃto:l* 'stall'. This is the lengthening of originally short vowels preceding gemination. Other HuttG examples are *ʃli:sl̩* 'key', *wo:sr̩* 'water', *lo:sn̩* 'let', *mɔ:hn̩* 'make', *khu:hl̩* 'kitchen', *tre:fn̩* 'meet', etc. Even Hutterite liturgical texts contain this feature, e.g., *la:sn̩* 'let' in a sentence such as "Unser Leben lassen für die Wahrheit" = "Giving up our life for the truth."

The first sentence contains the following interesting morphosyntactic structure: (1) *in di mu:ɘtr̩ hɛlfn̩* 'help mother'. This dative phrase with the help of the preposition *in* is also a principal CAR feature, but is encountered

in South Tyrol, too (Tscholl 1999: 357). The pronoun *se:n*, e.g., (21) *mit se:n re:dn* 'talk with them', (3) *sɛndr̩ a:uʃko:p* 'their task' is definitely Carinthian.[82]

HuttG word order and idiomatics sometimes also follow the CAR pattern (Schabus 2011: 243) and definitely also lexis: HuttG does not have the typical CAR particle *la:ɪ* 'only, just', also encountered in Tyrol; instead, HuttG uses *la* or (23) *khɔla*, but the feminine noun ˈ*aŋkəla* 'grandmother' is clearly CAR (a diminutive of SG *Ahne* 'ancestor'). HuttG ˈ*aŋkəla* is also a term of endearment for a close elderly woman or a professional term, e.g. ˈ*he:b ̩aŋkəla* 'midwife' or ̩*khlanɐ* ˈ*ʃu:ɐl ̩aŋkəla* 'kindergarten teacher'.[83] The word ˈ*ɔlmər* 'bookcase' mentioned in section 4 (see Figure 6) as well as ˈ*nɔxplɪŋ* 'dinner' or *ʃtraŋkl̩* 'green beans' and several other HuttG words very probably come from CAR (see Schabus 2006: 290).

The following lexemes of addressing others are phonetically and lexically s-bav in origin; they are a semantic reflection of the Hutterite community order: *mandl̩* (SG *Männlein*) 'boy up to the age of 15', *pu:ɐ* 'boy over the age of 15'; *tindlɐ* 'girl up to the age of 15' (cf. section 5.2.3), *di:ǝn ~ di:ɐ̃* 'girl over the age of 15'.[84] When a *pu:ɐ* gets married, he can be addressed with his first name + *fetr̩* (SG *Vetter*) 'cousin' (e.g., *ʧã̤: ~ ʤɑ̃:n* 'John' *fetr̩*), a *di:ǝn* with *pa:sl̩* or younger *pa:l̩* (diminutive of SG *Base* 'female cousin'), e.g., *sa:rɐ* 'Sara' *pa:sl̩*.[85] Those who remain single eventually become *ɐ ɔltɐ pu:ɐ* and *ɐ ɔltɐ di:ǝn*. A non-Hutterite man is a *mɛnʧ* (SG *Mensch*) or a *mɔnsmɛnʧ* (SG *Mannesmensch*), but if he is a friend, he can also be a *fetr̩*. The corresponding feminine words are *wa:ɪb* 'woman' and *pa:sl̩*. In HuttG *pa:l̩* also means 'aunt' and ˈ*fetr̩* 'uncle'.

Among the above-mentioned items, *fetr̩* is probably of Tyrolean origin because it would have to be *fe:tr̩* in CAR. The adverb (16) *da:ʊs* 'outside' is encountered in PustV (*da:ʊsǝ*), and the directional adverb (21) *oi* 'downwards' is definitely a "South Tyrolean specialty" according to Tscholl 1999: 230 (cf. TSA 2, 33). Also *ʧ͡i:ɐpm̩* 'dandruff' (TiroleanDict 662) or *ʧ͡a:ɪpm̩* 'be noisy' (TiroleanDict 658) are Tyrolean as well as *khe:mɪt* 'chimney' or ˈ*tapɪʃ* 'clumsy' (TiroleanDict 330, 628), yet most of these probably Tyrolean words are not part of core vocabulary domains. The widely used word ˈ*aŋkəla* 'grandmother' is a different matter because it is definitely Carinthian in origin; more specifically, it is restricted to the county of Spital an der Drau, the very area from which the Hutterite converts from Carinthia came (cf. Bav-AustDict 1:247).[86]

5.2.3 Is there nothing Tyrolean in HuttG?

According to our analysis so far, HuttG only has a few features that can be classified as distinctly Tyrolean, in spite of the fact that Jakob Hutter, the

founder of the Hutterite church, was South Tyrolean and that his early disciples came mostly from South Tyrol and specifically the PustV (section 2.2). Yet our sample contains a number of features that are distinctly Carinthian. Kurt Rein's analysis of the HuttG phonemic system arrives at the conclusion that "Tirolisch als eine mögliche 'Vorstufe' des heutigen Huttererdialekts geradezu ausschließen muss" ("one must exclude Tyrolean as a possible 'preliminary stage' of today's Hutterite dialect," see Rein 1977: 225).

This goes for the core vowel system. In fact, the HuttG phoneme system must have been restructured after the Carinthians joined the Hutterites. Various phonic variations clearly lead to this conclusion (see Schabus 2008; 2011: 341f). The following HuttG forms are our point of departure: *nu:ɪ̯* 'new', *t͡sa:ɪ̯ç* 'cloth', *li:əgŋ̍* 'lie'. The corresponding PustV forms are *no:ɪ̯, t͡so:ɪ̯g* and *lo:ɪ̯gŋ̍*. The CAR forms are *no:ɪ̯, t͡sa:ɪ̯g* and *li:əgŋ̍*. During the Moravian period, the Hutterites of the era assimilate their [o:ɪ̯] to the phonetics of the Auspitzer Ländchen and change it to [u:ɪ̯]. Hence, during this period, the corresponding HuttG words must have been *nu:ɪ̯, t͡su:ɪ̯g* and *lu:ɪ̯gŋ̍*, as confirmed by various relic forms (see section 7). These phonemic variations must also have been present during the Hutterites' Transylvanian period all the way up to the time the Carinthians joined the Hutterites, then becoming the predominant group. Conversely, the Carinthians assimilated their own [o:ɪ̯] to the HuttG [u:ɪ̯] of the time but did this only where CAR has a phonological /o:ɪ̯/, i.e., solely in words containing MHG /-iuw-/, e.g., in NHG *neu* (MHG *niuwe*) 'new', *teuer* (MHG *tiuwer*) 'dear, expensive', *Feuer* (MHG *viuwer*) 'fire' or *kauen* (MHG *kiuwen*) 'chew'. In other positions, where the HuttG of the time has an /u:ɪ̯/, substitution occurs according to CAR phonemics: *t͡sa:ɪ̯ç* (MHG *ziuc*) 'cloth'[87] and *li:əgŋ̍* (MHG *liegen*)[88] 'lie'. Thus, this part of the phonemic system is completely restructured according to the CAR pattern (see Table 1). The form *khu:hl̩* 'kitchen', with a lengthened /u/ and lenis /x/, denoting the central free-standing building of a colony, is definitely CAR.

Table 1: Partial phonemic restructuring through immigration from Carinthia: 1 = 'new' (MHG *niuwe*), 2 = 'cloth' (MHG *ziuc*), 3 = 'push, shove' (MHG *schieben*)

	HuttG in southern Moravia (pre-1620)	HuttG after Carinthian immigration (post-1755)
1	nu:ɪ̯ (< no:ɪ̯)	nu:ɪ̯ (< no:ɪ̯)
2	t͡su:ɪ̯c (< t͡so:ɪ̯c)	t͡sa:ɪ̯ç
3	ʃuibm̩ (< ʃo:ɪ̯bm̩)	ʃi:əbm̩

Its prosody is one of the most conspicuous HuttG features (for more, see Schabus 2008). Bisyllabic forms present with the usual syllabic structure with a long stem vowel, e.g., *re:hn̩* 'rake' or *wo:gŋ̍* 'wagon, cart'. By contrast, trisyllabic HuttG diminutives of the same words are ˈ*rɛhəla* and ˈ*wagəla*, i.e., with distinctly short vowels. Older loanwords from English also follow this pattern, e.g., *ʃtu:r* for English *store* with a long vowel vs. the diminutive ˈ*ʃturəla* with a short vowel.

In Carinthia, these forms are *re:hn̩* and ˈ*re:hɐlɛ* as well as *wo:gŋ̍* and ˈ*wa:gɐlɛ*, i.e., without alternation in vowel quantity. PustV, differently from HuttG, also has a short vowel in some bisyllabic words, such as the plural of *wo:gŋ̍*, which is *wagŋ̍* here, and also *fɛdɔ* 'feather, pen' or *gɔbl̩* 'fork'. All of these words are trisyllabic in MHG: *wägene, fědere, gabele*. PustV reflects historic quantity conditions,[89] but HuttG vowel quantity does not follow the diachronic pattern; instead, it is controlled solely by the synchronic syllable structure. (As to morphosyntactical parallelisms between HuttG and PustV see section 5.2.7.)

PustV and HuttG completely agree on the treatment of current trisyllabic diminutives. If the form is really inherited from Tyrolean, then it is not restricted to a few relic forms, but rather it has remained a predominant structure up to the present day. HuttG manages its prosody in such a way that the articulatory duration of morphologically extended forms is about the same as that of the base forms. Hence *wo:gŋ̍* 'wagon, cart' contrasts with its diminutive ˈ*wagəla, di:ɐ̩n* 'girl over the age of 15' vs. *tindlɐ* 'girl under the age of 15', *ʃtɛ:ɐ̩ᵈn* 'star' vs.(26) *ʃtɛndl̩* 'little star' or the cardinal number *ʦwa:* '2' vs. the ordinal number *ʦwatɐ* '2nd'. All this may explain why the "Brüder, die man die Huterischen nennt" = "brethren known as Hutterites" [90] are called the ˈ*hutərɪʃn̩* rather than the *hu:tərɪʃn̩* even after Carinthian immigration.

5.2.4 Middle Bavarian influence from Southern Moravia

During the founding of the Hutterite religion, the new church's key concepts were developed, i.e., during the southern Moravian period. Among these, there are *gmã: ~ gma:* (*Schmiedeleut* and *Dariusleut*) respectively *gma:n* (*Lehrerleut*). The term is a central concept of the Hutterite church in reference to the brotherhood. In PustV, the word would be *gɪˈma:nɛ* (MHG *gemeine*) 'community'.[91] The form *gma:n* would be exactly CAR, but the Carinthians join the Hutterites much later.

It has been Auspitz where the Hutterite church was founded in 1533. And it has been Neumühl where the main Hutterite colony was located prior to their migration to Transylvania. Both towns were located in southern Moravia's German-speaking region, which was predominantly Middle

Bavarian. Indeed, [a:] for MHG /*ei*/ follows the phonemics of southeastern southern Moravia,[92] and the loss of post-vocalic nasal at the end of a syllable is common to MBav everywhere, also present in HuttG today. The sample's form (23) *kʃta:r* (SG *starr*) 'stiff, rigid' is also definitely southern Moravian.

Besides the current English synonym *farmboss,* '*wã:ɪ̯ ʧe:dl̩* (MHG *wînzürl*) 'winegrower' is another key word in the Hutterite administrative system. Loss of /-n/ also shows *wã:ɪ̃* 'wine' in *wã:ɪ̯ ʧe:dl̩.* The Hutterite Oldest Chronicle contains this word in the following meaning: "Vorarbeiter, der die tägliche Arbeitsanordnung in der Landwirtschaft trifft" = "foreman who draws up the daily work schedule on the farm" (Zieglschmid 1943: 1027). In modern HuttG, the word means exactly the same thing, though no longer specifically with regard to wine production.[93] As far as wine is concerned, it were the Anabaptists in Moravia under whom wine production boomed (cf. Beranek 1936: 5)—a boom from which the region has profited up to the present.

5.2.5 Homogeneity in a multi-tribal "colonial language"

Southern Moravia, settled by Anabaptists from the entire South and Middle Bavarian area definitely achieved a certain amount of linguistic homogeneity by eliminating the primary features of the original dialects. Very possibly, intentional adaptation took place vertically, towards a higher norm (cf. Rein 1977: 238). The Hutterites of Auspitz or Neumühl were probably guided by the then Bavarian city dialect of Brno, but often the changes occurred within the various dialects. A structurally relevant result of such processes is the HuttG raising of /o/ > [u] (see section 7). The retention of /-x, -ç/ in words such as *ich* 'I' can also be seen in this context although many dialects retain this fricative in final positions, i.e., all over the West and East Middle German dialect areas, see also next section. Homogeneity in favor of such dialects occurred when at the same time it resulted in an adaptation to a higher standard.[94] For lexical homogeneity such as in kinship terminology, see 5.2.6.

As one of the most prominent characteristics of Tyrolian dialect is regarded the phonetic sequence [-ʃt-] for /-st-/. Our sample does not show this feature, cf. (4) *nɛkstn̩ to:g* 'next day'. Nevertheless, the HuttG has some relic forms that show [ʃt], i.e. *ga:ɪʃt* 'ghost (nightmare)', *khra:ɪʃtn̩* 'groan', *pulʃtr̩* 'pillow', or *wi:ǝʃt* 'crude'. As to the latter, see section 7.

5.2.6 Influences from German, non-Bavarian regions

(On the linguistic term *Bavarian*, see section 5.2.1).

During their Moravian period, the Hutterites came into contact with many other Anabaptists from the entire South and Middle German area (2.2). Many new members mainly from Thuringia and Hesse joined the Hutterites (Packull 2000: 79, 255). These contacts left traces mostly in the terminology of relation by marriage. These are definitely not s-bav or MBav, such as *ʃwɛ:ɐ̯r* 'father-in-law',[95] *ʃwi:gr̩* 'mother-in-law' or *ˈtoxtr̩ mɔn* 'son-in-law'. HuttG uses *ʃnu:ɘr* for 'daughter-in-law'. The word also exists in Tyrol and Carinthia but also in the Middle German dialect area. The dialect atlas shows that the area which shows all these forms simultaneously, is located in Thuringia and Hesse (dtv-Atlas 2005: 168–70).

From 1621, the Hutterites lived in Transylvania, where they came into contact with the Transylvania Saxons' German (TransSaxG) for nearly 150 years.[96] This new contact situation also had an effect on HuttG, e.g., in words such as (15) *ax* 'also', (6) *nux* 'still', (22) *iç* 'I'. Especially the latter example adds an SG flavor to HuttG. Bavarian dialects in such forms drop the final /-ç, -x/.[97] The SG suffix {-ig} is [-ɪç] in HuttG, e.g., *fu̯ɪrɪç* 'fiery', and the inflected form (19) *fu̯ɪrɪgɐ* has [-g-]. Such phonetic alternation also exists in TransSaxG, cf. Schabus 1996: 218f.

HuttG *ˈhɔŋkəlɪç* also comes from TransSaxG,[98] where this derivative of SG *Honig* 'honey' refers to a traditional wedding cookie (TransSaxDict 4/64). The *Lehrerleut* have a Rumanian loanword, probably transferred via TransSaxG to HuttG,[99] *ˈkhraʧɛvɪʧ* 'cucumbers, pickles'.[100] The word *pɐˈluks*, used only by the blacksmith people in jest,[101] must also come from Transylvania. It first appears as *Balukas* in Hutterite texts in the section on Transylvania (Younger Chronicle 303). The original meaning is 'corn mush'. These are precisely the words that the Landler adopted from TransSaxG, hence from the deported Austrians who did not become Hutterites (Schabus 1996: 210).

During the southern Russian period (now Ukraine, see 2.4), HuttG has been in contact with Mennonite German (MennG). Many Russian words were transferred to HuttG, mainly from the domain of farming, probably via MennG (see the next section). The few direct transfers from MennG, e.g., *a:ʊstn̩* 'harvest' (from the harvest month of August), *ˈa:ʊst wɔ:gŋ Austwagen* 'harvest cart, wagon' or *ha:ʊ̯ə̃* 'mow'[102] belong to the same domain. HuttG *ʃmɔnd* 'cream' probably belongs to this group, too, although it is the "only usual word" in the Middle German area and especially in Hesse (Grimm 1899: 9/935). But it also exists in the now Polish Vistula delta near Danzig (dtv-Atlas 2005: 222). That is precisely the area where the Mennonites settled before migrating to southern Russia.[103]

5.2.7 Specific HuttG morphosyntactic features

Conjugation of the 3rd person present indicative in the text sample lacks the common s-bav 3rd person plural indicative ending in -*nt*: (3) *si misn*[104] 'they must', (20) *si ʃă:ugŋ* 'they look, are looking', (4) *si khɛnɛ̃* 'they can'. S-bav, like MHG, realizes morphological opposition through three forms in the plural paradigm of verbs, e.g. *mir hɛlfn̩ – es hɛlft–hɛlfts – se hɛlfn̩t* 'we help/are helping – you help/are helping – they help/are helping'. HuttG with its *hɛlfn – hɛlft – hɛlfn* is closer to SG. The same goes for South Tyrol (Tscholl 1999: 361).

The 2nd person present plural indicative: Questions such as (23) *ta:t-des?* 'would you do . . .?', (22) *wast-des*? 'do you know?' would be *ta:ts des* and *wists des* in CAR and most parts of Tyrol, with enclitic {-s}. The inflected form would also be the same in HuttG as in present-day PustV, which does not have enclisis, cf. TSA 3/107.[105]

HuttG also has forms with enclitic {-s}, but only in the imperative plural: (8) *Khumps hɛɐ̯!* 'Come here!', *Gɛts pe:tn̩!* 'Geht beten!' In PustV, imperatives like these would be *Gɛ:ɐ̯t pɛ:tn̩!* lauten, but in CAR they would be the same as HuttG. The HuttG enclitic has become the imperative plural morpheme, which means that HuttG has an autochthonous categorization here.

5.2.8 Influences from other languages

The ancestors of the Hutterites significant for HuttG never had been in a true speech-island situation up to 1767. Southern Moravia was part of the MBav area up to 1945, and in Transylvania, they were a small German-speaking group—besides Rumanians and Hungarians—in the middle of the large TransSaxG speech island. Rumanian loanwords were adopted via TransSaxG. The same goes for the Russian period on the Molotchna from 1842–1874, where the Mennonites assumed this role (see 5.2.6).[106] Their settlement in then southern Russia (now Ukraine) on the Desna between 1770 and 1842 was a true speech island even though some Hutterite migration from Sabatisch/Sobotište occured.

Nowadays HuttG has been in contact with English for 150 years, resulting in significant influences on every aspect of the language. In the past participle (19) *gwaʧt,* our text sample shows an English loanword {watch}, which is fully integrated into HuttG phonetically and morphologically.[107] There are numerous similar examples in HuttG, e.g., giltɪç 'guilty', *'ĩ:ʃa:ɪ̯n* 'tractor' (from English *engine*) or the word *'ʃturəla* 'shop' mentioned in 5.2.3. HuttG (7) {homework} is such a normal vocabulary word that the speaker tries to create a German loan translation for the benefit of his Austrian visitor. More

about borrowing und code-switching see Lorenz-Andreasch 2004: 117–38. A phrase like (22) *wast-dez*, which would actually have to be *wist-dez* (cf. SG *wisst ihr* 'do you know') reflects a structural change due to an insufficient roofing of HuttG by the German standard. The original German dialect has vowel alternation in this verb paradigm: singulars sound in [-aː-], plurals in [-i-]. The corresponding SG alternation is between [-aːɪ̯-] and [-i-]: *ich weiß* 'I know'– *wir wissen* 'we know'.[108]

HuttG has a great number of Ukrainian and Russian loanwords, which the Hutterites clearly recognize as *ruʃɪgɐ wɛːɐ̯tr̩* 'Russian words' up to the present, e.g., *t͡ʃaːɪ̯nɪk* 'teakettle', *wɔrʃ* 'vegetable soup', *hɐp ˈt͡ʃiŋkɐ* 'Thanksgiving', *wɛklɪ ˈʃaːn* 'tomato' or *ɐnˈdigr̩* 'turkey'.[109] HuttG *swat* belongs to the domain of marriage vocabulary and refers to one's own child's father-in-law while *swatɪn* is the mother-in-law.[110] These lexemes are useful for the Hutterites because their original dialects had no corresponding terms. The teacher people use *swax* and *swahɐ*. The Ukrainian masculine form is *CBAT*, the feminine *CBAXA*. Consonant alternation between /-t/ and /-h-/ within this paradigm disappears in HuttG in favor either of the one or the other form. According to Scheer 1987: 168f, this word is a direct loan without Mennonite participation; so probably it may date back to the Desna period.

6 HuttG dialect geography and differentiation by group

There are big geographic gaps between the *Schmiedeleut* of Manitoba and South/North Dakota as well as the *Dariusleut* and the *Lehrerleut* of the west (Figure 2). There are also some marriage barriers between the three groups nowadays, which create differences between the languages of the groups.

Distinct dialect differences by area can be observed in the realization of MHG /ê/: the *Schmiedeleut* often say [ɛːɐ̯] (5.2.1); by contrast, the *Dariusleut* and *Lehrerleut* have a monophthong [ɛː], with the exception of some s-bav relic forms such as *ʃnɛːɐ̯* 'snow'. The [ɛːɐ̯] of other etymological origins also varies between dialects, e.g., in the SG word *Kern* 'seed', which the blacksmith people pronounce as *khɛːɐ̯dn̩* and the others as *khɛːdn̩*.[111] There is similar differentiation in [ɔːɐ̯] and [ɔː] so that the *Schmiedeleut*'s *ʃɛːɐ̯dn̩* 'shear' and *t͡ʃɔːɐ̯dn̩* 'shorn' contrast with the *Dariusleut*'s *ʃɛːdn̩* and *t͡ʃɔːdn̩*.

Yet another difference presents in the word *t͡ʃɔːdn̩* (SG past participle *geschoren*) between the *Dariusleut* and *Lehrerleut*, for the latter say *kʃɔːdn̩*, the same as in the dialects of origin. Only the *Schmiedeleut* and *Dariusleut* have assimilation of the prefix {ge-} with the word-initial speech sound, as e.g. in *t͡sɔk* 'said' or *p͡frɔk* 'asked' (see Table 2).[112]

Table 2: Word-Initial Assimilation (1 'shorn', 2 'said', 3 'asked')

NHG past participle forms with prefix {ge-}	*Schmiedeleut + Dariusleut*	*Lehrerleut*
1 ge·schoren	t͡ʃɔːɐ̯dn̩ ~ t͡ʃɔːdn̩	kʃɔːdn̩
2 ge·sagt	t͡sɔk	ksɔk
3 ge·fragt	p͡frɔk	kfrɔk

The absolute superlative adverb also varies distinctly by group: Something that the *Schmiedeleut* think is 'taɪ̯ t͡ʃ ˌguːət "deutsch gut" = 'very good' is 'kʃmɔːx ˌguːət 'pleasantly good'[113] for the *Lehrerleut* and ʃɛrˈmant ˌguːət 'charmingly good' for the *Dariusleut*.

HuttG does not have the equivalent of SG *ich war* 'I was', but only *ich bin gewesen* 'I have been'. The *Schmiedeleut* say *gweːsɔ̃*, the teacher people *gweːsn̩* for 'been'. The younger *Dariusleut* tend to shorten this high-frequency German past participle *gewesen* to *gweː*. The *Schmiedeleut* have coined a phrase that makes fun of this feature by transfering it to the SG forms *gesessen* 'sat' and *gegessen* 'eaten'. The saying goes, *Wu pistn̩ hãːɪ̯d gweː? – Af-ən pɛrk pin iç t͡seː! – Hɔst ʃũ geː?* 'Where were you today? – I sat on a mountain! – Have you already eaten?'

Considering the more recent morphological development of other high-frequency words, such as ˈɔrbɛ instead of ˈɔrbɛtn̩ 'work' (SG *arbeiten*, see 5.2.1), one might be able to predict future HuttG developments, as long as in the Hutterite "German School" not will be taught systematically the German standard language.

7 Psycholinguistically determined innovations in HuttG

HuttG has two forms for the word 'lie' (not telling the truth): *luːɪgn̩* and *liːəgn̩*. The former is a relic form dating back to the Moravian period. The latter is CAR (5.2.3). The two variants are differentiated semantically in HuttG because the statement *du ˈluːɪkst* is just a gentle reprimand for someone who has told a little white lie whereas *duˈliːəkst* is a severe reprimand which questions a person's moral integrity. The form *liːəgn̩* reflects the Hutterites' liturgical variant, in which vocabulary such as *liːəbən* 'dear', *priːədər* 'brothers' and *liːəgn̩* presents with the diphthong retained in Upper German (section 4). It is best to avoid both forms and instead to say something like "That's not the truth."

A similar case seem to be the phonetic variants *wiːəʃt* and *wiːəstn̩*. The adverb *wiːəʃt* can be seen as a Tyrolian relic form, because of its sound sequence [-ʃt] (see section 5.2.5); its meaning is 'crude in talking'. With this word those Hutterites will be blamed who sometimes are inclined to coarse

talking. The verb *wiːə̯stn̩* however means 'waste'. The wastefulness of one of the members can develop to a hazard to the material and spiritual existence of a Hutterite colony.

There is also a striking feature within the HuttG phonemic system that is probably connected to aspects of religious psychology: The blacksmith people have the s-bav diphthong [ɛːɐ̯] for MHG /ê/ (5.2.1), but MHG /ô/ yields [uː] rather than s-bav [ɔːɐ̯] (see the sample text (25) *ʃruː* MHG *strô* 'straw'). This goes for all groups although there are relic forms here, too, e.g. *rɔːɐ̯sn̩* 'roses'. This raising of /ô/ to [uː] has been posited as Silesian influence (Rein 1977: 260), but we have seen that Thuringian or Hessian is probably much stronger than Silesian influence in HuttG (5.2.6). Umlauted /ô/ does not become [iː] as in Silesian but rather remains [ɛːɐ̯] as in s-bav. In HuttG, 'big, large, great' is *gruːs* (MHG *grôʒ*), but the comparative is *grɛːɐ̯sr̩ ~ grɛːsr̩* (MHG *grœzer*) rather than Silesian *griːsr̩*.

The solution is probably one pertaining to religious psychology because almost all vocabulary containing MHG /ô/ is of liturgical significance, e.g., SG *hoch* 'high', *tot* 'dead', *groß* 'big, large, great', or *Not* 'need'. Especially the word for *Ostern* 'Easter', the Anabaptists' most important religious holiday, may have sounded inappropriate in its basilect s-bav form *ɔːɐ̯ʃtərn̩*.[114]

Instead, originally one probably said *oːstərn, groːs, noːt,* etc., as in Brno's city dialect (Beranek 1936: 295). This led to syncretism with the PustV's fairly closed [oː] vowels for a lengthened /a/, thus causing the etymological /o/ vowels to rise even more up to [uː]. In this process, HuttG is influenced by parallel vowel situations present not only in Silesian dialects, but above all in the Hessian-Thuringian-East Franconian regions (dtv-Atlas 2005: 188). Thus, the dialects of this Middle German area prove once again to be important contact variants in the history of HuttG. All remaining /o/ vowels are also raised, e.g., *khup͡f* 'Kopf' = 'head', *luːp* 'Lob' = 'praise' or *nuːɪ̯* 'neu' (for s-bav [*noːɪ̯*]) 'new'. HuttG agrees with the Auspitzer Ländchen in this regard.[115]

The Russian loanwords comprise farming vocabulary,[116] but also the word *t͡ʃabɐˈdaːn* 'travel bag', logical in a way because the Hutterites embarked on their longest journey out of Russia, but what motivated the loanword *usi* 'mustache'? The czars and emperors of the times sported an artistically curled *usi*, and the soldiers followed suit. Thus, the *usi* became a symbol of worldly military vanity for the pacifist Hutterites while the conservative teacher people prescribe a clean-shaven upper lip still today (for more, see Scheer 1987: 290).

8 The Hutterites' German School

In 1922, Canada's Hutterites recognize compulsory school attendance in English. Since then, they have distinguished between the "English School," which follows the official curriculum, and their own Hutterite school, the so-called "German School," Both types of education take place in their own school building within the colony. The "English teacher" comes to the colony every day. Her class is embedded in the "German School," with the Hutterite teacher teaching a class both before and after the "English School." (Recently in many Hutterite German Schools in Manitoba there are qualified Hutterite teachers also for the official curriculum, see below).

In his "Confession of Faith," Peter Riedemann writes the following about the "Education of Children":

> Our practice is as follows. After the child is weaned the mother takes the child to school. Women, recognized as competent and conscientious in this task, have been appointed by the church to care for the children. As soon as the little ones can speak, they are taught about God's Word and learn to speak God's Word . . . The children remain with these women until their fifth or sixth year, that is, until they are able to learn to read and write.
>
> When they are ready for this, they are entrusted to the schoolmaster, who continues to instruct them in the knowledge of God, so that they may learn to know God's will and strive to keep it. . . . Thus we teach our children from infancy not to seek what is temporal, but what is eternal. (Friesen 1999: 151f)

These rules are valid up to the present in principle. Nowadays children start attending the ˌkhla:nɐ ˈʃuːɐ̯l 'Little School', the Hutterite kindergarten, at 2.5 years of age. The *Kleine-Schule-Ankela*, the 'kindergarten teacher', teaches here (section 5.2.2). School-age children then go to the ˌta:ɹɪt͡ʃɐ ˈʃuːɐ̯l 'German School'. School and kindergarten teachers play a very important role, they hold an *ɔmp* (SG *Amt* 'office'), to which they are formally elected *kʃtimp* (*gestimmt* 'voted') by the council of brethren. They do not receive formal training (cf. section 4). They use their usual dialect in class. Up to their 15th birthday, the children remain under the tutelage of the teacher outside of class, too, tending to the colony's large vegetable patch under the teacher's guidance. Meanwhile, the parents' schedules are managed by the *Weinzedel* (see 5.2.4).

The more conservative Hutterites' school really is very conservative. It is often all about drill and discipline. Reading and writing is taught in kurrent or fraktur, an additional challenge for the children (3.2.3).[117] The quality of

their education varies greatly: Some teachers can barely read the German texts whereas others use an arsenal of old monolingual German dictionaries that would impress a scholar of philology.

In principle, the acquisition of Hutterite High German is intimately connected to the teaching of religion. Educational content and the requirement to use Sütterlin script leave the children viewing their "High German" as something that is only difficult, serious and strict, with no significance for everyday communication. The blacksmith people of Manitoba have long since recognized this problem. The colonies of James Valley and Starlite have made great attempts to modernize their education by adapting the teaching methodology to convey the New and Old Testament's complex content or Anabaptist history to the needs of a young audience.[118]

Among other things, a small team of committed teachers from the "Group 1 *Schmiedeleut*" and the "Group 2 *Schmiedeleut*" (see below) in 2003 has compiled carefully selected songs that include English notes. This has been very successful in spite of some errors, so, e.g., in the sentence *Jetzt heben an zu glänzen die goldnen Sternlein* 'Now the golden little stars start shining'. The word *heben* is translated as 'raise'. This may appear logical if one takes a quick look at a German-English dictionary. The Verb, however, is not *heben*, but *anheben,* which does not only mean 'raise', but also 'begin, start' in archaic German. The latter would be the correct translation in this context.

At first, this kind of mistake only has an effect on the formal comprehension of the text in question but not necessarily on appropriate Hutterite interpretation of the religious content, but there are also other misinterpretations, such as in the following sentence: ('The light of Jesus shines') *zu tausend Malen heller* ('into my heart than the stars in heaven'). The phrase *zu tausend Malen heller* means 'a thousand times brighter', but the song book translates *Malen* as 'painting'. This kind of mistranslation may really impact the religious content of a text in the long term.

In the first case above, it is the German word *anheben*, which leads to a mistranslation because of its archaic meaning,[119] and in the second case, it is the archaic wording.[120] Since Hutterite writing generally uses archaic German, it naturally contains language that is prone to misinterpretation. For this reason, Early NHG should be studied academically.

However, there are German schools which teach language in addition to religion, but these normally require teachers with a college education although a young Hutterite college graduate would have no guarantee of being elected as a teacher by the council of brethren, and the preachers are chosen by lot anyway.

That leaves the women. According to the conservative "Confession of Faith," they are not designated for teaching the faith and hence not for Hutterite education, either, reserved for the "schoolmaster" (see quoted

text above). That leaves language teaching, in which a number of Hutterite women has successfully engaged.[121]

In 1992, the *Schmiedeleut* split up. The "Group 1 *Schmiedeleut*" resulting from this schism is particularly progressive in their approach to their younger population's school and academic education. This group cooperated with Brandon University in Manitoba, where an education program addressing Hutterite requirements had been developed. In the meantime in Manitoba there are about 100 Hutterite teachers, men and women, who teach the subjects of the official curriculum, thus having replaced the former "English" teachers. The more traditional "Group 2 *Schmiedeleut*"[122] had established a similar collaboration in spite of doubts about sending young Hutterite people to a public, hence "worldly," college.

9 The Emergence of a new standard language: Steps towards a standardization of HuttG

The *Klana-Schuel-Ankela* (kindergarten teacher) is of great significance in Hutterite children's language acquisition. Many of these women are gifted story-tellers. In the course of the Hutterites' language history, they are the ones who transmit HuttG to the children of immigrant converts from other dialect areas.[123] During the Moravian and Transylvanian periods, the dialect is Tyrolean-influenced, later Carinthian. This is the only viable explanation for the retention of HuttG's Tyrolean-Carinthian typology up to the present day.

In the following, we will focus on two women who have already distinguished themselves as purveyors of HuttG. Dora Maendel of the *Schmiedeleut*'s Fairholme Colony in Manitoba (Conference Group) is a teacher. She speaks perfect SG and perfect HuttG, and she is also a gifted story-teller. Telling *ʧiçtlən* 'little stories' of a religious nature is important in the "Little School," the Hutterite kindergarten (section 8).

Several years ago, this Hutterite woman with her charismatic narrative voice published a beautiful CD entitled "Der frumma Jeronimus Vetter und ondra Tschichtlen" = "The Devout Cousin Jeronimus and Other Little Stories."[124] Every story begins with the brief melody of aˈ*gaːɪgəla* "little violin," Hutterite for harmonica, which is the only instrument which may be played even by very conservative Hutterites.

The first text starts with the words *ʃõ lɔːŋ-lɔŋ hɪntr̩ is ɐmɔl ə frʊːmɐ fetr̩ gweːsn̩* 'Long ago, there was once a devout man.' The phrase *lɔŋ hɪntr̩* is the same as English 'long ago', but it is still perfect HuttG. We learn that the man's name is Jeronimus and that he lives in Jerusalem, about 100 years after Christ. Helping the poor he has *ĩ ɔlɐ ɛrgɪst gəgliːçn̩* 'liked most'. In HuttG, *am aller ärgst(en)* means 'most, mostly', and it is perfect archaic Carinthian

in this meaning.[125] The past participle *gǝgliːçn̩* (infinitive *glaːɹçn̩*) reminds us of English 'like' although its origin is the MHG word *gelîchen* of the same meaning.[126]

Linda Maendel of Elm River in Manitoba is also a teacher with the *Schmiedeleut*. She has devoted herself to the translation of Biblical stories to a HuttG adapted for children. Her first book entitled "Linda's Happy Day" is published in 2007. It contains SG and HuttG texts that vividly describe what it's like to be a child in a brotherhood.

Perhaps the Maendel sisters' happy memories of their own kindergarten days have kept their love of HuttG alive and inspired them to write down their mother tongue so as to share these texts with others. The publication of this kind of CDs and books is not an end in itself. The Biblical stories are especially designed for today's *Klana-Schuel-Ankelen* and the mothers so that these can read or act them out for the children. HuttG is still the "the language of the heart" for the children.[127] Every booklet is accompanied by a CD, both with illustrations that appeal to children.

For her project, Linda has received full support from the Education Committee of the Conference Group, of which she is a member, yet there has also been skepsis because many Hutterites cannot see the connection between their colloquial "Tyrolean" German and the "High German" of Biblical teaching. For them, these are not two related variations of one language, but two completely different systems. Only "High German" is the language of God and worthy of being used in church. Linda has a different opinion. If "High German" becomes more and more restricted to the liturgical domain like a dead language and HuttG is valued less and less, the Hutterites will eventually lose their language altogether. Therefore it would be best to develop the Hutterite German dialect to a standardized variety.

A translation of Biblical stories to HuttG is a very complex task as it entails the transfer into a written form of hitherto only spoken texts. The German-speaking regions of Europe have not been able to establish a unified system even up to the present day.

Graphematically Linda adheres neither to English nor to modern SG, but rather to the tradition of the written Hutterite sermons. The spelling frequently deviates from this model, e.g., whenever the dialect seems to need such deviation: Phonemic variations such as in *foːtǝr, foːtr̩, foːtɐ* or *fotr̩* are normalized to <Voter> 'father' rather than to <Vater>, but not to *Foter* because (German) pronunciation in this case is [f-] rather than [v-] anyway. In contrast to German spelling, SG *Wasser* 'water' is spelled *Woser* or <Suna> instead of <Sunne> 'sun' because the dialect forms [wosːr̩], [suːnɐ] have a long vowel (section 5.2.2). German words such as <für> 'for' or <Vögelein> 'little birds' become <fir> and <Fegelen> with unrounded vowels in accordance

with the dialect (section 4). Morphologically, plural forms such as <Bamer> or <Pflonzne> agree with the dialect.[128]

HuttG *li:ạb* 'dear' is spelled <lieb> despite the argument that this word could read like SG [li:b]. Linda says that a Hutterite knows how to pronounce the word. It is preacher language habits that ensure diphthong pronunciation as in the dialect here. Conversely, the same language habits ensure diphthong dialect pronunciation of the written monophthong in <Brüder> 'brothers, brethren' (see section 4).

That leaves the many HuttG words that are neither preacher Hutterite nor SG as well as the many Russian and other loanwords that would require a uniform spelling system. The development of a thesaurus for Hutterite vocabulary will be an exceedingly interesting work in progress for many years to come.

Meanwhile, several Bible stories in HuttG have already been published in the series that is designed to comprise five volumes. These texts are an authentic testament to the Hutterites' simple, sincere faith. A sample story is included at the end of this paper.[129] It is the translation of the Book of Genesis from the first book of Moses in the Old Testament. I hope for the Hutterites that this short story about the beginning of the world will also mark the beginning of a new, prouder dedication to the linguistic heritage of their great Anabaptist history. [130]

	Gonz in Onfong	Ganz am Anfang
1	In Onfong.	Am Anfang.
2	"Liecht!" hot der Himmel Voter zok.	"Licht!" hat der Himmelvater gesagt.
3	No is Liecht gwesen.	Nachher (=dann) ist Licht gewesen.
4	"Himmel!" hot der Himmel Voter zok.	"Himmel!" hat der Himmelvater gesagt.
5	Und no is der Himmel duet gwesen.	Und nachher ist der Himmel dort gewesen.
6	"Woser!" hot der Himmel Voter zok,	"Wasser!" hat der Himmelvater gesagt,
7	"und Lond!"	"und Land!"
8	Und Woser und Lond sein duet gwesen.	Und Wasser und Land sind dort gewesen.
9	"Bamer und Pflonzne!" hot der Himmel Voter zok.	"Bäume und Pflanzen!" hat der Himmelvater gesagt.

10	No sein olla Sorten Bamer und Pflonzne gwesen.	Nachher sind alle Sorten Bäume und Pflanzen gewesen.
11	"Suna!" hot der Himmel Voter zok.	"Sonne!" hat der Himmelvater gesagt,
12	"und Monet,	"und Mond,
13	und Stendlen!"	und Sternlein!"
14	No sein se Olla in Himmel gwesen.	Nachher sind sie alle am Himmel gewesen.
15	"Fisch in Woser!" hot der Himmel Voter zok.	"Fische im Wasser!" hat der Himmelvater gesagt.
16	"Und Vegelen in die Luft!"	"Und Vöglein in der Luft!"
17	No sein Fisch und Vegelen gwesen.	Nachher sind Fische und Vöglein gewesen.
18	"Tieden affen Lond!" hot der Himmel Voter zok.	"Tiere auf dem Land!" hat der Himmelvater gesagt.
19	"Schof,	"Shafe,
20	Welf,	Wölfe,
21	Hosen,	Hasen,
22	Schlongene,	Schlangen,
23	und Kia!"	und Kühe!"
24	No sein olla Sorten Tieden ach gwesen.	Nachher sind alle Sorten Tiere auch gewesen.
25	"Leit!" hot der Himmel Voter zok.	"Leute!" hat der Himmelvater gesagt.
26	No sein ach Leit gwesen, e Monsmensch und e Weib.	Nachher sind auch Leute gewesen, ein Mannesmensch und ein Weib.
27	Der Himmel Voter hot in sechs Tog olles gmocht, und es is olles guet gwesen. Affen siebeten Tog hot Er krostet.	Der Himmelvater hat in sechs Tagen alles gemacht, und es ist alles gut gewesen. Am siebenten Tag hat er gerastet.

In the very beginning

1 In the beginning / 2 "Light!" said the heavenly Father. / 3 Then there was light. / 4 "Heaven!" said the heavenly Father. / 5 And so Heaven was there. / 6 "Water!" said the heavenly Father. / 7 "and land!"/ 8 And water and land were there. / 9 "Trees and plants!" said the heavenly Father. / 10 Then there were all kinds of trees and plants. / 11 "Sun!" said the heavenly Father. / 12 "and the moon, / 13 and little stars!" / 14 Now all these were in Heaven. / 15 "Fish in the water!" said the heavenly Father. / 16 "And little birds in the sky!" / 17 Then there were fish and little birds. / 18 "Animals on the land!" said the heavenly Father. / 19 "Sheep, / 20 Wolves, / 21 Hares, / 22 Snakes, / 23 and cows!" / 24 Now there were also all kinds of animals. / 25 "People!" said the heavenly Father. / 26 Now there were also people – a man and a woman. / 27 The heavenly Father made everything in six days, and all was good. – On the seventh day He rested.

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Notes

[1] In 1536, the Catholic priest Menno Simons joined the Anabaptists and spread pacifist Anabaptism in the Netherlands and all of northern Germany during the 1540s.

[2] The first regional decree against the Anabaptists was enforced in Zurich on March 7, 1526. Felix Manz, the first Anabaptist martyr, was drowned in the Limmat River in Zurich on January 5, 1527. (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Felix_Manz, 2018-05-07)

[3] John the Baptist also only baptized those who asked to be baptized by him, cf. Taufvermahnung 2003: 16.

[4] "You must be reborn, you must kill the previous person in yourself, you must renounce the world and your own will . . . your heart must be touched by the word and the teachings" (cf. Taufvermahnung 2003: 14).

[5] See Schabus 2007: 63ff.

[6] Cf. Chudaska 2003: 244.

[7] See the list of prisoners in N.N. Hutterite CO's 1997: 142–54.

[8] About the "German School" of the Hutterites see section 6.

[9] She buys the fabric preferred by the Hutterites in large quantities and divides it among the married women, who sew the clothing for their families according to the Hutterite dress code, thus creating the similar appearance of Hutterites.

[10] The "chief cook" and the "fabric seamstress" are elected by the entire community of the colony's baptized brethren. Kitchen services are performed by women and girls over the age of 15, each of whom must assume her laundry or cooking week at certain prescribed intervals.

[11] Two thirds of the roughly 1,200 Hutterites who immigrated to N. America did not settle in colonies but rather as private landowners in the prairies (Prairie People). Most of them joined the anglophone Mennonite Church; today there are only a view elder persons among them who speak the Hutterite German dialect.

[12] If all want to move to the new colony, the names of the preachers leading each group are drawn.

[13] The Hutterites see themselves theologically as "an isolated people in the world" (Ehrenpreis 1652: title page).

[14] Not derogatory in Wolkan (1918).

[15] This usually consists of the preacher, the manager, the farm boss and the so-called "Zeugbrüder."

[16] I spent the winter of 2003/2004 in various colonies in Manitoba, Saskatchewan und Alberta and had contact with all three groups.

[17] Cf. Nürnberger.

[18] Caused by a substantial surplus of women in the city.

[19] See Riedemann and Friesen in list of references.

[20] The Swiss reformer Hyldrich Zwingli also rejected the movement.

[21] See The Oldest Chronicle, 47.

[22] Tyrol was part of the Habsburg Empire; thus the so-called "Decree for Anabaptists" of 1529 was valid here, see section 1.

[23] Jan Hus, born 1370 in Bohemia, was a theologian and reformer and burned at the stake in Constance in 1415.

[24] In 1533, another colony was founded in Schackwitz (Šakvice), three miles to the south.

[25] Cf. Horsch 1994: 76.

[26] The famous "Habanite" faiences. The Czechs called the Hutterites Habansky (perhaps in reference to the Hutterite "Haushaben" 'households' of the time). Nowadays "Habaner" refers to the region's original Hutterites, who retreated to Slovakia from Moravia. During the Counter-Reformation from about 1760, they had to become Catholic again and so ceased to be Hutterites.

[27] According to Packull (2000: 91) estimates go from 25,000 to 60,000.

[28] Estimates go from roughly 800–2,000.

[29] Hungarian Alvinc; German Unterwinz, Rumanian Vinţu de Jos.

[30] Cf. Hostetler 1997: 85.

[31] Even today the German saying: "Communal life would not be hard / If there were not such self-regard." is heard among Hutterites.

[32] The revolt of Francis II Rákóczi (the Kuruc war) against the Habsburgs from 1703–11 was particularly violent.

[33] Younger Chronicle, 229.

[34] Thus German has been present in Transylvania about as long as in the eastern parts of present-day Germany (Dingeldein 2006: 57). – Most ethnic Germans have emigrated from Roumania since the political turnaround of 1989/1990.

[35] From 1734–76, over 4,000 Austrian Protestants were deported to Transylvania, only 820 of which, spread out over three villages, were settled permanently. These were later known as the "Landler" (Bottesch/Grieshofer/Schabus. 2002: 11).

[36] See Steiner (2007) on these transmigrations from Carinthia.

[37] See Bottesch/Grieshofer/Schabus (2002) for more on the Landler, and on their dialects, see Schabus (1996).

[38] The deportees owed gratitude to the Empress for her gracious permission to practice their faith openly in a Protestant country.

[39] See Todjeras, 2008: 98f.

[40] See Younger Chronicle, 273.

[41] In the 16th century, each of the ethnic groups represented in the Transylvanian assembly defined its own Protestant religion: Hungarians became Calvinists unless they remained Catholic, the Széklers became Unitarians and the Transylvanian Saxons became Lutherans. This led to a unification of ethnicity, language, culture and religion (cf. Zach 2004: 100; Schabus 2016: 75ff).

[42] About the interaction between Landlers and Saxons, see Schabus, 1996: 92–115.

[43] On the (Carinthian) Landler in Großpold, see Bottesch/Wien (2011); Schabus (1992); Schabus, 2016: 77f.

[44] The encounter between Kuhr, the preacher of Alwinz, and the Carinthian Andreas Wurtz provided Kuhr with the opportunity to restart the Hutterite religion (cf. Todjeras 2008: 94, 101f).

[45] Younger Chronicle, 240.

[46] These were the communities in Stein and Deutsch-Kreuz, where they earned their livelihood by weaving of linen (see Younger Chronicle, 284, 299).

[47] See Maendel/Hofer, 1997: 46. – Eichler (1997) refers to 78 individuals: 52 adults and 26 children under the age of 15. – Most of the original Hutterites from Alwinz had become Catholic by 1762 (see Younger Chronicle 256; Hostetler 1997: 77). Some had fled to the Carinthian converts' community in Kreuz and moved to Wallachia together with the Carinthians (see Younger Chronicle 289, 299).

[48] Over half of present-day Hutterites are descendants of the Carinthians. Five of the 15 traditional Hutterite surnames are Carinthian: Glanzer, Hofer, Kleinsasser, Waldner, Wurz.

[49] I saw a number of exhibits in the museum of the little town of Korop in Ukraine's Oblast Tshernihiv in 2004.

[50] At the time, Johannes Waldner of Carinthian descent was the colony's elderman. He wanted to retain community property but did not succeed (see Maendel/Hofer, 1997: 56f).

[51] On the self-administration of the relief committee for settlers from abroad in southern Russia, see Schlachta, 2006: 128.

[52] In spite of their close religious and dwelling contacts and even some intermarriage, the German-speaking Protestant Landler maintained their own dress code and language habits versus the also German-speaking and Protestant Transylvanian Saxons (cf. Schabus, 1996: 92–107).

[53] Already in 1856, Georg Waldner (Carinthian) received permission to establish his colony Kutscheva, which disbanded after his death the following year (Eichler, 1997).

[54] In 1874, exemption from military service was rescinded for Anabaptists, but they were granted permission to do community service instead.

[55] See N.N. Hutterite CO's, 1997: 111f.

[56] On Anabaptist literature in general, see Chudaska 47ff.

[57] See, e.g., Brednich (1981).

[58] Born about 1506 in Hirschberg (Jelenia Gora), now Poland, see Chudaska, 2003: 42.

[59] See Younger Chronicle, 519–32. – Even today community rules are updated regularly.

[60] Nowadays, this noun is only used in its basic meaning: Rand 'rim'.

[61] E.g. fressen for essen 'eat'.

[62] The Book of Jesus Syrach 37/33f. (http://lutherbibel.net/, 2018-11-05)

[63] Cf. Todjeras 2008: 93.

[64] Because of the functional restrictions (only read in liturgical or educational contexts) this "High German" is not a High Variety according to Ferguson (1959).

[65] The original teaching is written in German handwriting.

[66] Almer was in 1862 still used in Carinthia and meant 'milk box' (Überfelder 1862: 12), otherwise only in documents. The word is derived from Latin armarium 'locker, cabinet'.

[67] Hutterite women were also raped during those attacks. Allegedly some of the descendants of those children still bear visible, characteristic physical traits today.

[68] See Lorenz-Andreasch, 2004: 59. – This opinion rather applies to many texts read in the "German School," e.g., some pretty complicated contents of the Old Testament. But such contents are likely to be too much for children, anyway.

[69] "We" means the members of the colony's management team. As a "Zeugbruder" the speaker also belongs to that team.

[70] ʔ refers to a glottal stop.

[71] d, ɖ, g, b are distinctly voiced lenis stops.

[72] c is a palatal stop.

[73] ts- instead of - s- for emphasis.

[74] Lied·lein instead of SG Lied·chen.

[75] See Zieglschmid, 1943: xxviii, on Upper German lexis in The Oldest Chronicle.

[76] Carinthia and South Tyrol are South Bavarian. The dialects of the lower Inn Valley, also important in Hutterite history, are under Middle Bavarian influence.

[77] Only in the blacksmith people's group; the others stay closer to SG with [ɛ:].

[78] See Kranzmayer, 1956: 93ff.

[79] For more, see Schabus (2008).

[80] gətɔ̃:ɔ̃ follows the pattern of ge·tan·en 'done', another CAR feature.

[81] See Kranzmayer 1956: 101; Rein (1972).

[82] se:n is an inflected form of the pronoun SG sie 'they' (Lexer 1862: 232).

[83] The khla:nɐ ʃuːɐ̯l 'little school' is the Hutterite kindergarten (see sections 8 and.9).

[84] The current meaning of SG Dirne in the dialects of origin is 'maidservant'.

[85] Many younger married members prefer to be addressed only with their first names.

[86] In present-day Carinthia, only as the surname Ankele.

[87] The -ç is probably based on Transylvanian Saxon influence (see 5.2.6).

[88] PustV [oːɪ̯] in irregular verbs of the 2nd ablaut pattern goes according to the singular forms with umlaut.

[89] See Cf. Kranzmayer 1956: 11; 81.

[90] See cover of Confession of Faith (1902).

[91] PustV nasal loss is present only in forms such as ā:s 'one' or khā:s 'none'.

[92] Beranek 1936: 292, 74.

[93] This word is used with the same meaning and similar form in the area around Vienna (cf. Hornung 2001: 769).

[94] In regard to the retention of /-x, -ç/ this homogeneity probably occured not before HuttG came into contact with TransSaxG, see 5.2.6.

[95] For this phonetic form, see S-HessDict 5/863; also SuabDict 5/1229; RhineDict 7/1986; BavDict 2/629.

[96] The Hutterites remaining in Upper Hungary (now Slovakia) are of no particular significance for modern HuttG, except for some later migration from Sobotište to Vishenky.

[97] Words that retain /-ç, -x/ are also widespread in West and East Middle German areas (dtv-Atlas 1978: 155, 162), including probably the city dialect of Brno, Moravia.

[98] HuttG only knows the compound ˈʃutə ˌhɔŋkəlɪç; ʃutə means 'curd cheese'.

[99] See TransSax Dict 5/343; LandlerDict 1/131.

[100] Cf. the Rumanian plural castravetsi 'cucumbers, pickles'.

[101] E.g., einen Paluks daherreden 'talk nonsense'.

[102] Scheer 1987: 170 says the high-frequency adverb ma:klɪç 'pleasant' comes from MennG.

[103] The Mennonites fled the Netherlands in the 16th century and settled in the then Polish Vistula delta, a lowland area; hence, Dutch peasants, who knew about dike construction, were very welcome, cf. Lichdi 2004: 83.

[104] Also in PustV a weakly stressed 'must' often sounds misn̩ instead of miːɐ̯sn̩; cf. also Hornung 1964: 114.

[105] The enclitic -s derives from germanic dual ëʒ, which is the same as HuttG plural de:s 'you', cf. 5.2.1 in this essay.

[106] Russian influence on MennG is not strong, except for agricultural terminology (Quiring 1928: 109).

[107] The infinitive is watʃn; the accurate SG word would be beobachten or bewachen.

[108] English (8), (16) ɔukhe: is commonplace everywhere in Europe although it sounds more original in HuttG.

[109] See Scheer 1987: 10, 113, 284, 296, 307.

[110] The parents-in-law of a married child are adressed *swat* and *swattn* by the parents of this child.

[111] For more, see Schabus (2008). – The Bohemian Forest and southern Moravia have similar forms (khɛ:dn̩ 'seed', ʃtɛ:n 'star'), but these are different phonotactically.

[112] Bav dialects sometimes have similar assimilations.

[113] The adverb ˈkʃmɔ:x 'good, pleasant' is also typical for Upper Austria.

[114] Lessiak 1903: 222 also lists the "courtly" variant Ostrn 'Easter' besides the dialect form Oastrn.

[115] Cf. Beranek 1936: 92, 103.

[116] See section 5.2.8.

[117] This might be a contributing factor to the fact that many Hutterite adults only read English nowadays.

[118] For quite some time, select teachers and preachers have been offered the opportunity to travel to historic Anabaptist sites in Europe or to take classes in German with the Goethe Institute in Germany, possible only in more affluent and open-minded colonies.

[119] This meaning of the word is not commonplace in modern SG although it is in Upper German dialects.

[120] Nowadays one would say tausend Male heller or tausendmal heller.

[121] They teach German as a foreign language.

[122] Also known as the "Committee Group" or "Gibb-Leut" (Group 2 Schmiedeleut) respectively "Conference Group" or "Kleinser-Leut" (Group 1 Schmiedeleut).

[123] Vishenky also had a significant immigration of families with many children (see Younger Chronicle 372).

[124] One of her other CDs is "Die olta Martha Basl und ondra Tschichtlen".

[125] SG am ärgsten is the superlative of arg 'bad' and thus has a strongly negative meaning nowadays.

[126] Cf. The Oldest Chronicle 546. – Only the modern use of the word, which is not transitive in MHG, but intransitive with a dative of the person, matches that of English, i.e., not like 'I like something', but 'something is pleasing to me'. – The form gəgli:çn̩ (instead of gəgla:ɪçt) shows complete morphological integration into irregular German conjugation.

[127] See the ad in Hutterischa Bibl Tschichtlen (https://www.amazon.com/Hutterischa-Bibl-Tschichtlen-Linda-Maendel, 2018-05-28).

[128] Bamer for SG Bäume is bav. – The SG singular Pflanze is bav. Pflonzn in all singular forms (as per n-declension of nouns), hence the HuttG plural Pflanzne(n).

[129] The text is an early, then still unedited version.

[130] A recent translation of the New Testament into the Hutterite dialect offers the app "The Hutterite Bible," which contains the text and audio of the Bible, by the Germans Martin and Beate Knauber from "Wycliffe Bible Translators." This version, however, is a more theological work, claiming to be based on the Greek version of the bible, which also served as source text for both Martin Luther's original translation and the King James'. – This project was started in 2007 together with a group of Schmiede- and Dariusleut.

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