YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Supplemental Issue

Volume 2

Preserving Heritage:

A Festschrift for C. Richard Beam

Edited by Joshua R. Brown and
Leroy T. Hopkins, Jr.

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William D. Keel, Editor

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From the Editor

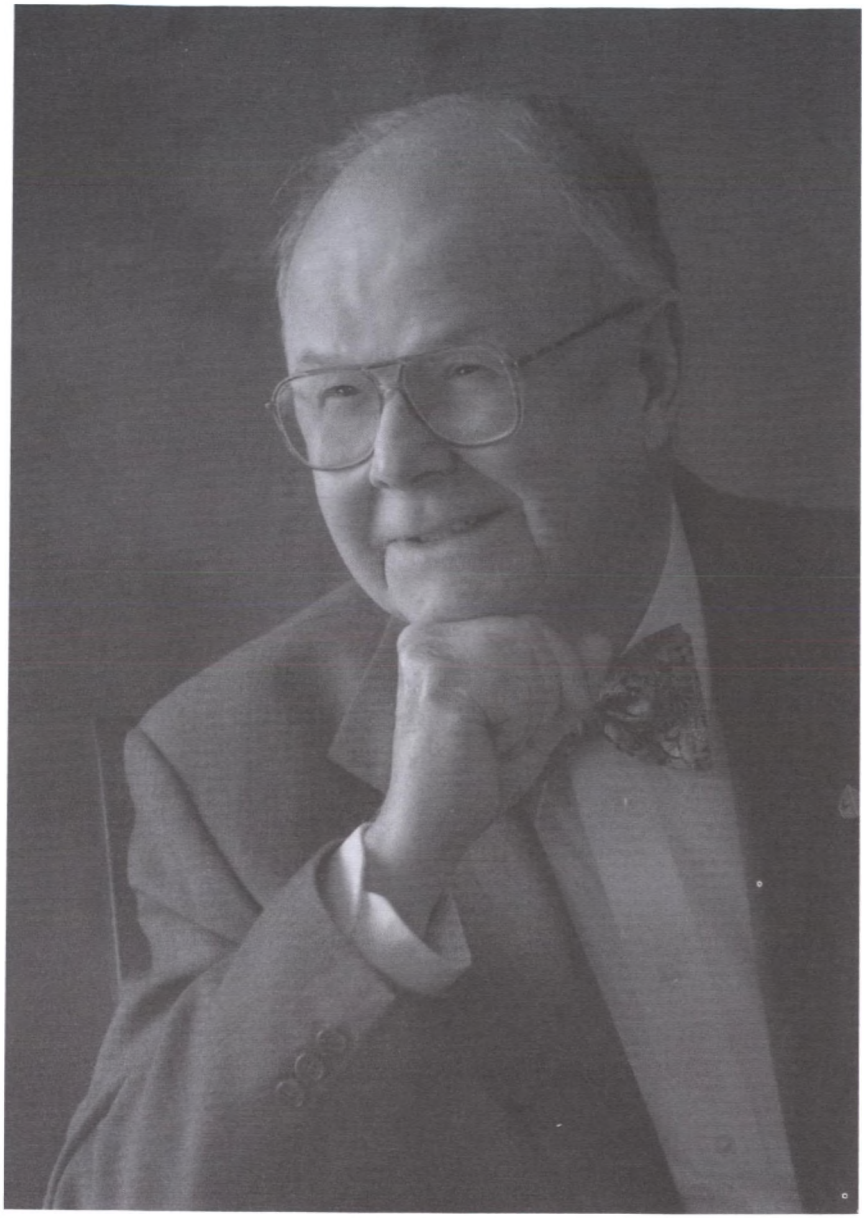
The Society of German-American Studies is honored to publish this collection of essays by colleagues of C. Richard "Dick" Beam on the occasion of his entrance into his ninth decade on the shores of this world. We are delighted to be able to collaborate with Dick's Pennsylvania colleagues, Leroy Hopkins of Millersville University and Joshua Brown of Pennsylvania State University, in compiling the contributions of those desiring to recognize the career and achievements of Dick or, as many of us know him, "der Bischli-Gnippli."

In addition to publishing this Festschrift as a supplemental issue of the Society's *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, it was the unanimous decision of both the Society's publication fund committee and the executive committee of the Society to subsidize the publication with a grant from the Society's Karl J. R. Arndt Publication Fund. In this small way, we are able to honor the many contributions of Dick Beam to the work of the Society for German-American Studies over the nearly forty years of the Society's existence.

As many of our members know, Dick was treasurer ("der Schatzmeister") of the Society for the decade of the 1980s and also instrumental in developing our membership records. We knew we could count on him to keep accurate financial records and provide us with the mailing labels for the annual yearbooks and other publications. Perhaps most importantly, Dick's wisdom, common sense and earthy humor were valuable assets at our twice-annual executive committee meetings. Knowing that Dick would be at an executive committee meeting made that event all the more enjoyable. Things have just not been the same since his retirement as Society treasurer in 1991.

We here in Kansas also owe much to Dick's generosity in sharing his publications and other materials on Pennsylvania German with our Max Kade Center for German-American Studies. He has been a true friend and colleague in the never-ending investigation of the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans and the many other groups from the German-speaking areas of Europe who found new homes in the New World. *Mei liewer Dick*: Congratulations on your lifetime of accomplishments and all the best to you and Dorothy for the years to come.

On behalf of the Society for German-American Studies
William D. Keel, Editor
Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
The University of Kansas
February 2006



C. Richard Beam

Joshua R. Brown

Dedication: For "Herr Beam"

"Des glee Ding kann net lewe!" (That little thing cannot survive) – a prophesy uttered back in 1925 after a grandmother saw her newborn grandson – so small that he was kept warm in a cigar box in the oven. Fortunately, his grandmother was wrong and eighty years later, we are able to present this special supplemental volume of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* honoring him, C. Richard Beam, and his service to Pennsylvania German and German-American studies.

* * *

C. Richard Beam was born on February 15, 1925, in the Red Run Hotel in Red Run (*die Rot Kuh*), Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to Charles and Marcella Beam. As a boy, he learned Pennsylvania Dutch from his grandparents Beam and Slabach. He attended local schools and graduated from Ephrata High School. Following graduation, he joined the Army and served in the European theater during World War II. He returned home and attended Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster. As a German major, he came under the tutelage of Dr. J. William Frey, who encouraged Beam that dialect studies are a worthwhile endeavor. He graduated from Franklin and Marshall in 1949 and (following the directions of Frey) studied at the Philipps-Universität in Marburg, Germany. He then continued at the University of Vienna from 1951 to 1953. After spending time abroad, he returned to attend Middlebury College in Vermont, where in 1957, he received a master's degree in German.

His path through academe eventually brought him back to Pennsylvania, where he completed doctoral coursework under Dr. Albert F. Buffington at the Pennsylvania State University. In 1961, Beam joined the faculty at Millersville State College as professor of German, bringing Buffington's Pennsylvania German dictionary with him.

On July 11, 1964, he married Dorothy J. Pozniko, a music teacher and concert pianist. During this time, Beam also planned a study exchange with the university in Marburg, establishing the Junior Year Abroad Program at Millersville State College (of which Hopkins and Brown are alumni).

From 1967 to 1970, Beam lived in Marburg as resident director of the Junior Year program with his wife Dorothy. In 1970, the Heimatstelle Pfalz published his first dictionary: an *Abridged Pennsylvania German-English Dictionary*.

Back in the U.S., he began a weekly dialect radio broadcast on WLBR (Lebanon) with his friend Ernest W. Bechtel. It was here that *Bischli-Gnippli* (his *nom de plume*) was born. Bechtel called himself the *Busch-Gnipple* (clodhopper), but Beam being smaller and thinner called himself the little clodhopper, or *Bischli-Gnippli*. They titled the show *Die Alde Kummraade*, which has been on the air ever since. In addition, Beam began writing weekly dialect newspaper columns. He still edits the columns in the *Ephrata Shopping News* and the *Sugarcreek (Ohio) Budget*.

In 1986, Beam and Leroy T. Hopkins met with the dean of humanities to establish a Center for Pennsylvania German Studies at Millersville University. Beam has been the director of the Center ever since its inception and regularly publishes and reprints dictionaries, scholarly works and a quarterly newsletter. He and his wife Dorothy also sponsor the annual J. William Frey Lecture for Pennsylvania German Studies at Franklin and Marshall College.

* * *

Unfortunately, this brief statement of Beam's accomplishments does not fully convey his energy and scholarly pursuits. So I shall recollect my own impressions of C. Richard Beam.

On a Saturday morning in February of my second semester of freshman year, I received a phone call from "Herr Beam." I was still accustomed (as freshmen generally are) to sleeping until the sun has well warmed the outside, before even considering rolling out of bed. The ringing was an unwelcome disturbance, but I managed to grab for the phone and utter a half-asleep "hello." In stark contrast, the voice on the other end was full of energy and he seemed to sing his words. He had heard of my interest in working at the Center–my grandmother spoke the dialect, I wanted a job, so why not? He wanted to set up an interview with me on the following Monday, after my Russian class.

Monday morning (a rainy and gray day in Lancaster County), I waited outside of Byerly Hall on campus for his wife, who would pick me up. She arrived with a hearty "hello" and wave from the car window and drove to their home, where I met C. Richard Beam for the first time. The very first thing that struck me was their kindness and enthusiasm, fueled no doubt by an overwhelming dedication to Pennsylvania German studies and fostered by years of teaching college students. It was not the regular job interview that one would expect. He was reclined in his *Faulenzerstuhl* asking all sorts of things about my last name and family roots. After a brief introduction into what my job at the Center would be, I was hired and given plenty of extra reading material (Pennsylvania German newsletters and other dialect material–apparently learning this language came with the job description.)

I returned that following Saturday and received a copy of *Em Schteffi Miller Sei Waddebuch* (Stephen Miller's dictionary). Our task that day was to take the dictionary and go over words with an Old Order Mennonite bishop in New Holland. I was nervous to say the least–my first visit to a Mennonite home, the first plain people I had ever met. This would be my first bout with field work. I feared that they would all converse in the dialect and I would not understand a single word which is exactly how it happened! I quickly picked up my first dialect term *Hochdeitsch*–that would

be my answer, when I was asked if I speak the dialect ("Kannscht Deitsch schwetze?" "Nee, Hochdeitsch.")

That Saturday, I learned several things that give "Herr Beam" his character: his sense of humor, his constant questioning and his passion for field work and talking to people. I soon got to know "Herr Beam" better and watched the ease of conversation and friendly jests that flowed from his personality whether speaking with Amish farmers or the highest members of university administration. He could talk to anyone and leave a lasting and pleasant impression.

I have been away from Millersville for several years now, but I often think back to my days at the Center among piles of papers, books, and field recordings or sitting on the back porch as I read through a final draft of a word list to "Herr Beam." I remember my first task at the Center: typing informants' sentences into the computer and then translating them into English. I began slowly, deciphering their script and assimilating it to our Buffington–Barba–Beam orthography. It was a painful start– "baptism by fire," Beam joked – but I stuck with it and I am pleased that I had the opportunity to co-edit the first two volumes of his massive dictionary opus.

I will not soon forget our frequent field work tasks—Mrs. Beam pulling the car around, "Herr Beam" standing out front with brown suitcase and recording equipment in hand, and Yossi (my *nom de plume*) in tow. I often think about all of the people I have met in his presence and how I soon became more familiar with the backroads of Lancaster County than I ever did in my own neck of the woods.

His character is nothing but unique. In fact, that is the only word with which I can describe it best. His affable nature, love for literature, lima beans, Wagnerian operas, and bow ties all add to his character. His contributions to the field of German-American studies are immense. His field recordings, articles, publications, dictionaries, reprints, refinement of the Buffington-Barba orthography, newspaper columns, and radio broadcasts all amount to no small measure of Pennsylvania Germanica. His vigorous work for *die Mudderschprooch* has greatly impacted this field and has kept (and will keep) many German-American scholars busy for a very long time. His enthusiasm and effort on behalf of his ancestral language and culture are to be lauded. To this end, we present this collection of essays dedicated to Professor C. Richard Beam.

The present collection of essays is a broad compilation of works on German-American studies. As a mentor to many researchers, Beam has assured a legacy of study and interest in Pennsylvania German and this volume is representative of his efforts. Michael Werner presents a report of Beam's crucial role in helping with the dialect newspaper *Hiwwe wie Driwwe*. We then have a block of language-oriented papers. Karen Johnson-Weiner writes on identity and sectarian education and Bill Keel writes about Kansas German varieties. An article on linguistic convergence by Achim Kopp precedes an article on historical dialect analysis by Walter Sauer. We include two articles on Pennsylvania German folkloristic studies: on folk narratives by Simon Bronner and on powwowing by David Kriebel. Leroy Hopkins (Beam's former student and colleague at Millersville) proposes areas of research into the Afro-German diaspora. The festschrift ends with an interesting article (although relevant but not concerning Pennsylvania German) on *Sprachinselforschung* (language island research) by Helmut Protze. We thank all of the contributors for their patience. We

especially thank Bill Keel at the University of Kansas and the Society for German-American Studies for their efforts behind the realization of this publication.

It is for his personal character and his scholarly work that we offer this volume to the field of German-American studies and especially to our mentor and friend, our dear "Herr Beam."

The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania
February 2006

Michael Werner

Das pennsylvaniadeutsche Zeitungsprojekt *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* und die Rolle von Professor C. Richard Beam

Vorgeschichte

Es war ein seltsamer Platz, um sich zu verirren. Da stand ich nun, im Juli 1994, sehr verloren an einer Tankstelle in Millersville, Pennsylvania, nach einem vielstündigen Flug von Frankfurt nach JFK Airport und einer weiteren vierstündigen Autofahrt nach Lancaster County und wusste nun wirklich nicht mehr, wo ich mich befand. Müde erklärte ich dem Tankwart, einem Neu-Pennsylvanier aus Alabama, ich suche einen "Spring Drive" und dort einen gewissen "Professor Beam." Ein kurzer Blick ins Telefonbuch genügte schließlich, und es dauerte keine fünf Minuten, da hielt auch schon ein Wagen. Heraus sprang–agil wie ein Dreißigjähriger–ein Mann, der mich mit den Worten begrüßte: "Ei Bu, wu bleibschte dann–mer sin am waarde un welle unser Owed-Iems hawwe." Die Tankstelle war keine 500 Meter vom "Spring Drive" entfernt, und so hörte ich ein freundliches "What a funny place for getting lost." Das war der Beginn einer wirklich wunderbaren Zusammenarbeit.

Ich suchte Kontakte zu Pennsylvaniadeutschen–besonders Mundartautoren–für meine Doktorarbeit, in der ich den englischen Einfluss auf geschriebenes Pennsylvaniadeutsch untersuchen wollte, und wer war geeigneter als C. Richard Beam, mich in die entsprechende Szene einzuführen. Und so traf ich sie nach und nach, die Menschen, deren Sprache mich sehr an die meiner Großeltern erinnerte: Gladys Martin, Bill Klouser, Peter Fritsch, Kevin Laudenslager, Noah Good und viele andere. Ich hörte zu, versuchte zu lernen und fühlte mich Tausende Meilen weg von daheim oftmals fast wie zu Hause. Dieses Gefühl aus dem Sommer 1994 habe ich vorher und nachher so intensiv nicht mehr erlebt.

Die Idee: Das unmögliche Zeitungsprojekt

1996, nach Abschluss meiner Dissertation, kam ich wieder nach Pennsylvania, und hatte doch so überhaupt keine Lust, mich von all den Menschen zu verabschieden, die mich in den zwei Jahren zuvor so unterstützt hatten und ans Herz gewachsen waren. Dick Beam legte mir vor der Abreise sein neuestes *Journal of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies* ins Handgepäck, und ich las zwischen den

englischen Artikeln wie immer besonders gerne die Dialekttexte. Und als–längst wieder zu Hause–im Herbst irgendwann das Schreiben von Weihnachtskarten anstand, beschloss ich, meinen rund 100 Bekannten einen "gemeinsamen Brief" zu schreiben, eine Art "Newsletter" mit Gedichten und kleinen Geschichten, komplett in Pennsylvaniadeutsch geschrieben. Den Namen für diese Publikation fand meine Frau: "Hiwwe wie Driwwe." Und so machte sich kurz vor Weihnachten 1996 eine erste Ausgabe - ein paar kopierte Seiten–auf den Weg zu den Lesern in die USA und nach Kanada. Im Editorial stand:

> Mer henn ausg'funne, ass es blendi Leit gebt, wu noch pennsylfawnisch-deitsch und paelzisch am schreiwe sinn. Un selle zwee Schprooche g'heere zamme wie's Hinkel un's Oi. 'S iss ee Mudderschprooch, wann sich aa en lot verennert hot sitter die Leit gezogge sinn vun de Palz nooch Pennsylfawnie (un Ontario) Yaahre zerick. (...) 'S hot net en lot Zeidinge, wu mer ebbes wie en Gedicht odder en Schtorie in de Mudderschprooch finne kann. Un sell iss schaad, weil deel Schtofft, as g'schriwwe watt, iss ferschur aarick guud. *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* sett en wennich helfe, ass die Leit sich en wennich lanne kenne, un ass ebbes Neies gedruckt watt in de Mudderschprooch.

Im Januar 1997 fanden sich wohl mehr als 50 Briefe im Postkasten. Alles Antworten. "Hurrah! Des iss yuscht, was mir brauche!" schrieb unser amischer Freund Stephen Miller. Gleichlautend waren auch viele andere Schreiben. Und so blieb ich dabei. Die Auflage ist mittlerweile auf 2.400 Exemplare pro Ausgabe angewachsen. Zwei Ausgaben erscheinen jährlich mit einem Umfang von je 16 Seiten. Eine kleine Zeitung, geschrieben komplett in Pennsylvaniadeutsch–eine Publikation, die es so aus verschiedensten Gründen eigentlich gar nicht geben dürfte; ein unmögliches Zeitungsprojekt.

Die Leserzielgruppe(n) "hiwwe" und "driwwe"

Da ist zunächst die Leserzielgruppe, oder besser - da sind die verschiedenen Zielgruppen für *Hiwwe wie Driwwe*:

a. Amerikaner, Kanadier, Deutsche und ein paar Franzosen im nördlichen Elsass und in Lothringen, also Menschen unterschiedlicher Nationalität;

b. Lutheraner und Reformierte einerseits, Mitglieder der Old Order Amish und Old Order Mennonites andererseits, also Menschen mit großen soziorelig iösen Unterschieden, die im Alltag kaum Kontakt zueinander haben;

Was sie eint, ist, dass sie dieselben regionalen Wurzeln haben–immerhin kamen die meisten Vorfahren der heutigen Leser aus den Gebieten links und rechts des Rheins. Und sie verstehen noch heute die eine Sprache, die sich durch Mischung verschiedener deutscher Dialekte in Pennsylvania unter Beimengung des

Englischen entwickelt hat: "Pennsylvaniadeutsch," "Dutch," "Deitsch," kurz: die "Mudderschprooch." Verstehen ist das eine, sprechen etwas anderes. Und hier sind kleinere und größere Brücken zu überwinden. Pennsylvania ist nicht Ohio, und Kansas ist nicht Ontario–überall gibt es regionale Unterschiede. Und Pfälzisch ist eben schon gar nicht gleich Pennsylvaniadeutsch. Hier haben zehn Generationen die sprachlichen Verwandten schon ein Stück weit voneinander entfernt.

Über die Größe der Zielgruppe(n) lässt sich trefflich streiten. 200.000 Amische soll es mittlerweile geben, vielleicht noch einmal 50.000 Mennoniten alter Ordnung. Dazu gesellt sich möglicherweise noch einmal 150.000 Lutheraner und Reformierte in Nordamerika, die "Pennsylvaniadeutsch" zumindest noch verstehen, wenn sie es auch im Alltag nicht mehr verwenden. Pfälzisch in seinen unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen sprechen sicherlich mehrere hunderttausend Menschen, auch wenn natürlich sich nur ein Bruchteil davon für die pennsylvaniadeutschen Vettern und Kusinen interessiert. Nehmen wir der Einfachheit halber einmal an, wir reden von einer maximalen Zahl von 1 Million Menschen, die sich in der "Mudderschprooch" miteinander unterhalten könnten. Als Zielgruppe beeindruckt diese Zahl jeden Zeitungsverleger. Wenn sich nur 1% der Zielgruppe die Mühe machen würden, die Sprache ihrer Vorfahren nicht nur zu sprechen, sondern auch zu lesen und zu schreiben, so ergäbe das noch immer die Zahl 10.000.

Das mit dem Lesen und Schreiben ist aber der entscheidende Punkt. Dialekte sind keine Standardsprachen, und somit muss eine standardisierte Schreibung eigentlich scheitern, weil sich zu viele Dialektsprecher nicht mit der standardisierten Konvention anfreunden können.

Und dennoch funktioniert es. Zum Glück sind die regionalen Unterschiede des Pennsylvaniadeutschen in Nordamerika auch zwischen Punkten mit großer Entfernung deutlich kleiner als zwischen manchen Nachbarorten in der Pfalz. Und so gelang es einer Gruppe von Wissenschaftlern Ende der 1930er Jahre in Hershey (Pennsylvania), sich auf eine einheitliche Schreibkonvention zu einigen. Das sogenannte "Buffington-Barba"-System wurde zwischenzeitlich zum "Buffington-Barba-Beam"-System (BBB) verfeinert. Nur genutzt wird es leider viel zu selten. Jeder schreibt, wie es ihm gefällt. Kurzum: Keine einheitliche Zielgruppe, keine einheitliche Schreibkonvention, die sich durchgesetzt hat. Spätestens hier hätte ein wirtschaftlich denkender Verleger das Projekt *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* zur Seite gelegt. Zum Glück muss aber nicht alles menschliche Handeln aus der Perspektive der ökonomischen Sinnhaftigkeit bewertet werden. Und so ging es mit *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* los–und seitdem weiter.

Die Leserbefragung 2001

Im zweiten Halbjahr 2001 (*HwD* No. 2/2001), also im fünften Jahr des Erscheinens, gab es eine erste Leserbefragung. Hier sind die wichtigsten Ergebnisse:

a. Die meisten Leser wohnen in den U.S.A. oder Deutschland:

U.S.A.	67,1%
Deutschland	21,1%
Kanada	10,5%
irgendwo sonst	1,2%

b. Die meisten Leser lesen sehr intensiv, nämlich 76% bis 100% der Inhalte einer Ausgabe:

0% bis 25%	3,5%
26% bis 50%	3,7%
51% bis 75%	42,8%
76% bis 100%	50,0%

c. Erstaunlicherweise macht die verwendete Schreibkonvention, eine wegen der Leser in Deutschland leicht abgewandelten Version des "BBB"-Systems, den Lesern erstaunlich wenig Probleme. Auf die Frage "Hoscht du Druwwel, fer die Articles un Schtories lese wehich em Weg, wie die deitsch Mudderschprooch g'schpellt iss?" gaben zur Antwort:

ja	3,6%
ein wenig	50,0%
nein	46,4%

d. Die Leser sind im Durchschnitt 61,4 Jahre alt. Die ältesten Leser wohnen in den U.S.A., die jüngsten in Deutschland:

Durchschnitt total	61,4 Jahre
Deutschland	53,3 Jahre
Kanada	57,0 Jahre
U.S.A.	64,8 Jahre

e. Die meisten Leser sind lutherischen oder reformierten Glaubens, aber es gibt auch viele Amische und Mennoniten, die *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* lesen:

lutherisch	28,6%
reformiert	21,4%
amisch	12,5%
mennonitisch	11,5%
protestantisch uniert	11,0%
katholisch	9,5%
anderer Glauben	5,5%

f. Alle Leser sprechen und verstehen Englisch, aber viele auch Hochdeutsch:

Englisch	100,0%
Dialekt	96,4%
Hochdeutsch	57,1%
Spanisch	14,5%
Französisch	14,0%

g. Die meisten Leser von *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* sprechen zumindest manchmal Dialekt zu ihren Kindern. Auf die Frage "Duhscht du die Mudderschprooch schwetze zu dei Kinner?" antworteten mit:

ja	25,0%
manchmal	42,9%
nein	32,1%

Das redaktionelle Konzept

Von Anfang an wollte/sollte *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* mehr sein als eine pennsylvaniadeutsche Literaturzeitung. Es musste doch möglich sein, nicht nur interessante Dialektgedichte und Geschichten zu publizieren, sondern auch, Menschen in Pennsylvania dazu zu bewegen, über aktuelle Ereignisse in ihrer Nachbarschaft im Dialekt zu schreiben. Es gibt das Bild, eine Zeitung sei eine "Veranstaltung," auf der Neuigkeiten und Meinungen ausgetauscht werden, sich Menschen treffen und miteinander kommunizieren. Genau das sollte *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* sein. Und so sieht das redaktionelle Konzept folgende Textsorten vor:

Seite 1: Editorial, Beginn des Aufmacherartikels, Inhaltsübersicht
Seite 2: Berichte und Kurzmeldungen
Seite 3: Fortsetzung des Aufmacherartikels, Berichte und Kurzmeldungen
Seite 4: Hintergrundberichte (PG Kultur, Portraits von Menschen und Vereinen)
Seite 5: Seite des "Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Centers"
Seite 6: Gedichte und Geschichten (zeitgenössische PG Texte)
Seite 7: Gedichte und Geschichten (zeitgenössische PG Texte)
Seite 8: Gedichte und Geschichten (zeitgenössische PG Texte)
Seite 9: Abo-Formular
Seite 10: 'S Hochdeitsch Eck (Artikel in Hochdeutsch zu PG Themen)
Seite 11: 'S English Eck (Artikel in Englisch zu PG Themen), Infos über Autoren
Seite 12: Schalle vun Vegange (Texte aus der PG Literaturgeschichte)
Seite 13-16: "Gedanke Schliwwere" (4-seitiges Supplement mit Leserbriefen)

Die Autoren

Die Anfangsauflage von 100 Exemplaren steigerte sich kontinuierlich. Seit dem

ersten Erscheinen wurden Texte von weit mehr als 100 Autorinnen und Autoren aus den U.S.A., Kanada, Deutschland und Frankreich veröffentlicht, darunter Artikel, Gedichte und Geschichten von 66 zeitgenössischen pennsylvaniadeutschen Schreibern–also Autoren, die zum Zeitpunkt der Publikation noch lebten. Es waren dies in alphabetischer Reihenfolge:

Albrecht, Al	IN	Klouser, Bill	PA
Allison, Willard	PA	Kunkel, Paul	PA
Arner, Carl	PA	Labe, Stella	PA
Baver, Florence	PA	Laudenslager, Kevin	PA
Beam, C. Richard	PA	Leid, Noah	PA
Bearinger, Eddi	ON	Louden, Mark	WI
Betz, William	PA	Martin, Gladys S.	PA
Bittner Henry, Mary	PA	Martin, Nancy	ON
Bittner, Paul	PA	Miller, Barbara	PA
Blatt, Milton	PA	Miller, Ivan	IN
Brackbill, Kenneth	PA	Miller, Lynn M.	IL
Breininger, Don	PA	Miller, Stephen	PA
Brinker, Luke J.	PA	Miller, William H.	PA
Brown, Joshua	PA	Moll, Rhea	PA
Byler, Jonathan C.	NY	Pappas, Brittany	KY
Druckenbrod, Richard	PA	Putnam, Mike	OH
Ehrich, Montgomery	BC	Rakers, Ryan	PA
Engle, Lloyd E.	PA	Reigart, Keith	PA
Fritsch, Peter	PA	Rohrbaugh, Nova	PA
Fry, Dorothy	PA	Schrack, Vera	PA
Glick, Ivan	PA	Sherr, Paul C.	PA
Good, Noah G.	PA	Shupp, Leonard E.	PA
Hammer, Bob	ON	Spayd, Alice	PA
Heffendrager, Clarence	PA	Stoudt, Harold R.	PA
Hendricks, Dave	PA	Stauffer, Daniel B.	PA
Hoffman, Norman C.	PA	Stoltzfus, Sam S.	PA
Hoffman, W. J.	PA	Stutzman, Enos D.	OH
Horst, Isaac R.	ON	Thierwechter, Lee	PA
Jennings, Art	PA	Troyer, David J.	OH
Kamp, Vernon M.	PA	Troyer, John J.	OH
Kauffman, Dave	IN	Troyer, Kathy	OH
Kline, Francis	PA	Wanamaker, Franklin	PA
Kline, John B.	PA	Weber, Urias	ON

Einige Autorinnen und Autoren haben erst durch *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* mit dem Schreiben im Dialekt begonnen.

Die Leserreaktionen

Die Resonanz auf Leserseite ist beachtlich. Etwa 1.000 Briefe und E-Mails

erreichen die Redaktion jährlich. Nur 70 bis 80 davon können in den zwei Ausgaben eines Jahres abgedruckt werden. Die meisten Rückmeldungen sind Kommentare zur Zeitung selbst oder einzelnen Artikeln und Gedichten. Es gibt aber auch viele Anfragen, zum Beispiel mit genealogischem, touristischem, historischem oder linguistischem Hintergrund. Interessant ist, dass die Briefe nicht nur aus den U.S.A., Kanada und Deutschland kommen, sondern auch aus Österreich, der Schweiz, Frankreich, Polen, Belgien, Paraguay und sogar Japan.

Die Zukunft

Hiwwe wie Driwwe wird weiter zweimal jährlich etwa in dieser Auflage erscheinen. Wenn es gelingt, noch mehr zahlende Abonnenten zu finden, ist Verdopplung auf vier Hefte im Jahr denkbar. Gesucht wird derzeit noch ein zuverlässiger pennsylvaniadeutscher Co-Editor, der Interesse daran hat, das ehrenamtliche Redaktionsteam dauerhaft und kontinuierlich mit aktuellen Texten zu unterstützen. Manches hat *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* bereits erreicht–vieles ist noch denkbar.

Möglich gemacht hat letztlich aber erst Prof. C. Richard Beam diese kleine Zeitung, denn es war sein persönliches Netzwerk, aus dem sich schließlich das Netzwerk von *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* entwickelte. "Bischli-Gnippli," so sein pennsylvaniadeutsches Alias, hat sein ganzes Leben lang Menschen geduldig zugehört, sie zusammengebracht und immer wieder ermuntert, die eigene Muttersprache nicht gering zu schätzen und nicht zu vergessen. Dass dies *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* zumindest ein wenig auch in Zukunft gelingt, bleibt die Hoffnung des Herausgebers.

So warefe mer
unser deitschi Schtrohhiet in die Heeh
un winsche dem Bischli-Gnippli in der Millerschtadt
en hallicher Gebottsdaag!

Privatarchiv pennsylvaniadeutscher Literatur
Ober-Olm, Germany

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

Teaching Identity: German Language Instruction in Old Order Schools

"Mir selle die Weltsproch net brauche—
schunst grickt die Welt uns—un no de Deifel."

[We shouldn't use the world's language
because the world will get us and then the devil.]

(Nineteenth-Century Missouri Preacher John Kauffman)

Language Education and Old Order Identity

According to a note found in the Muddy Creek Farm Library, in a box of materials pertaining to German in the Plain Churches, the late scholar John Hostetler once asked Joe Byler, then editor of *The Diary*, a monthly Old Order Amish publication, if the time would ever come that the Amish would pray in English. This seemed like a strange question to Joe Byler, but he finally answered, "Once the Amish pray in English they are no longer Amish."

Pennsylvania German, Amish High German (AHG),[1] and English play complex roles for the Amish and Mennonite groups that continue to use these three languages, and their use according to socially-defined domains is one of the most powerful practices identifying and defining Old Order church-communities.[2] Pennsylvania German, an unwritten, unstandardized language, acts to keep the group separate from the dominant, English-speaking society. Old Order children learn Pennsylvania German as a first language, and its use continues to mark oral intra-community interaction. Amish High German (AHG), on the other hand, is the language of the Bible and the hymns and traditional prayers that have been handed down over the centuries. Once widely spoken and written in Old Order communities, AHG or "Bible German," is now little used outside of the church service. Nevertheless, as Jakobsh, notes, all adult members of the community must "have a minimal mastery of the language in order to participate meaningfully [...]."[3] Although spoken AHG is not the same as written AHG,[4] members of Old Order communities seldom distinguish the two. Finally, English, although the language of written communication within the church-community, is "the world's language."

This pattern of language interaction, while characteristic of language use in Old

Order church-communities, is not a constant. English education and the access English proficiency gives to the surrounding society have opened church-communities to the influence of the outside world and paved the way for a variety of changes, some of which have divided congregations.[5] Today, patterns of language use continue to distinguish one church-community from another.[6]

When the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites began to establish their own private schools in the mid-twentieth century, they started to put both English and German in their respective places. The *Standards of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite Parochial and Vocational Schools of Penna.,* which influenced Old Order private schools across the United States and Canada, asserted that "[t]he English language should be spoken at all times by the teacher and pupils while school is in session, except German classes."[7] The *Regulations and Guidelines for Amish Parochial Schools of Indiana* explicitly linked German instruction in schools to the use of AHG in religious contexts, noting "[t]he worship services of the Old Order Amish are conducted in German. If this is to continue, foresight must be exercised in passing the German language to succeeding generations [...]."[8]

Despite the importance of German in Old Order communities, however, there is no standard German language pedagogy for all Old Order schools. As Byler put it, "How much, when, and in what way depends entirely on the teacher, the board, and the parents."[9] Old Order schools vary in the frequency with which they hold AHG classes, the textbooks they use, the kinds of exercises teachers assign students, how teachers test proficiency, and the goals Old Order church-communities set for AHG instruction. For example, although according a place for German instruction in the curriculum, the Pennsylvania *Standards* also made it secondary, offering no further details on its instruction nor listing it in either the discussion on religion in one-room parochial schools or in the elaboration of "The Education Program" in Standard 7. Similarly, in contrast to the detailed instructions provided to guide the teaching of English, the Indiana *Regulations* do not specify when or how to teach German.[10]

In Old Order schools, the tension between English and AHG, the two language varieties Old Order children must formally study, brings into sharp focus the role language plays in the church-community itself. How German is used and taught in Old Order schools helps to reflect and reinforce patterns of behavior that define and preserve Old Order communities and their distinct identities. While the most conservative schools provide instruction in written AHG in a way that explicitly links this linguistic variety to religious ritual, more progressive schools provide students with stories in AHG about their own Old Order life, with questions that emphasize translation and the comprehension and production of AHG in every day conversation. This different emphasis shapes language use in a way that defines for Old Order children—future church members—the boundaries between their own community and others, and between secular and sacred.

German in Swartzentruber Amish Schools

In the one-room schoolhouses of the Swartzentruber Amish, among the most conservative of all Old Order groups, children learn English, German, and basic arithmetic, and, through these, the patterns of social interaction, work ethic,

discipline, and obedience to authority that will make them good church members. In Swartzentruber schools, German lessons begin in third or fourth grade and take place on Fridays. In most schools, this is accomplished by simply substituting German reading for English reading and German spelling for English. Thus, learning "Bible" German and learning English are, in several ways, linked. Both have limited use within the Swartzentruber community, both are school subjects, both must be studied.

English and AHG have clearly restricted domains in the Swartzentruber world. Since their first language, Pennsylvania German, is not written, every day reading material in Swartzentruber homes, including local newspapers, and letters from Old Order friends and relatives, is in English. After chores are done, children might sit and read silently to themselves those texts parents consider appropriate, just as, at school, after their work is done, children are permitted to get a book off the shelf for silent reading. Parents seldom read stories to their children at home, and teachers use oral reading in English only to reinforce vocabulary and to evaluate students' progress. Spoken English is not approved for intra-community interaction.[11]

AHG is even more restricted in its use. Children hear it when the Bible is read, when hymns are sung, and when the preachers incorporate it in their sermons and prayers. Like English, AHG is not for conversation with family and Swartzentruber friends.

Pedagogy reinforces this linguistic behavior. Few Swartzentruber children know much, if any, English when they begin school at age six, and the teacher sees as her first task teaching them the "1 2 3s and the ABCs."[12] Nevertheless, even as teachers help their pupils to become fluent in English so that they can read and talk to outsiders, they limit the effects of language education in a variety of subtle ways. In school, for example, written English is studied only in the context of spelling lessons and penmanship. Students do not write essays or practice letter writing, except as they copy out of their penmanship books. Similarly, oral English is the language of lessons, not of social interaction. As one teacher noted, "We learn Dutch [Pennsylvania German] at home. In school it's time to learn our English, but the only time we talk English is during lessons."

Even then, if English proves too difficult, children turn to Pennsylvania German to ask questions and get help and support. In a second grade phonics class, for example, the teacher read the workbook instructions in English but then used Pennsylvania German to explain what was required and to answer all the children's questions. As a teacher of several years experience put it, when asked why she tended to use Pennsylvania German to explain problems to her scholars, "[It] still comes the handiest for me to talk [Pennsylvania] German because that's the language we use the most." When school is not formally in session, such as during recess or lunch, teachers generally use Pennsylvania German.[13]

English language instruction helps to set "school" apart from "social interaction" and community. Instruction in AHG, on the other hand, helps to mark the boundary between everyday work and worship, and the use of AHG in classroom activities clearly marks those who are old enough to begin to take responsibility for religious interaction and those who are not. Swartzentruber children generally begin the school day with three hymns, all in German, from the *Liedersammlung*, a songbook dating to 1892. The first, second, and third graders leave their own seats to crowd in next to

an older child. These youngest scholars are not expected to join in because they have not yet learned to read the German script in the songbook. As they do during church services, they stand quietly next to older siblings or neighbors, who, in contrast, have begun to learn songs that will be sung Sunday evenings, at gatherings of "young folks,"[14] or at singings that follow weddings. Older children take turns leading the songs, training that will prepare the boys to be *Vorsingers* or song leaders during the worship service.[15] Thus, while speaking Pennsylvania German identifies them with the church-community, learning to read AHG signals a growing responsibility to participate in its religious life.

English and AHG are taught in the same way. Oral reading in English begins in first grade when the teacher models the text for the student one word at a time. Standing over a child, she points from word to word with her pencil, stressing each item equally in a monotone that ends on a falling note only with the last word. In one lesson, the teacher modeled a sentence in this way for a first grader and then instructed the child "try and say it [the English sentence] quickly." Like the teacher, the child produced a monotone string of syllables, each receiving the same stress, distinguished at the end only by a falling tone on the last syllable.

Often the contrast between oral reading and conversation is striking, as when the teacher models the sentence in a chant-like monotone to the children and then translates it into conversational Pennsylvania German. One teacher, for example, introducing a new passage to a fourth grade class, read the sentence, "See-how-the-goats-pull," one word at a time, each word evenly stressed and uttered in a monotone that fell only at the last syllable. The children repeated each word as the teacher read it. She then gave the Pennsylvania German translation, "[seənč vi di ges tsiə]" in a cheerful, conversational tone while pointing to the picture.[16]

Teachers use the same techniques when they begin to teach children to read AHG, with the same result. When they read aloud, children render the AHG text in a sing-song monotone that is difficult to follow or comprehend. The chant-like quality of both oral English and oral German reading in Swartzentruber schools links this activity to other ritualized language use, most particularly to the cadence of German preaching, and reinforces the church-community's belief that neither "Bible German" nor English are meant for daily interpersonal interaction within the Swartzentruber community, English because it is the language one uses to speak to outsiders and AHG because it is the language of the Bible and prayer.[17]

Making no connection in their lessons between AHG and Pennsylvania German, teachers assume that AHG, like English, will be difficult to learn. As one teacher noted, "[learning Bible German] is just as hard. It's the same as learning English." Another commented, "Dutch [Pennsylvania German] and German [Standard German] are two different languages." She noted that she could understand some German but not talk it, although she could "understand the preacher when he talks it."

Because the Swartzentruber Amish use English and AHG only in particular circumstances, the range of topics one discusses using either language is limited. The texts they use for their lessons build in these limitations. To learn to read and write English, for example, children use *McGuffey's Readers* and the 1919 series, *Essentials of English Spelling*, texts that present archaic English grammar and vocabulary.[18] Similarly, to study AHG, third graders start by learning their ABCs with the *Das erste Deutsche Lesebuch* [The First German Reading Book], a work which first appeared in

1887. This text introduces them to the *Fraktur* script used in their church hymnbook, the *Ausbund*, and the German Bible. For the Swartzentruber Amish, learning AHG, or, as they call it, "Bible German" is in large part learning to read and write the *fraktur* script of the texts, which is considered the only appropriate script for German spelling and reading.[19] Children chant the German alphabet, just as they chanted the ABCs before beginning to read, and older children memorize German spelling words. By the fifth grade, pupils are reading *Biblische Geschichten* [Bible Stories], a text printed entirely in *Fraktur* with archaic engraved illustrations and no English translation. By the seventh grade *Das Neue Testament* [The New Testament] has become their reading book. There is no translation, and teachers do not require children to answer questions about reading passages. Indeed, once the children have begun to read from the New Testament, it would be inappropriate for the teacher—who is usually female, often not yet baptized, and certainly not a minister—to question them on what they have read or, in any way, appear to be "teaching scripture."

In his survey of German texts used in Old Order Mennonite schools in Ontario, Jakobsh points out numerous deviations from modern standard German and suggests that these remain in the school texts because "there is not the slightest intention among these 'plain folk" to emulate the writing or speaking conventions of people in Germany."[20] Similarly, the Swartzentruber Amish are not bothered by the archaic English of their school texts because they have no desire for their children to learn the conventions of the surrounding non-Amish society.[21] Nor are they concerned that the German their children study might be archaic; for them, it is not. The German Swartzentruber children study in their schools prepares them to read texts handed down for generations. This German and its *Fraktur* script reinforce the ties binding the community to its forebears.

Through language use and instruction, Swartzentruber schools reinforce community values and protect children from the values of the outside world. Pennsylvania German becomes further identified as the language of community, of fun and group activities, of support when things become difficult, of being Swartzentruber. Children learn to read English in the silent, passive way that they will use to read the Old Order newspapers, and they learn to write English well enough to correspond with others. Oral English remains the language one uses to communicate with the unfamiliar and often difficult world that is outside their own. AHG is linked to reading the Bible, singing hymns, and formal religious settings. That schools bring the hymns and sacred texts into the classroom reinforces the notion that school is preparing children for active participation in their own church-community, not for interaction with the surrounding society.

Blurring the Boundaries

Patterns of language use and instruction change as Old Order communities evolve differing relationships with other Old Order groups and the surrounding non-Old Order society. Like the Swartzentruber Amish, more progressive groups continue to emphasize their separation from worldly society, yet, at the same time, they have begun to permit members to interact more freely with the non-Old Order world. In some communities, for example, members engage in wage labor for non-Old

Order employers, while others own businesses that serve a primarily non-Old Order clientele. At the same time, the growing economic dependence on the surrounding society has fostered closer working relationships with other Old Order groups, even those with which they do not fellowship.

Although members of more progressive communities desire, like the Swartzentruber Amish, to educate their children for an Amish life, they do not educate them for the same kind of Amish life, and the private schooling that has developed in these communities reflects different and broader educational goals. As one parent put it, "times change and so education must change for the times." Schools must prepare children to interact with the world but give them the wherewithal to remain separate from it.

Given their increased interaction with the non-Old Order world, many in more progressive communities believe that the children must come to use English as naturally as they use Pennsylvania German, and so teachers emphasize the use of English for all classroom interaction. Stressing phonics as the analysis of language and as a means of acquiring new vocabulary and greater facility in reading,[22] teachers regularly point out patterns in word structure and encourage children to sound out words. At one school, for example, the teacher asked her first graders what new word they would have if they took [ši] "she" and added the sound [p] to the end. Pressing them further, she asked them whether the [š] "sh" sound was at the beginning or the end of the new word and then proceeded to ask them to find the sound in a word list. Finally, she sent them to their seats to circle the sound as it appeared in the list of words in their workbook. Assuming that children will be interacting frequently with those outside their church-community, teachers often emphasize pronunciation. As one teacher argued, "if school is going to give them enough learning to go on in life and make a living, you want them to learn English," and she asserted further that she wanted her students "not just to speak it but to speak it properly."

As English is emphasized, the role of German as a general marker of Old Order identity becomes more important, and the distinction community members draw between spoken Pennsylvania German and written AHG becomes less clear. One teacher noted that the German studied in school "is not like what we speak, but we hear it in church and are familiar with it." Then she added, "The words are probably the same, but they're said differently."[23]

The texts themselves blur the distinction between the oral Pennsylvania German of home and the written German of school. Published by the Old Order Amish Pathway Publishing Company in Aylmer, Ontario, *Let's Learn German* (a workbook for beginners)[24] and the follow-up text *Let's Read German* present German in exercises and stories set in an Amish context. The introduction to *Let's Read German* makes it clear that the goal of the German lessons is to teach children to read the Bible,[25] but, as the editors note, "The stories in the book [...] relate true-to-life incidents which could happen to any child. Many of the stories teach a moral."

In linking written German to everyday life, these texts no longer distinguish between texts and activities that are sacred and those that are not. The mixing of *Fraktur* and Roman fonts within the texts further obscures the distinction between religious German and worldly English. The stories in *Let's Read German*, for example, which focus on the adventures of an Amish family, are printed in *Fraktur*, but the Bible verses found at the end of each chapter are not.

Furthermore, a greater emphasis on translation implicitly equates the languages, regardless of context. One New York teacher, introducing second graders to basic German vocabulary in a story on the family, explained the vocabulary by asking questions in English. "Are you a [tson] or a [dɔxtɔ˞] [a son or a daughter]?" the teacher asked one child, adding, "match the German word with the English word. Let's try." The texts themselves encourage translation by offering chapter questions in English that require German language answers. The emphasis on translation continues through the highest grades. Book three in the series, *Wir Lesen Geschichten aus der Heiligen Schrift* ("We Read Stories from the Holy Scriptures"), has exercises requiring translation from English to German and vice versa.

Implicitly suggesting that standard written German might have a non-scriptural use, the Pathway editors argue in the foreword to *Let's Read German* that "learning any language is more than merely learning to read it" and the text emphasizes the productive use of German in exercises that require students to answer questions and write paragraphs. Nevertheless, translation work and the consequent mixing of languages appears to trouble some communities that fear a growing use of English would lead to a variety of unwelcome changes. A teacher in a small New York settlement, for example, noted that parents were concerned that translation and "writing all these things in English would detract from their German heritage." Another New York teacher argued the need to control the use of English, noting "I guess we want to be different from the world, that's why. English would lead us into more things." The children should only speak English at school, she asserted, but "parents should make them speak just German at home."

In these schools, German is both Pennsylvania German and AHG, and communities count on its continued use to provide a barrier to social intrusion in the wake of growing English dominance. Since AHG is no longer restricted to explicitly religious domains, English is no longer barred from them. For example, as in Swartzentruber schools, teachers begin the day with singing, but in these schools the songs are just as likely to be English Sunday Schools tunes as old German hymns. As one teacher noted, "We choose wholesome material for Christian life. We sing both English and German songs in our schools." Other teachers noted singing mostly in English, while one teacher said that her school sang in German one week and English the next, and that she enjoyed the Gospel songs.

German to Emphasize Difference

As the range of behaviors separating church-community and world narrows, AHG grows in importance as a counter to assimilation and a means of emphasizing difference. In the most progressive Old Order communities, wealth and increased interaction with the non-Old Order world have blurred many of the distinctions between the church-community and the dominant society and made some church-communities even more tolerant of technological innovation and activities often identified by other Old Order groups as "worldly." For example, in the large, homogeneous Old Order settlement in the Elkhart-LaGrange, Indiana, region, many of the children in the settlement now ride bicycles to school and a number of Old Order church members carry cell phones.

Reflecting this growing involvement in the larger, non-Amish world and the growing influence of the dominant society on Old Order life, many of the first graders in the most progressive communities begin school knowing English. When a first grader does not know English, according to one teacher, it makes it "a little tough for them and their teacher! We would explain it in Dutch [Pennsylvania German] too, to make sure they comprehend it." Implying that families *ought* to be using English, even at home, another teacher noted, "We like if our first graders can speak English when they start school, but it's not always the case." As in other communities, "The more older siblings they have to teach them makes a difference." If first graders cannot understand what the teacher is telling them in English, the teacher will use Pennsylvania German to help them, but she will not use it at all with the older students. As one teacher noted, "We use English on the playground too. I only speak German when I need to."

Jakobsh suggests that, for Old Order Mennonites in Ontario, "German is [...] not a language which is valuable in itself, but the traditional language they inherited and which has kept them distinct from the rest of North American society."[26] The "normal Old Order Mennonite in Waterloo County," he suggests further, thinks of German as "just another foreign language." Nevertheless, so long as German serves to separate Old Order from non-Old Order, the language performs a vital role in the church-community. In the Elkhart-LaGrange settlement, for example, German remains the language of church and ritual and is emphasized as such, despite the group's growing reliance on English for intra-community interaction and for activities that the Swartzentruber Amish mark as religious, including school singing and even preaching.

As they come to lead lives very similar to those of their non-Amish neighbors, the most progressive Old Order Amish find in German, both written AHG and spoken Pennsylvania German, evidence of their distance from the world and their identity as Old Order Amish. Thus, teachers consciously emphasize German in the schools. A teacher from Indiana noted, "We want to have German all year long; I think it's more useful than geography." Increasingly engaged in the dominant society, members of the most progressive communities find that German reinforces a line between Old Order and non-Old Order that is often blurred in other areas of daily life.

Indicating its importance to the survival of the church-community, German is given even more room in the curriculum. "We teach German two days a week, usually Tuesday and Friday," noted one teacher. "I feel it's important since that's what we use in church services, so we need to be able to understand what we read." Another asserted that

> German is one of the top five reasons that we have our own schools [...] I have German about twice a week. German is almost like the Pennsylvania Dutch we speak, and yet there's a big difference. In our Amish church services, the scripture is read in German and the sermons are a mixture of German, Pennsylvania Dutch, and English in that order. Mostly German. Our songbook, the *Ausbund*, is also German, so German is a big issue in our schools, churches, and homes.

Moreover, children are expected to be able to use AHG, not only passively as

they read, but actively as they translate and speak. Using a combination of Pathway's *Let's Learn German*, Schoolaid's *German Phonics*, Pathway's *Let's Read German* and Schoolaid's *Wir lesen und sprechen Deutsch*, the teachers test children on their productive knowledge of German through vocabulary tests and translation exercises. Unlike their Swartzentruber counterparts, these children learn German grammar and pronunciation. By the time they are in the eighth grade, children are expected to be able to, as the "Foreword" to *Wir Lesen und Sprechen Deutsch* suggests, "take the parts of the characters, speaking in their turn as in real conversation." As the book goes on to assert, "Use and practice make for fluency."

Enninger writes that "AHG school activities are [...] geared to enabling the pupils to gain access to the cultural heritage encoded in AHG and to identifying with it."[27] As in the most conservative church-communities, the use of AHG by the Elkhart-LaGrange and other progressive groups encodes a church separate from the world. Nevertheless, although clearly focusing on the importance of German for religious practice, schools in these most progressive communities teach German in a way that will encourage students to use the language more actively and in a wider range of domains. While perhaps weakening the identification of AHG with religious practice, this approach emphasizes the role AHG plays in establishing and maintaining an Old Order identity quite different from that of their most conservative counterparts.

Serving Diverse Groups: When German no longer means Old Order

In schools that serve diverse Old Order populations, some of which may no longer use German in church services, AHG can no longer unambiguously mark group affiliation, separate church-community from worldly society, or distinguish the sacred from the everyday. Instruction must, thus, divorce academic subject from church practice. The Old Order Mennonite schools in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, are English-dominant. "This is an English country," an experienced teacher announced to beginning teachers at the Old Order Mennonite teachers' meetings, explaining how to respond to parents who might resist the emphasis on English. There is, in fact, just as likely to be resistance to German. One teacher told of a family in her school from an English-speaking church-community that wished the children to do more Bible study in place of German class. "Finally, they left," said the teacher. In another school, a student who "couldn't seem to grasp the German very well" was excused from studying it because, as one of the teachers noted, "[H]e won't be using it at home or church [...]."

In the linguistically diverse Old Order population of Lancaster County, interaction between different Old Order communities requires groups to negotiate language use. For example, as one Old Order Mennonite teacher noted, the Old Order Amish school meetings are often held in German, but the Mennonite meetings, which generally include teachers from the Weaverland Conference ("Horning" Mennonites), are usually held in English.[28] Horning Mennonite teachers in Old Order schools may not be native speakers of German and so may be teaching German as a second language, if they teach it at all. One teacher noted that German singing was for church and added, "We have English in school because of some of my

English-speaking pupils of another denomination."

As one teacher put it, "We expect our pupils to receive a Christian education according to our standards." Yet, it is readily acknowledged that "Christian" does not mean "German" and so German can never be taught as something that the children will need to be good church members. Although using the same texts as many Old Order Amish schools, including Schoolaid's *German Phonics/ Deutsche Lautlehre,* Pathway's *Let's Read German*, and Schoolaid's *Wir Lesen Geschichten aus der heiligen Schrift,* and *Wir lesen und sprechen Deutsch*, the Lancaster Old Order Mennonite schools do not link German instruction to particular church practices. *Schoolteachers' Signposts,* a guide for Old Order teachers published by Schoolaid, suggests that German will be helpful to the child because "by studying another language the pupil learns many valuable lessons . . . to be able to pick up literature of another language and actually read and understand it, is an enviable accomplishment."[29]

Helping to reinforce the role of German in the Amish and Mennonite communities that use German in church services, but not imposing a particular religious viewpoint on children from English-speaking Mennonite churches, German instruction helps to prepare children for this diversity. As one teacher noted, "With the mixture of church denominations in our schools, children learn to respect others [and] to respect that different churches have different rules and that's how it is." Thus, German language instruction no longer creates difference but rather fosters appreciation of difference.

Having German instruction in schools also sends a message to public school authorities. An "extra subject," German is part of an expanded curriculum that encompasses far more than the reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and Bible German of the most conservative Old Order Amish schools. Old Order Mennonite educators and parents feel responsible for ensuring that the private schools provide an education comparable to that provided by the public schools. As one mother noted, "We appreciate the parochial school set up. We try as hard as we can to get as close to a high school curriculum as possible. This shows we're willing to work with the authorities. We strive to push what we can in eight years." As another put it, "we're fortunate that the public has let us go this far." The notion that the state has granted a privilege that must not be abused is evident even on the school report cards, which remind parents that, "In return for the privilege of being granted our Parochial schools," they should help to ensure that schools have a record "that will be respected by the state as well as having a feeling of satisfaction and sincerity for our own group."

Conclusion

Hostetler notes, "schooling in any society is directly related to the value-orientation of a culture [...]."[30] In realizing the core values of their faith and culture, schools in today's Old Order church-communities demonstrate widely varying patterns of interaction with the world and divergent notions of what it means to be Old Order. Language use and language instruction encode and reinforce these divergent Old Order identities.

In commenting on the looming demise of Pennsylvania German, Huffines asks,

"How important is it to be Pennsylvania German and does Pennsylvania German express that ethnicity?"[31] She goes on to argue that, "The use of Pennsylvania German in sectarian communities is dependent on the use of Amish AHG in worship."[32] The difficulty with this notion, however, is that the Old Orders, understanding the "church" as a redemptive community, are, in a sense, always in church, and so the distinction between "worship" and "non-worship" is not necessarily an easy one to draw.

In Old Order communities, patterns of language use have functioned to define the boundaries of the community and to delineate the borders of sacred and ordinary social domains. For some communities, this has meant that AHG has been given a wider role than that of "ritual language." While the Swartzentruber Amish continue to demonstrate the classic diglossia that defines Pennsylvania German as oral in-group language and restricts AHG to sacred texts and religious activities that use those texts, other church-communities have merged Pennsylvania German and AHG, in spirit if not in fact, and given "German" the responsibility of marking Old Order identity and separating church from non-church. So long as physical separation from the world defines the Old Order Amish church-community, German has a role to play. The nature of that role, shaped by the nature of separation, will be taught in school.

SUNY Potsdam
Potsdam, New York

Notes

[1] As Jakobsh notes in his study of German language instruction in Ontario Old Order Mennonite schools "High German," called here "Amish High German," is not the standard German of today's Germany. Rather it is the German of the Luther Bible, the *Ausbund* (the hymnal used in Amish worship services), and other sixteenth century religious texts. See F. Jakobsh, "German in Old Order Mennonite Schools," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 11 (1993): 162-73. See also M. L. Huffines, "Pennsylvania German: 'Do they love it in their hearts?'" in J. R. Dow, ed. *Language and Ethnicity*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 9-22. Huffines distinguishes the archaic standard German of Old Order religious texts from Amish High German, which she describes as "essentially an upper register of Pennsylvania German, infused with formulas and phrases from the archaic standard German" (12). I will refer to both written and spoken forms as Amish High German (AHG).

[2] Cf. W. Enninger and J. Raith, *An Ethnography-of-Communication Approach to Ceremonial Situations. A Study on Communication in Institutionalized Social Contexts: The Old Order Amish Church Service* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982); M. L. Huffines, "Strategies of Language Maintenance and Ethnic Marking among the Pennsylvania Germans," *Language Sciences* 8 (1986):1-17; M. Louden, "Bilingualism and Diglossia. The Case of Pennsylvania German," *Leuvense bijdragen* 76 (1987): 17-36; J. R. Dow, "Toward an understanding of some subtle stresses on Language Meintenance among the Old Order Amish of Iowa," *International Journal*

of the Sociology of Language 69 (1988):19-31 ; K. M. Johnson-Weiner, "Community Identity and Language Change in North American Anabaptist Communities," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2/3 (1998): 375-394; W. Enninger, "Continuity and Innovation in the Bilingual Education Among the Amish," in *The Construction of Knowledge, Learner Autonomy and Related Issues in Foreign Language Learning, Essays in Honour of Dieter Wolff.* ed. B. Missler and U. Multhaup (Sonderdruck: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1999).

[3] Jakobsh 1993, 164-65.

[4] Cf. Loudon 1987.

[5] Johnson-Weiner 1998, 375-94.

[6] Cf. K. M. Johnson-Weiner, "Group Identity and Language Maintenance: The Survival of Pennsylvania German in Old Order Amish Communities," in *Diachronic Studies on the Languages of the Anabaptists*, eds. K. Burridge and W. Enninger (Bochum, Germany: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1992), 26-42.

[7] *Standards of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite Parochial and Vocational Schools of Penna.* (Gordonville, PA; Old Order Book Society, rpt. 2004) p. 13. The *Regulations and Guidelines for Amish Parochial Schools of Indiana* (Middlebury, Indiana, 2002), 10, assert that "English [...] is required in grades three through eight and should be spoken by teacher and pupils at all times while classes are in session, except in German classes."

[8] Ibid, 10.

[9] Ibid, 36.

[10] Although the chance to offer German language instruction was not one of the reasons the Old Orders began to establish their own schools, (cf. Enninger 1999; Johnson-Weiner forthcoming), it was, nevertheless, as Old Order educator Uria R. Byler noted, "an added bonus." A 1961 editorial in *The Blackboard Bulletin*, a magazine for Old Order teachers, noted :

> The Amish, as a whole, are losing out in their German. Anyone who doubts this is invited to study the writings of our forefathers of, say, fifty years ago. [...] If our children grow up with very little understanding of German, the use of our mother tongue in our church services will cease to be the blessing it could be. [...] With our own schools and our own Amish teachers, there is no reason whatever why a child cannot be taught to read, write, and speak fluently the German tongue.

[11] Cf. K. M. Johnson-Weiner, "Community Expectations and Second Language Acquisition: English as a Second Language in a Swartzentruber Amish School," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 28 (1993): 107-17.

[12] Generally parents want their children to be six years old by the time school starts or not long after; a child turning six in December, for example, is usually considered too young to start and must wait until the following year. See Johnson-Weiner, 1993, for a more complete description of language instruction.

[13] Cf. Johnson-Weiner, 1993, also K. M. Johnson-Weiner (forthcoming).

[14] Young people, aged 17 to marriage, who gather socially to sing "faster" hymns than would ordinarily be sung in church services.

[15] Cf. J. A. Hostetler, *Amish Society,* third ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns

Hopkins University Press, 1993), 228.

[16] Cf. Johnson-Weiner, forthcoming.

[17] Cf. Jakobsh 1993.

[18] Cf. Johnson-Weiner 1993; forthcoming.

[19] The Swartzentruber Amish refer to German texts in Roman font as "German written in English." For more about *Fraktur* script and its use by Anabaptist communities, see the website of the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada. Abrahams, Ethel Ewert, Hershey, Mary Jane Lederach and Wenger, Carolyn C. (1989), "Fraktur," *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, Mennonite Historical Society of Canada. Retrieved 26 May 2005 <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/F6741ME.html>.

[20] Jakobsh, 171.

[21] Cf. Johnson-Weiner 1993.

[22] Cf. Enninger 1999.

[23] Cf. Jakobsh 1993.

[24] *Let's Learn German* and *Let's Read German* are products of the Pathway Publishing Company in Aylmer, Ontario. Schoolaid Publishing, an Old Order Mennonite press in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, publishes *German Phonics*, which is designed to be used before *Let's Read German*, and *Wir Lesen Geschichten aus der Heiligen Schrift* and *Wir Lesen und Sprechen Deutsch*, which are designed to be books three and four, respectively.

[25] In the foreword to *Let's Read German* (Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishing Company, 1975), Elizabeth Miller writes, "Most of the words introduced and taught are words which are found in the New Testament. After completing this book, the children should be able to read the Gospel of John (the easiest-to-read book of the Bible) with ease and understanding."

[26] Jakobsh 1993, 171.

[27] Enninger 1999, 222.

[28] The Weaverland Conference Churches, also called Horning Mennonites, no longer use German in worship services, and few Horning children and raised speaking German at home.

[29] *Schoolteachers' Signposts*, (East Earl, PA: Schoolaid Publishing Company, 1985). 96.

[30] J. A. Hostetler, ed. *Conference on Child Socialization*, (Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1969), 20.

[31] Huffines 1991, 9-10.

[32] Ibid, 22.

William D. Keel

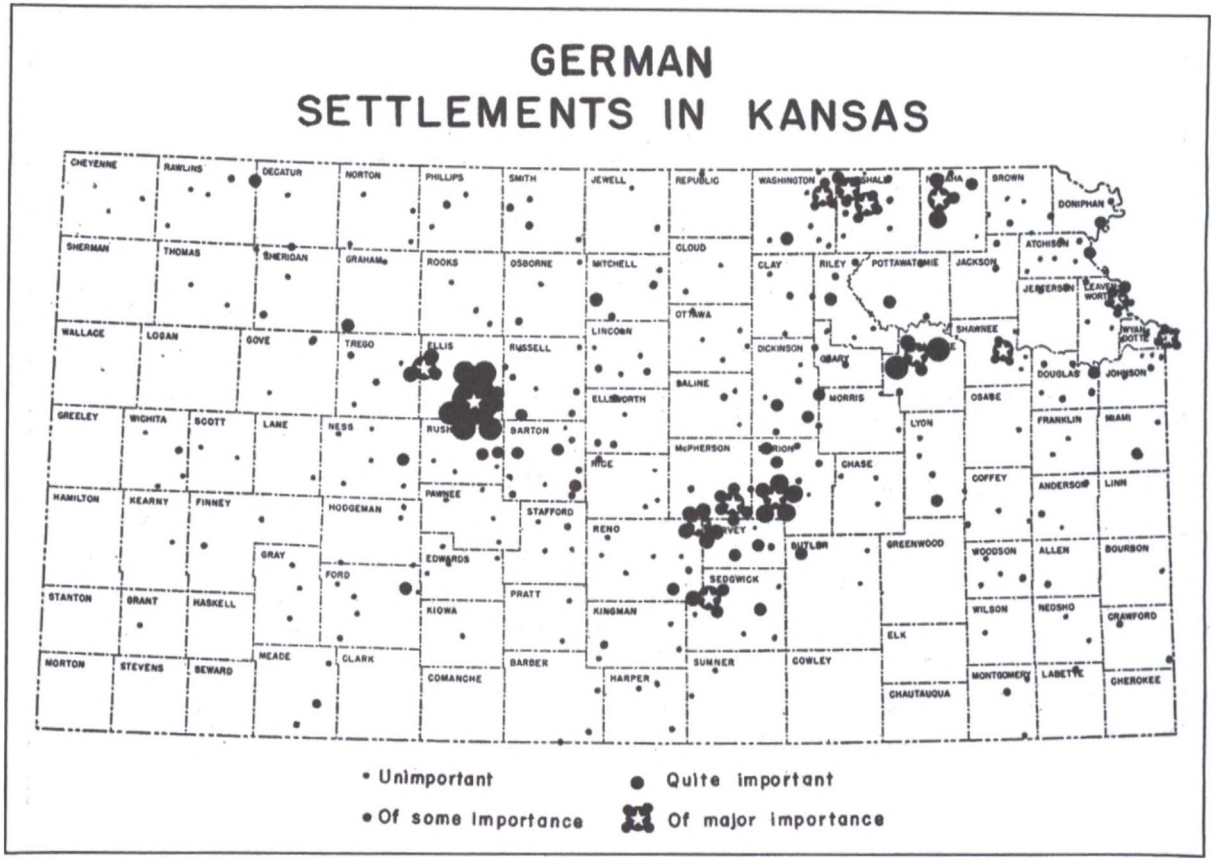
Deitsch, Däätsch, Düütsch, and *Dietsch*: The Varieties of Kansas German Dialects after 150 Years of German Group Settlement in Kansas

Introduction

As one travels throughout the state of Kansas, one cannot help noticing numerous place names which might lead one to believe that one is, indeed, not in Kansas anymore: Humboldt in Allen County, Bremen in Marshall County, Stuttgart in Phillips County, Marienthal in Wichita County, Windthorst in Ford County, Olmitz in Barton County, Olpe in Lyons County, Bern in Nemaha County, and many others. Whether named for famous German researchers (Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt), German political leaders of the nineteenth century (Ludwig Windthorst), cities and towns in Germany (Bremen, Stuttgart and Olpe), the capital of Switzerland (Bern), a city in Moravia in the former Austrian Empire (Olmütz), or a German colony near the Volga River in the Russian Empire (Marienthal), each of these Kansas communities is a living testament to the massive influx of German-speaking settlers who found new homes in Kansas during the period from the mid-1850s to the 1880s, and continue to immigrate to Kansas at the beginning of the twenty-first century (see Map 1).

These place names also reflect the diverse background of those German-speaking settlers: They came to Kansas from throughout the German-speaking area of Central Europe, including Switzerland, Austria, Luxembourg, Alsace, Lorraine, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Galicia, and Bucovina as well as from the states and regions (Bavaria, Prussia, Württemberg, Westphalia, Hannover, Saxony, the Rhineland, etc.) normally associated with Germany itself. Significantly for Kansas, they also came from German colonies in the vast Russian Empire: from those established in the 1760s along the Volga River and from those established beginning in 1789 by Mennonites near the Black Sea.

But many settlers of German ancestry did not come to Kansas directly from their European homelands. They came to Kansas from German settlements and communities in the eastern United States. Some came as part of concerted attempts to establish German cultural enclaves in Kansas by German groups in Chicago (Eudora in Douglas County) or Cincinnati (Windthorst in Ford County). Some came as individuals and families seeking a better life from Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and other states. A very large number came as part of the westward migration of the Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania Germans who traced their origins to German-speaking settlers in colonial Pennsylvania and who were among the very first white settlers in the Kansas Territory in 1854.



Map 1. German-speaking settlements in Kansas prior to 1900 (Carman 1962).

More striking, perhaps, than these German place names are the monuments to the religious faith of the early German settlers in Kansas, which cannot help but catch the attention of the traveler through Kansas. In nearly every county one sees from afar the steeples of the churches built by a rich and diverse variety of German and Pennsylvania German religious bodies: St. Fidelis—"the Cathedral of the Plains"—in Victoria (Ellis County), St. Mark near Colwich (Sedgwick County), St. Mary in St. Benedict (Nemaha County), Immaculate Heart of Mary in Windthorst (Ford County), Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church in Goessel (Marion County), Zion Lutheran Church south of Offerle (Ford/Edwards County), Willow Springs Old German Baptist Brethren Church in southern Douglas County, the Benedictine Abbey in Atchison, and many, many others.

Just as the German settlers in Kansas came from throughout the German-speaking world, they also represented just about every known religious denomination found in the United States in the nineteenth century, including Yiddish-speaking Jewish farming settlements in southwestern Kansas. German Catholics settled throughout Kansas, but established strongholds particularly in the northeastern counties from Atchison and Leavenworth to Seneca, in western Sedgwick County, in Ford and Edwards counties, and in numerous Volga German, Bucovina German and Moravian German parishes in Ellis, Rush and Barton counties. German Lutherans established congregations in many counties, but are especially numerous in the Horseshoe Creek communities of Washington and Marshall counties, in Phillips and Smith counties, and in Lincoln, Mitchell and Russell counties.

Numerous other Protestant denominations—Evangelical and Reformed, Evangelical United Brethren, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians—established German congregations in Kansas. Of special interest in Kansas is the large number of congregations reflecting an origin in the Anabaptist movement during the Reformation. German-speaking Mennonites from Russia together with Pennsylvania German and Swiss Mennonites have established a concentrated settlement area extending from Marion County to Reno County. Old Order Amish districts can be found in Reno and Anderson counties. At least five separate branches of the Church of the Brethren (Dunkers) have congregations in Kansas, especially concentrated along the Douglas and Franklin County border. River Brethren colonized Dickinson County in 1879; among these Pennsylvania Germans was the family of future United States President Dwight Eisenhower. The diverse religious heritage of Kansas owes much to these German settlers.

For the student of the German language, however, these German settlements in Kansas offer a window on the full spectrum of German dialects from the Low German dialects spoken from the Dutch border in northern Germany to the Vistula Delta of West Prussia—now Poland—to the Upper German dialects of Switzerland and Bavaria as well as varieties of German which emerged in colonial settlements, whether in Russia or in Pennsylvania. Many of these dialects have ceased to exist; after one generation in Kansas, many descendants of the first settlers had already assimilated to the dominant English-speaking culture. The anti-German sentiment of two world wars, especially the nearly hysterical efforts against the German language and speakers of that language during the First World War, accelerated the process of assimilation. Most importantly, the break up of our rural communities and the

increased mobility of our population since the Second World War have served to nearly eradicate the immigrant languages from the landscape of Kansas.

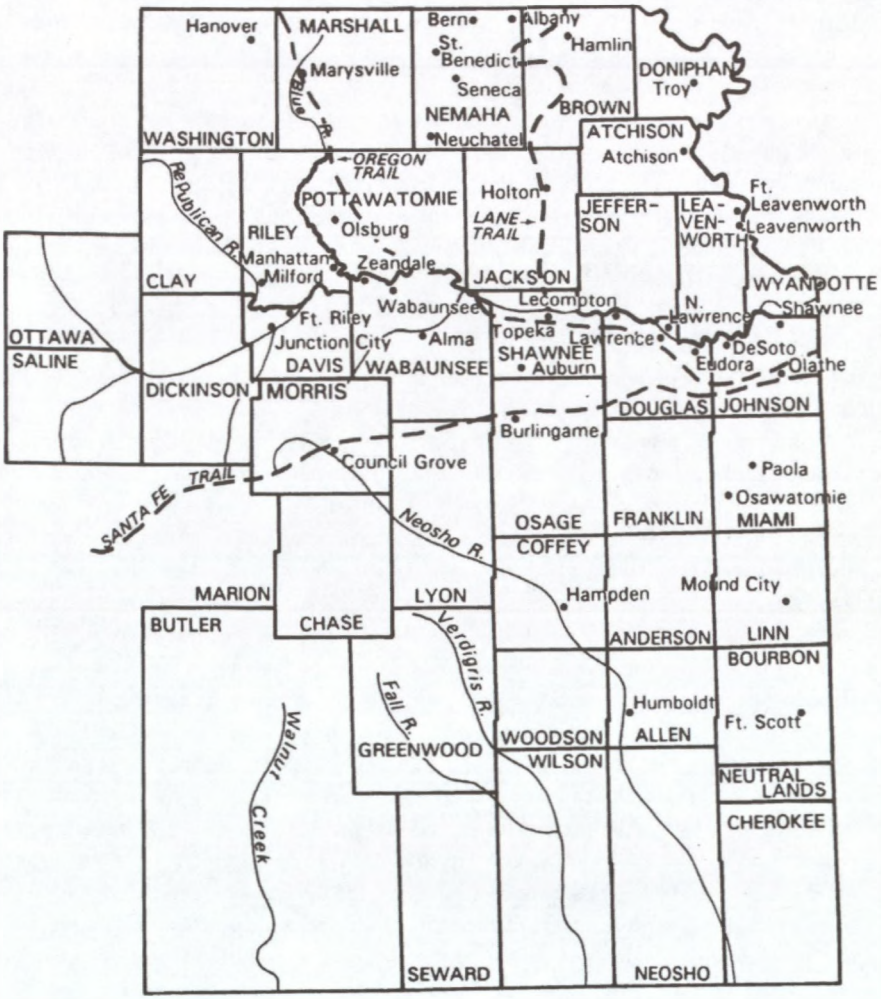
Today we are faced with the gradual dying out of the last remnants of the German settlement dialects in Kansas. In many areas where German settlement was particularly concentrated and unified, the older generations are still quite fluent in their various dialects: Volga German dialects (*Deitsch*) in Ellis and Russell counties; Low German (*Plattdüütsch*) in Missouri Synod Lutheran settlements in Marshall and Washington counties, Mennonite Low German (*Plautdietsch*) in Marion, McPherson and Reno counties; Schweitzer dialect (*Schweitzerdeitsch*) in Moundridge (McPherson County); Swiss German (*Bäärntüütsch*) in Bern (Nemaha County); and Bavarian dialect (*Deitsch-Behmisch*) in Ellis County.

The major groups that continue to teach a German dialect to the younger generation in Kansas are the communities of Old Order Amish. As long as their religion and life-style require the use of Biblical German in their worship services, they will probably continue to speak Pennsylvania German (*Dääts*ch) in their families and communities. Of course, the incorporation of numerous words and even grammatical features of American English in Pennsylvania German remains an ongoing process. In the last decade migrant farm workers from Mennonite colonies in Mexico have entered the scene in the counties of southwestern Kansas. Here children speak a Mennonite version of Low German (*Plautdietsch*) as their first language. Only time will tell whether these newest of the German-speaking immigrants to Kansas will establish any cohesive settlements and maintain their German dialect.

German Group Settlements from the Territorial Period until the End of the Civil War, 1854-65

The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) opened the Kansas Territory for general settlement by European-Americans (see Map 2). Since 1830, Kansas Territory (acquired by the U.S. via the Louisiana Purchase [1803] and the Mexican War [1845-46]) had been designated for the resettlement of Eastern Indian tribes such as the Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Delaware, Chippewa, and Cherokee, and as the homeland for several other tribes such as the Kansas, Osage and Pawnee. The agreements with these tribes were, however, soon forgotten as white population growth in the East and immigration increased the demand for land on the frontier. The tribes in Kansas were coerced into signing new agreements which in essence led to their resettlement in the Indiana Territory to the south (now Oklahoma).

The large number of white settlers in Kansas Territory included many Germans from Eastern states. Most of the 80 non-English speaking settlements established in Kansas from 1854-61 were German-speaking. Among the very first settlers were many Pennsylvania Germans (Dunkers). But beginning in 1857, a variety of Germans began streaming into Kansas, attracted to some degree by the abolitionist newspaper published in German (*Kansas Zeitung*, Atchison, "Ein Organ für freies Wort, freien Boden und freie Männer"). Although many Germans found new homes in the early towns of Atchison, Leavenworth and Lawrence, most established relatively isolated German communities in the Territory. In what follows, we will survey the most important of these rural settlements, based largely on the published accounts of



Map 2. Counties organized in Eastern Kansas, 1854-65 (Shortridge 1995).

Carman (1954, 1961, 1962, 1974) and Shortridge (1991, 1995) as well as our own field work.

The Benedictine Abbey established by Bavarian monks in Doniphan in 1857 and moved to Atchison in 1859 became the focus of a significant German Catholic settlement band that by 1865 extended for several counties along the border with Nebraska. The most important of these were Wolf River in southwestern Doniphan County and St. Benedict (Wild Cat Creek) in northern Nemaha County. The overwhelming majority of settlers at St. Benedict came from Oldenburg.

Smaller German Catholic settlements were established with the help of the abbey

in Jefferson County (Mooney Creek), Brown County (Fidelity), Atchison County (Lancaster) and Leavenworth County (Easton). In 1858 Northern German Catholics also established a settlement in the southern part of the Territory with St. Boniface parish in Scipio (Anderson County). In the western fringe of settlement, German Catholics from South Hesse and the Rhine-Palatinate founded St. George parish in Flush (Floersch) in Pottawatomie County.

Among the numerous German Protestant communities were the Swiss Reformed in Doniphan County, who settled there in 1855. A little farther west in Nemaha County, on the border with Nebraska, Swiss Germans founded Bern in 1857. The religious affiliation of these Swiss was more complex. Congregations of Lutherans, Reformed as well as Apostolic Christians can be found here. Missouri-Synod Lutherans from Hannover, however, dominate the landscape centering on Bremen in Marshall County (Horseshoe Creek Settlement). The ranch of Gert Hollenberg, also from Hannover, had already been established here in the territorial period (1858; now the last surviving Pony Express station in Kansas). There were also a number of other minor Protestant settlements including Hiawatha in Brown County.

South of the Kansas River German Methodists at Stull and Evangelicals at Worden established themselves in Douglas County. A larger settlement, primarily Lutheran, developed along Mill Creek in Wabaunsee County with centers at Alma and Alta Vista. Secondary settlements from Mill Creek developed along Clark's Creek (Lutherans, 1858) in Davis and Morris counties as well as Lyon's Creek in Davis and Dickinson counties (Methodists and Lutherans, 1857). Another significant secondary settlement of North German Lutherans was Block in Miami County, established by settlers from Cole Camp, Missouri, in 1859.

Two town companies were also composed of Germans in the territorial period (1854-61). The Chicago-based *Deutscher Ansiedlungsverein* acquired Land for Eudora (named for a Shawnee chief) in Douglas County in 1857. Eudora was settled by a mixed German population. In a short time, German Evangelicals, German Methodists, German Catholics and Jews lived side by side. The town also had its own *Turnverein* and *Turnhalle*. German Congregationalists from Connecticut founded the second all-German town on the southern edge of the Territory on the Neosho River, also in 1857. This community was named Humboldt after the great explorer and had a distinctly abolitionist bent. The liberal perspective in Humboldt led to proposed street names reflecting patriots of the 1848 Revolution, including two executed by the Austrian and Prussian authorities, Robert Blum and Adolf von Trüzschler.

The settlements of the Pennsylvania Germans in Kansas are not as easily identified because of the long history of settlement in Pennsylvania and the migration of Pennsylvania Germans westwards since the end of the eighteenth century. Based on their religious affiliation (Dunkers, Amish, River Brethren, etc.), it is possible to obtain some idea of the extent of Pennsylvania German involvement in the settlement of Kansas. Larger groups such as Lutherans or Reformed remain unnoticed.

Adherents of the Dunkers (Church of the Brethren) were quite conspicuous in the territorial period. A number of these Dunker settlements could be found south of the Kansas River in the counties of Douglas, Franklin and Osage and north of the river in the counties of Jefferson and Brown. Today many mistakenly believe the members of the most conservative of these Dunkers—the Old German Baptist Brethren—to be Amish based on their dress and general appearance.

In his 1962 *Atlas and Statistics* Justice Neale Carman determined a so-called "critical year" for every non-English speaking group settlement in Kansas. The "critical year" was the approximate date by which time only about half of the families with children in a given community were still using the emigrant language or dialect in the home. Despite the limitations of Carman's estimate, we have an approximate idea of the state of assimilation of a speech community to the dominant English society.

Based on Carman's information, the Catholic German settlements in northeastern Kansas stopped using German fairly soon after arriving in Kansas. Most experienced the "critical year" prior to the First World War (Fidelity 1890, Flush 1900, Scipio 1905, Lancaster 1910, Easton 1913, Mooney Creek 1917). Even in larger settlements such as St. Benedict ("critical year" 1920) and Wolf River (1925) assimilation was already in progress prior to the war. The tenacity of the Low German dialect in St. Benedict, however, is evidenced by the presence of a handful of semi-speakers of the dialect today (2005).

Similar results obtain from the two German town companies of the territorial period. Carman calculated "critical years" for Humboldt of 1905 and for Eudora of 1910. Unfortunately, Carman, offers no insights into the situation of the many Pennsylvania German settlements of that period. Based on our own investigations, it appears that even among the most conservative Old German Baptist Brethren the use of German had largely dissipated by 1900.

In most of the mainstream Protestant settlements we find the same general pattern of assimilation prior to the First World War. A few communities continued with German into the mid-1920s before English became dominant: the Lutherans in Block (Miami County) and the denominationally mixed Germans in the vicinity of Marysville (Marshall County). 1930 was designated by Carman the "critical year" for the Evangelicals in Worden (Douglas County) and the Swiss in Bern (Nemaha County).

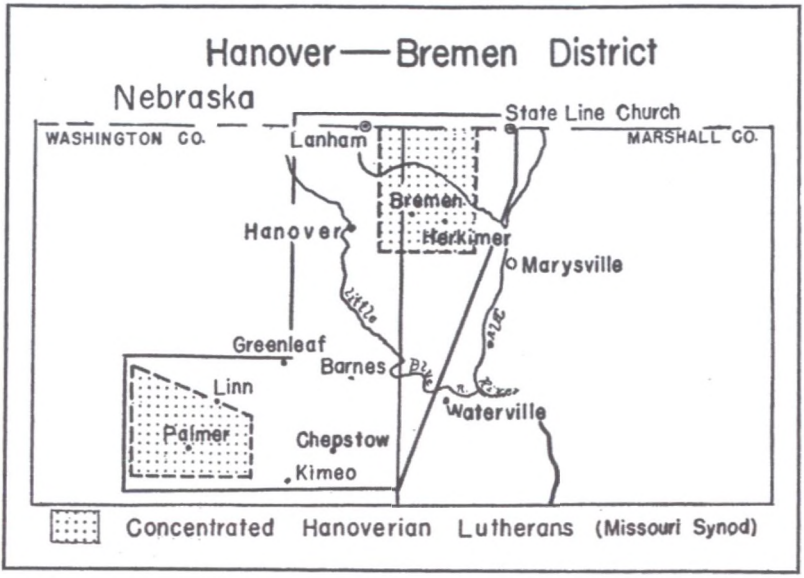
Particularly resistant to assimilation were the Hanoverian Lutherans along Horseshoe Creek near Bremen (Marshall County). Carman claimed that this group reached its "critical year" in 1942. It is thus not at all surprising that we still find a number of fluent speakers of "Hermansberg Low German" in this community in 2005 (see Map 3).

Post-Civil War: Homestead or Railroad Land, 1865-1885

Following the chaos of the Civil War in Kansas, the state experienced an uninterrupted flow of new settlers for the next two decades. German immigration to the U.S. numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Even more significant was the emigration of thousands of German colonists from the Russian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Many found their way to the state of Kansas. The new settlers had the opportunity to acquire a farmstead either free under the provisions of the Homestead Act (1862) or relatively cheaply from one of the transcontinental railroad companies (Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad or the Kansas Pacific Railroad). The so-called railroad land stretched in a band from ten to twenty miles wide on both sides of the right-of-way and was offered for sale in alternating sections.

The western counties of Kansas presented a chessboard pattern of railroad and homestead lands for the potential settlers (see Map 4).

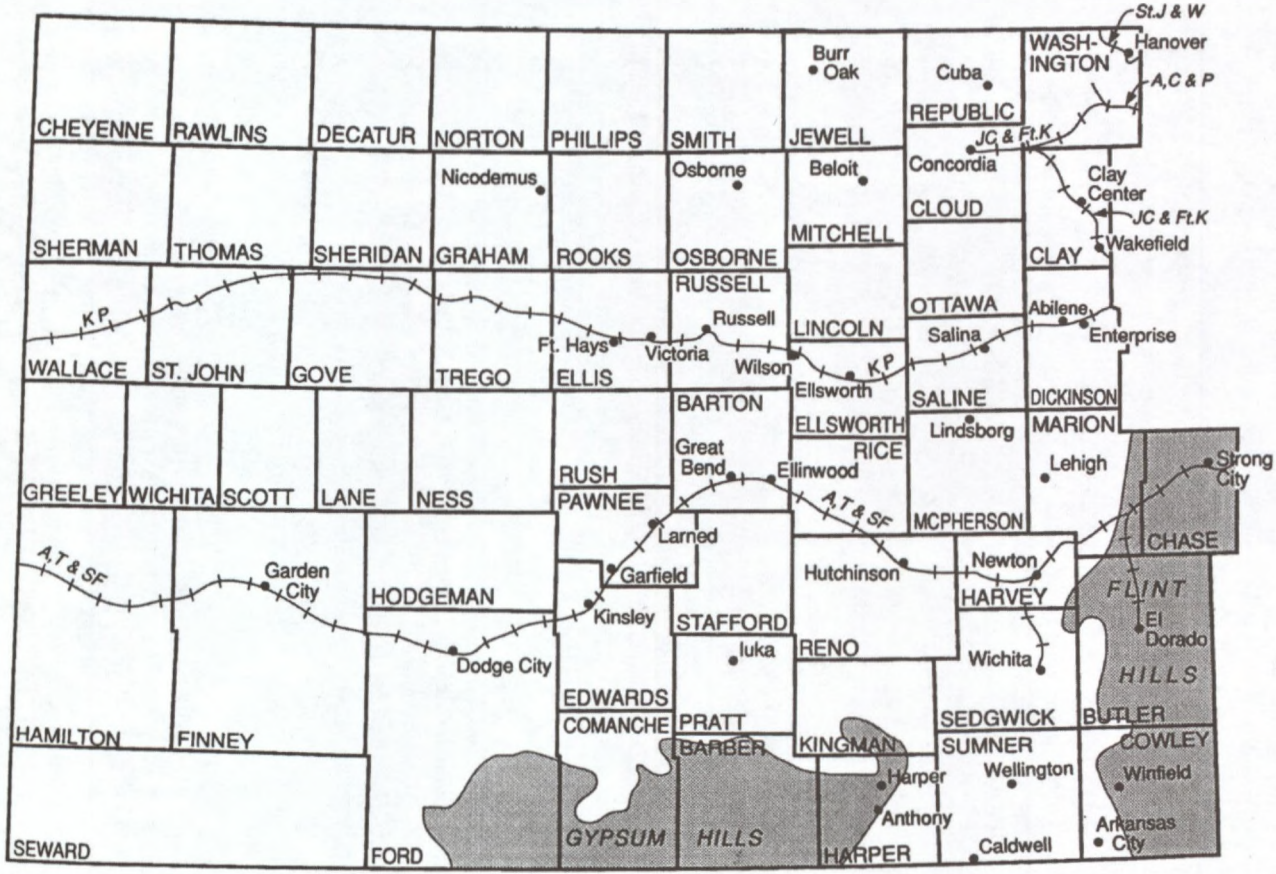
Some of these new settlers homesteaded in the counties of the territorial period and augmented the German population there. Others established new settlements in the older counties such as the Swiss Apostolic Christians who spread out along the borders of three counties in 1876 (Lyon, Greenwood and Coffey). These Swiss



Map 3. Low German Lutheran Enclave
near Bremen and Hanover, Kansas (Carman 1962).

followed the pattern of assimilation to English by 1925 according to Carman. A mixed group of German Methodists, Lutherans and Swiss Reformed established themselves in the river valleys of Dickinson County. According to Carman, the Methodists assimilated prior to the First World War, the Swiss in New Basel by 1920 and the Lutherans along Lyon's Creek by 1930. In Washington County the Lutherans from Marshall County began to spread out to the west at the same time the town of Hanover (spelled with one "n" in Kansas) was established in 1869. Even though the town eventually became largely German Catholic, the surrounding farm area remained firmly in Low German Lutheran hands. Carman determined the "critical year" for the rural areas of the county in the mid- to late-1930s.

As we move westward along the border with Nebraska we encounter four significant settlements. In the southwestern area of Washington County we find the Low German Lutherans of Linn-Palmer. Established in 1871, these communities had close ties to the Low German enclaves of Cole Camp and Concordia in Missouri. The Linn-Palmer Low Germans, with a "critical year" around 1941, can be viewed as an extension of the larger Horseshoe Creek group near Bremen and Hanover (see Map 3). Here, too, we still find fluent speakers of Low German in 2005.



Map 4. Counties organized in Western Kansas, 1865-1885 (Shortridge 1995).

In the western townships of Mitchell County and the eastern townships of Osborne County we find an extensive settlement of German Catholics, largely from the Rhineland, who established themselves around St. Boniface Church (Tipton) beginning in 1872. These German Catholics also reached their linguistic "critical year" in the 1930s according to Carman.

Further west Protestants from Württemberg established themselves in Phillips County in 1872. The early years brought little change until the construction of the Rock Island Railroad in 1887 and the founding of the town of Stuttgart. The Swabians of Stuttgart and Phillips County also had largely made the transition to English by the mid-1930s based on the information provided by Carman.

The isolated Beaver Creek valley in Decatur and Rawlins counties became the new home for Hungarian Germans from Sopron in 1876. Traveling first to Nebraska and being dissatisfied with the land there, the group continued by train to McCook, Nebraska, and then went across country to the homesteads in Kansas. This unique group of Hungarian Germans in Kansas, exhibiting both Catholic and Protestant subcommunities, maintained active use of German until the mid-1940s according to Carman.

The settlement corridor along the Kansas Pacific Railroad attracted German-Americans from the eastern states, especially Pennsylvania Germans from both Pennsylvania and Ohio. Their settlements lie scattered across the counties of Dickinson, Saline, Ellsworth, Russell and Ellis. Most significant were the "79ers"—the River Brethren—who migrated by the hundreds to Dickinson County from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1879 and populated the rural areas around Abilene. Among them were the grandparents of President Dwight David Eisenhower.

Only a few of the German settlements along the Kansas Pacific had origins directly in Germany. Hanoverian Lutherans settled in Sylvan Grove in Lincoln County in 1873. Meanwhile Low German-speaking Catholics established themselves in Walker in Ellis County in 1871. The dominant language in Sylvan Grove was already English by the time of the First World War. In Walker on the other hand, Low German was still common until the late-1930s. The close contact with the numerous Volga German Catholics in Ellis County also played a role in retarding the process of assimilation in that county.

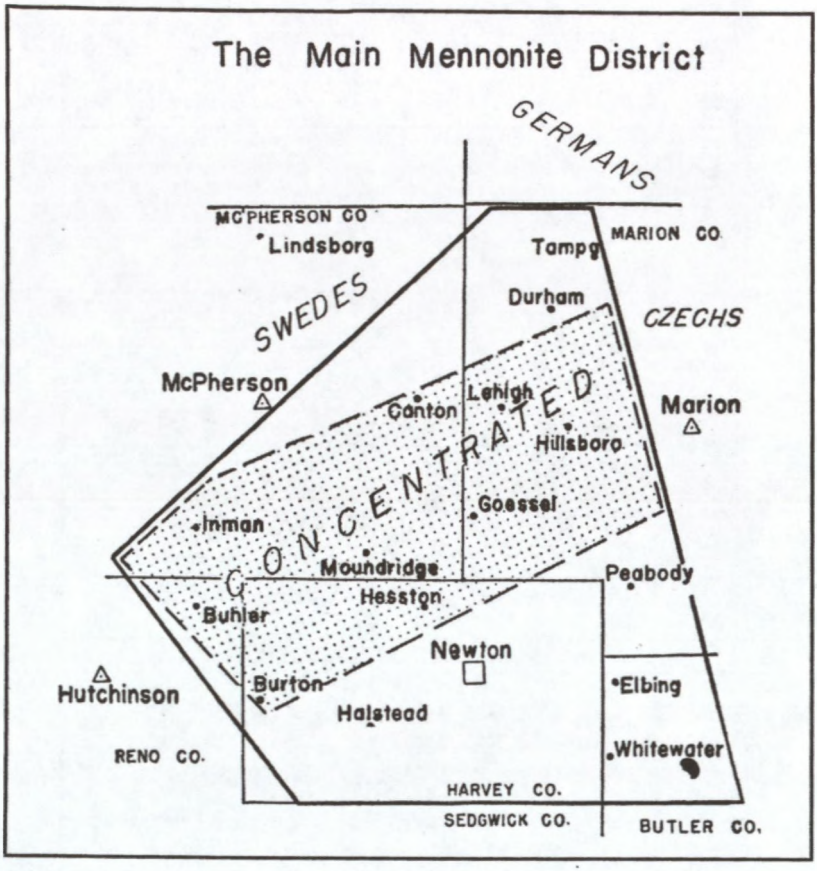
One other group of Germans along the Kansas Pacific deserves mention. In 1878 a colony of German Baptists was established near Lorraine in Ellsworth County. This was a transplanted settlement of East Frisians from an earlier settlement in Illinois. However, despite the relative isolation of the community, Carman determined their "critical year" shortly before the beginning of the First World War.

The efforts of the Santa Fe Railroad to position German-speaking communities on both sides of its right-of-way were significantly more successful. Carl Bernhard Schmidt, a recent immigrant from Saxony, became the Santa Fe's agent for Europe. Schmidt traveled nearly forty times to Europe and brought some 60,000 German-speaking immigrants to the lands of the Santa Fe in Kansas. Turning first to Mennonites from Pennsylvania and Illinois, Schmidt sold them larger sections in the counties of Marion and Harvey. These became the basis for an extensive Mennonite colony (some twenty distinct groups) in south central Kansas, especially for German Mennonites from southern Russia(see Map 5).

Schmidt learned of the interest of the Russian-German Mennonites in 1873 and

invited their scouts to spend a week with him inspecting the lands along the Santa Fe in Kansas. Soon afterward he had sold land to these Mennonites in Marion County. By the end of 1874 there were already some 4,000 Russian-German Mennonites in Kansas. By the end of Schmidt's recruitment efforts in 1880 an estimated 15,000 Mennonites had resettled from south Russia to south Kansas.

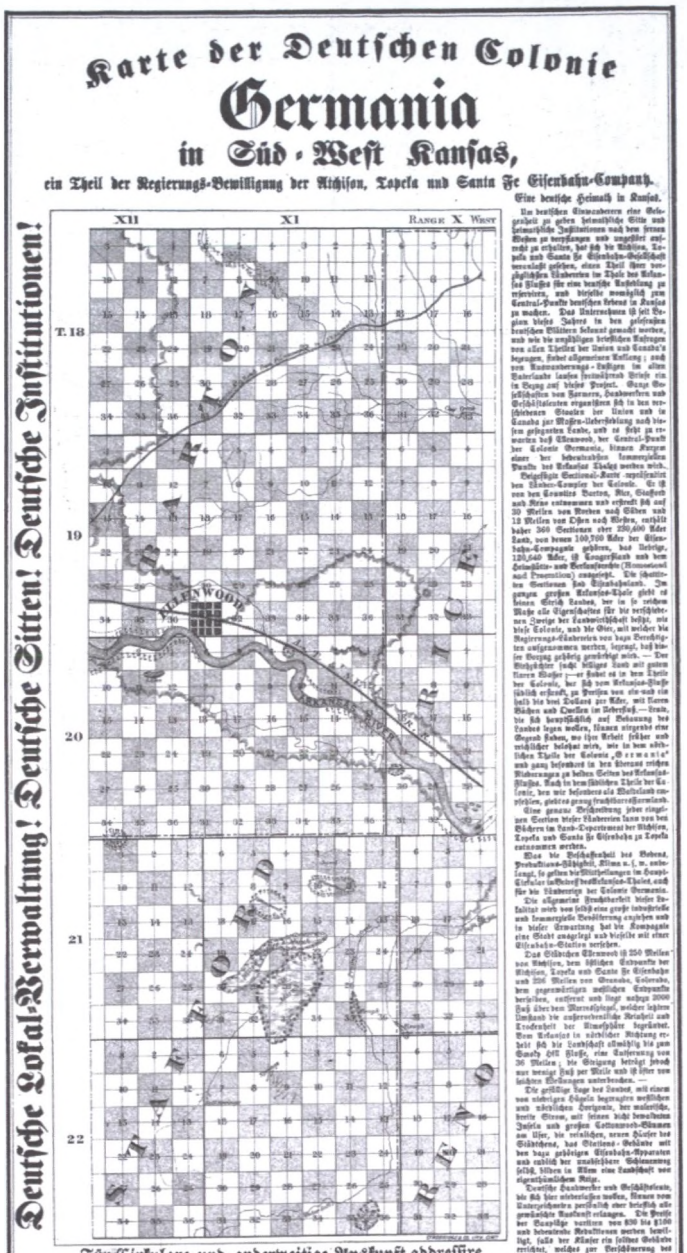
The largest contingent of these Mennonites formed the General Conference



Map 5. Main Mennonite Enclave in Kansas (Carman 1962).

and included the Low German (*Plautdietsch*) congregations such as Alexanderwohl (Goessel in Marion County) and Hoffnungsau (near Inman in McPherson County and Buhler in Reno County) as well as the "Schweitzer" Mennonites from Volhynia near Moundridge (McPherson County) and Pretty Prairie (Reno County). Swiss Mennonites from Canton Bern also joined the General Conference in 1876 after settling near Whitewater (Butler County). Another group associating with the General Conference were the West Prussians who settled in Elbing (also Butler County).

A more conservative group of Russian-German Mennonites founded the Gnadenau congregation near Hillsboro (Marion County). Hillsboro became the center for the second denominational group of the Mennonites in Kansas, the



Map 6. Map of the Santa Fe Railroad German Colony "Germania," ca. 1873 (Kansas Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas).

Mennonite Brethren.

Still more conservative were a Low German-speaking group of Mennonites from Polish Russia and Volhynia—other Mennonites refer to the Low German of this group as "Polish." This group came under the influence of the Pennsylvania German Mennonite preacher John Holdeman. These "Holdeman people" (Church of God in Christ--Holdeman) purchased railroad land in McPherson County. An offshoot of the "Holdeman people" moved further west along the Santa Fe tracks and founded the community of Bergthal in Barton County near Pawnee Rock. Later on they associated themselves with the General Conference.

This main Mennonite settlement area extends over five counties in south central Kansas: Harvey, Marion, McPherson, Reno and Butler. At least six varieties of German dialects can be distinguished. Among the Amish and some Old Order Mennonites Pennsylvania German (Dutch) is the language of everyday communication. The true Swiss Mennonites near Whitewater speak a variety of Swiss German. Those in Elbing speak a West Prussian colloquial German. The Schweitzer Mennonites speak a Palatine dialect sharing many characteristics with Pennsylvania German. The majority of these Mennonites speak a variety of Low German—either the Polish variety of the Holdeman people or the more widespread *Plautdietsch* common to the Mennonite Brethren and many in the General Conference. In 2005 we still have numerous fluent speakers of *Plautdietsch* in these communities. The Pennsylvania German (*Däätsch*) of the Old Order Amish districts in Reno County is still learned by children in the home. For all other groups in the Mennonite settlement area, Carman determined a "critical year" in the 1930s (see Map 5).

Schmidt varied the religious and linguistic landscape by settling Catholics from the Rhineland and the Mosel in western Sedgwick County, northwest of Wichita. In the area surrounding the parish of St. Mark's, hundreds of German Catholic families found new homes. By bringing in German Catholics from Westphalia and Alsace, however, Schmidt thwarted the development of a particular German dialect among these Catholics. As was so often the case, by the mid-1930s assimilation to the dominant English language was well underway.

Schmidt's next project focused on the town of Ellinwood (Barton County). Beginning in 1873, a pure German colony called "Germania" was to arise here—with a German administration, German culture and German institutions (see Map 6). Settlers from Germany and Germans from Moravia settled in a circle around a large wetland (Cheyenne Bottoms) in the middle of Barton County. In the northeast, German Moravian Catholics from Brno founded Odin and others from Olmütz founded Olmitz with St. Ann's church to the northwest of the marshes. Lutherans from East Friesland settled in Albert on the western edge of the wetlands. Baptists from Hannover and Prussia were settled to the south of Ellinwood in Stafford County in 1880.

Schmidt's last two major attempts at German colonization along the Santa Fe were Windthorst in Ford County, about sixteen miles east of Dodge City, and Offerle in Edwards County. Collaborating with the *Auroaverein* of Cincinnati, Schmidt established a significant Catholic settlement on the High Plains in 1878. The community took its name from German Catholic leader Ludwig Windthorst, at that time one of Bismarck's political opponents. Offerle on the other hand emerged at the same time out of a Lutheran initiative from Germans in Illinois. However, even

in these isolated western German settlements in Kansas, most reached their "critical years" by around 1930—the German Moravians in Barton County, however, not until 1940.

Schmidt was less successful with a second group of immigrants from Russia. After showing the scouts of the Volga Germans sections of land near Larned in Pawnee County, the Volga Germans decided the price was more than they felt reasonable. The German-born agent for the Kansas Pacific, Adam Rödelheimer, however, was able to find land that met the wishes of these Russian Germans. Large numbers of Catholics from the German colonies on the Volga established six villages in 1876-77 in Ellis County (Herzog, Katharinenstadt, Obermonjour, Pfeiffer, Schoenchen) and in neighboring Rush County (Liebenthal). Lutherans from the Volga settled in the counties around the Catholics in southern Russell (Dorrance and Milberger), northern Barton and Rush (Otis and Bison) and to the west in Trego. Further west secondary settlements of these Volga Germans were established, e.g., St. Peter (Graham County) and Marienthal (Wichita County). Carman set the "critical year" for the main settlements in Ellis and Rush counties at 1950. Today (2005) fluent speakers of these Middle German village dialects of the Volga Germans in Kansas can still be found (see Map 7).

About fifteen miles west of Hays, the county seat of Ellis County, is the town of Ellis. Ellis became the focal point for immigration of Germans from the Austrian crown land of Bukovina around 1880. These Bukovina Germans came in two distinct groups: The Catholic German Bohemians and the Lutheran "Swabians." The Catholics speak a northern/middle Bavarian dialect from the Bohemian Forest. The so-called "Swabians" speak a Palatine-type dialect. Carman estimated 1935 as the critical year for both groups.

By the end of the 1880s all counties of western Kansas had been organized and the period of major railroad construction across the state had also come to an end. Sporadic immigration of Germans to the established settlements continued, however, until the First World War. One of the later groups has in the meantime vanished from the Kansas scene. From 1882 to 1886 some seven Yiddish-speaking farm communities were established in southwestern Kansas by Jews from Russia. The first of these was Beersheba (Hodgeman County). By 1900 the attempt of these Jewish immigrants to establish a New Jerusalem on the prairie had failed. Today there is no trace of these Yiddish settlements in the vicinity of Dodge City (Harris 1984).

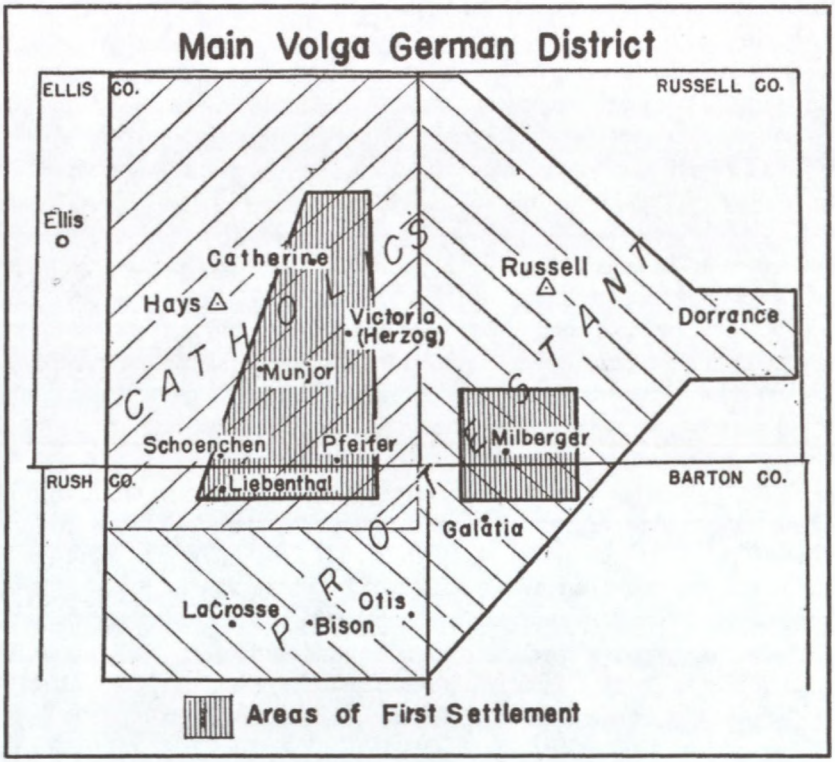
Kansas German Speech Enclaves during the Twentieth Century

With the exception of the Old Order Amish in Reno and Anderson counties, the Kansas German immigrant groups of the nineteenth century have nearly all completed their transition to English. In several of the larger groups, the older generation still continues to hold on to the linguistic heritage of the group. It becomes harder and harder, however, to find individuals who regularly use the immigrant dialect.

Klaus Mattheier observed that the German settlements in Kansas could largely be termed "residual speech islands" (1993). The best examples of these "residual speech islands" are the settlements of the Volga Germans and those of the Bucovina Germans in west central Kansas, those of the Russian-German Mennonites in south

central Kansas, and those of the Low German Lutherans in north central Kansas (see Maps 3, 5 and 7). All of these groups reached Carman's "critical year" in the period from 1935 to 1950. The following depiction of the assimilatory process among the Low German-speaking Mennonites based on the studies of Schmidt (1977) and Engelbrecht (1985) provides a general model applicable to all of the groups in Kansas.

Immediately following the first settlement in 1874, the main group of Russian



Map 7. The Volga German Enclave in Kansas (Carman 1962).

German Mennonites exhibited diglossia. The language of worship and religious practice was literary German; for everyday use varieties of *Plautdietsch* were spoken. The first schools established by these Mennonites used literary German as the medium of instruction, so that children could participate in worship and Bible readings. A form of literary German also was needed to communicate about church doctrine in the General Conference with other Mennonites who did not have *Plautdietsch* as their mother tongue. But only three years after arrival in Kansas (1877), the General Conference decided to teach English in their schools as a second language. The Mennonite schools were held in the spring after the end of the public (English) school year. As the public school year lengthened, the school time of the Mennonite

schools were shortened. The result was a gradual diminishing of German instruction and its ultimate end by the time of the First World War.

The shift to English in religious usage was gradual but steady. Some congregations had English sermons prior to 1900. In others, the first English sermon was not preached until 1940. The membership of the Kansas congregations in the General Conference was a major factor in this shift. In the 1890s the Mennonites in the eastern states desired to introduce English as the official language of the Conference. The Kansas congregations resisted at first. Ultimately, German was retained as the official language in the Western District (Kansas) of the General Conference into the 1930s (the last official report of the Western District in German was in 1941).

But the leadership of the church in Kansas quickly recognized that the youth could only be kept in the church by the use of English. Even prior to 1916, many Mennonite young people could not understand the German sermons. The language of the Christian Youth Associations, with chapters in nearly every Mennonite congregation, was more often than not English by the early 1900s. The war against the Kaiser only accelerated these trends. After all, religious education in English was already the rule. In 1924 an English songbook for children was approved.

The importance of the Sunday schools cannot be overlooked. Religious instruction for those children attending public schools during the week quickly switched to English. Evidence indicates that instruction for the youth in English was prevalent prior to 1910. Even adult Sunday school classes had shifted to English by 1930. Yet, even as late as 1970 a few German Sunday school classes were being taught for older members.

As mentioned above, the use of English for Sunday sermons began already prior to 1900 and was widespread by the 1930s. The career of Pastor Peter Richert provides an interesting example of this development. Richert was born in Taurida, Russia, in 1871 and came with his parents to Kansas in 1874. He grew up in the large Marion County congregation of Alexanderwohl. From 1908 to 1946 he served as pastor for the Tabor congregation. He began giving ten-minute summaries of his sermons in English in 1923. He held his first sermon entirely in English in 1927. From 1927 to 1935 he held 407 sermons in German and 48 in English. From 1936 to 1939 there were 201 German and 215 English sermons. In final six years (1940-46) English was dominant with 368 to 140 in German (Engelbrecht 1985, 96-98). Some of Richert's contemporaries, however, preached only in German.

Another marker of the transition to English in this group is the Mennonite weekly *Der Herold* (1909-41). Until 1916 the paper was entirely in German except for some advertisements in English. During 1916 a total of twelve news articles appeared in English. In 1917 the number of English articles climbed to 30 and in 1918 reached 203. Beginning in May 1919, an entire page was printed in English and in 1922 a complete edition in English was published: *Mennonite Weekly Review.* As the German readership aged and gradually decreased by 1940, it was determined that the German edition was no longer needed (Engelbrecht 1985, 115-22).

The loss of the mother tongue, *Plautdietsch*, paralleled the loss of literary German but lagged roughly one generation behind that transition. Based on information gleaned from questionnaires, Schmidt (1977) provides the following sketch of that transition in the Mennonite congregation of Hoffnungsau in McPherson County.

Those born prior to 1917 grew up in a Low German environment. English was

first encountered in the public school. These children also experienced instruction in literary German in summer school and continued to hear German preached on Sunday until the 1950s. After 1950, however, English dominated with this group. As senior citizens they still enjoyed speaking *Plautdietsch* with family and friends in the 1970s.

Those born from 1918 to 1927 also grew up with *Plautdietsch* in the home, but some English was also spoken. Most of them also experience German summer school albeit for very short periods. They also heard German in church during their school years. But by the time they were in their twenties, English was dominant in church. As parents they tended to teach their children English as a first language. They can still speak *Plautdietsch*.

Those born from 1928 to 1947 still grew up hearing some *Plautdietsch* at home. *Hochdeutsch* in church became rare after their primary school years and there were no more German summer schools to attend. Some may have taken German in high school or college, but very few have any ability in standard German. They did, however, have a passive understanding of *Plautdietsch* and on occasion they used Low German phrases and expressions in the 1970s.

Those born from 1948 to 1957 had little contact with Low German in the home and only a few of this group can understand let alone speak *Plautdietsch*. They had no contact with standard German in the context of church or Sunday school. Again, German as a foreign language in high school or college would be the only situations in which they might have encountered the standard language. It was exceptional to find individuals in this group with any ability in *Plautdietsch* in the 1970s.

Those born from 1958 to 1967 had hardly any contact with *Plautdietsch* in the family nor did they experience standard German in church. The centennial celebration of the Hoffnungsau congregation in 1974, however, awakened a keen interest in the linguistic heritage of the Mennonites in this group.

The final stage for many such speech communities in Kansas is the emergence of "heritage associations." For a number of years, the Fall Festival at the General Conference Bethel College in North Newton (Harvey County) has featured two language programs: the Low German (*Plautdietsch*) theater production and the Swiss Mennonite (*Schweitzer*) skits. The Volga Germans of Ellis County now have groups who perform the traditional wedding ceremony and another group that sings the folk songs of the Volga Germans. The Lutheran Low Germans near Hanover and Bremen in northern Kansas have recently started the Hermansberg Low German Heritage Club to promote their immigrant language and heritage and have also had Low German worship services in conjunction with a "Germanfest" in Marysville. Such sparks of enthusiasm for the immigrant languages in Kansas cannot in the long run halt the gradual demise of the German dialects as the older speakers pass from the scene.

The Twenty-First Century: The Influx of Mennonites from Mexico

It might seem that we are left with only the Old Order Amish and Pennsylvania German as a living reminder of the once widespread use of German dialects in Kansas. However, as noted earlier, there is a new group of German-speaking immigrants in

Kansas. For over a decade, farm laborers and their families from Mennonite colonies in Chihuahua province in northern Mexico have been migrating into the market of southwestern Kansas. These people are Low German-speaking Old Colony Mennonites who immigrated to Canada from southern Russian in the late nineteenth century. After the First World War, they moved to new colonies in Mexico to avoid restrictions being placed on them by the Canadian authorities. Now as the economic conditions in Chihuahua deteriorate they are seeking better opportunities for their families. The out–migration from Mexico takes them not only to Kansas but also to states such as Texas and also to Canada and South America.

The high demand in southwestern Kansas for agricultural labor is drawing them to Kansas. With the transfer of the meat packing industry from the major cities such as Chicago, Omaha and Kansas City to the High Plains of western Kansas, major slaughter houses have been built near places such as Garden City and Liberal in Kansas. The need for cheap labor in the feed lots is overwhelming and with the Spanish-speaking Mexicans that flock to this labor market come *Plautdietsch*-speaking Mennonites as well.

Today (2005) we estimate that some 5,000 Mennonites from Mexico are living in the southwestern counties of Kansas. These are young families with children. At home the language of everyday use is *Plautdietsch*. The church congregations established by these new immigrants vary in their language use. In November 2003, we experienced a two-hour worship service at the Gospel Mennonite Church in Copeland, Kansas. All preaching was in Low German; hymn singing and Bible passages in literary German; one closing hymn was sung in English. In other congregations, the use of English for preaching has been reported. Schools operated by these Mennonites are conducted in English. All schools, whether Mennonite or public, must deal with large numbers of children requiring ESL classes as they enter the school system. It can be overwhelming for a teacher in first grade to be confronted with half of the class consisting of Low German-speaking children. The Kansas Department of Health and Environment also reports that fully one-third of its low income health contacts are with these Low German-speaking Mennonites in southwestern Kansas.

What will the linguistic situation be in southwestern Kansas in ten or twenty years? Will these newest German immigrants in Kansas rapidly assimilate to the dominant English society or will they be able to isolate themselves as did the immigrants of the nineteenth century? The more plausible outcome is rapid assimilation given the social integration in the schools and in the economy. And, if the churches adopt English in the worship services that would most probably mean the end of Low German over time. But we cannot answer these questions now and must wait to see how this group adapts to the Kansas environment. This recent development at least teaches us that the story of German dialects in Kansas is far from over.

University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas

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Achim Kopp

Evidence of Convergence in Pennsylvania German

Introduction

When two languages are in contact with each other over an extended period, mutual influence and subsequent change are inevitable. A case in point is the family name of our esteemed honoree. When C. Richard Beam's ancestors settled in Pennsylvania, their German name, under the influence of the surrounding English language, changed phonetically from *Böhm* (or *Behm*) to *Beam*. Describing much the same linguistic processes, the present paper is an attempt to give an overview of the many ways in which the English language has influenced Pennsylvania German during the more than three hundred years of language contact. Specifically, it will examine trends of convergence with English in Pennsylvania German phonology, lexicon and morphology, and syntax. A large amount of scholarship has been published for each of these areas, which can only be done justice in part in the limited scope of this paper. While in many instances English influence upon forms and structures present in Pennsylvania German is evident, change may sometimes, at least in part, be due to internal processes. The latter appears to apply particularly to the area of syntax and will be discussed in some detail. The conclusion will attempt to put the results into a sociolinguistic perspective, thus paying tribute to the peculiar situation in which Pennsylvania German has been over the last few decades, namely impending language loss in one group (the nonsectarians) and increasing numbers of native speakers in another (the sectarians).

The first German-speaking settlement in North America was Germantown, founded in 1683 in the vicinity of Philadelphia by Mennonite families from Krefeld.[1] Almost 100,000 German-speaking emigrants—at first predominantly Mennonites, Amish, and Pietists, but later also Lutherans, Reformed, and Catholics—came to the New World during the colonial period. The main reason for this mass exodus was the unstable socio-economic situation in Germany after the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). The majority of the emigrants came from the Rhenish Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, Alsace, Switzerland, and the Lower Rhine. Many emigrants had to earn their crossing as so-called redemptioners, i.e.. as indentured servants to a colonial landowner. In Pennsylvania, which became home to the majority of the early German-speaking emigrants, the preferred destination were the counties of Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, Lancaster, and neighboring counties in the southeastern part of the state. According to Gilbert (1962, 13), a Lehigh County judge once defined a Pennsylvania German as "the descendant of German immigrants, who migrated to America from the Rhenish Palatinate or from Switzerland . . . before the Revolutionary War and who has retained the characteristics—in language, accent,

character and customs, or any of them—of his German ancestors."

Thus, Pennsylvania Germans are distinct from those German-Americans whose ancestors immigrated to the big cities of the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where they assimilated fairly rapidly to the American mainstream society. Pennsylvania Germans are characterized by group migration (often religiously motivated) and settlement in relatively isolated rural areas. Both these factors helped preserve the German language among the Pennsylvania Germans over the centuries, even after widespread internal migration to various states surrounding Pennsylvania, the Midwestern states, and to as far away as parts of Canada.

Pennsylvania German evolved from the various southern German and Swiss dialects brought to America by speakers who typically had little or no command of Standard German. When immigration stopped for a few decades toward the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century (due to the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and the War of Independence in North America), the southern German dialects spoken in Pennsylvania underwent a process of leveling, during which uncommon features found only in certain dialects disappeared. The basis of the new language was the West Middle German (specifically Rhine Franconian) dialect of *Pfälzisch*. The new variety came to be called *Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch* in the dialect and Pennsylvania Dutch or, more accurately, Pennsylvania German in English. Only the earliest Pennsylvania Germans were monolingual. Soon, necessity forced them to adopt a working knowledge of English, the language of the surrounding society. Then and now, language use was and is governed by domains. The earliest domains to switch from (Standard) German to English were the church (the process beginning in the 1830s and ending in the 1930s), the schools (the switch beginning with the advent of the state schools in Pennsylvania in the 1840s and being complete in the 1870s), and the newspapers (last publications in Standard German between 1910 and 1914).[2] The one domain in which Pennsylvania German survives to the present day (especially among conservative Amish and Mennonites) is the family domain. Among the nonsectarians (i.e. Lutheran or Reformed Pennsylvania Germans) we are currently witnessing the completion of the shift. The youngest generations in this group have now lost almost all active competence in Pennsylvania German and are thus monolingual again, but not, as the earliest immigrants, monolingual German, but monolingual English. Even among conservative sectarians the shift toward English is not altogether absent as these groups use the English language in their parochial schools.

Phonology

Compared to lexicon and syntax, there is relatively little evidence of convergence to English in the Pennsylvania German phonetic system. Nevertheless, in the interest of a systematic progression from smaller to larger units, phonology will be at the start of this survey.

Kopp (1999, 213-18) observes that some of his informants (both sectarian and nonsectarian) realized /r/ as a retroflex sound. While some informants showed this convergence to English only in English words (*cholesterol, layer, refrigerator, part*) and had trilled /r/ in native words (*Grummbeere*[3] 'potatoes', *uffglebbere* 'to beat (eggs)',

Bauerei 'farm', *gschtarewe* 'died'), others realized retroflex /r/ in both foreign and native words (*schreiwe* 'to write', *drin* 'inside', *Brunne* 'well').[4]

Another way in which English makes its imprint on the Pennsylvania German sound system is through the realization of /l/. While English has the allophones light /l/ (mostly in initial and internal positions) and dark or velarized /l/ (mostly word-finally), dark /l/ occurring in Pennsylvania German may be seen as English interference. As Kopp (1999, 213-16) reports, word-final and word-internal dark /l/ was observed in the speech of both a sectarian and a nonsectarian speaker in native words such as *will* 'to want', *sell* 'that', *ghalde* 'kept', and *kalt* 'cold'.[5] These observations confirm Seel's (1988, 138) claim that English interference occurs mostly with respect to the realization of /r/ and /l/.

In her study of an Old Order Amish community in Lancaster County, Meister Ferré (1994, 20) points out that while the voiceless aspirated stops /p/ and /k/ occur in both Pennsylvania German words (*Peffer* 'pepper', *Kind* 'child) and in English loans (*poleit* 'polite', *Kaendi* 'candy'), /t/ (at least in initial position) is restricted to English loan words (*Tietscher* 'teacher').[6] In addition, voiceless, unaspirated stops are found in all positions, which, unlike their fortis aspirated counterparts, can be described as lenis (*Bsuch* 'visit', *Hut* 'hat', *biggle* 'to iron'). These sounds also occur in English loan words, such as *blendi* 'plenty', *Present* 'present', and *Schtor* 'store'. The last example shows an instance of palatalization of [s] to [ʃ] before a dental (sometimes also occurring before a bilabial, as in the native word *schpiele* 'to play').

In its brief comments on the pronunciation of English loan words, Frey's (1985, 8) prescriptive grammar gives some evidence on how English sounds are realized within the Pennsylvania German system. Among other things, Frey explains that English /dʒ/ as in *John* is realized in Pennsylvania German as [dʃ], which causes him to spell the word *Tschon*. As Meister Ferré (1994, 21) carries out, the Pennsylvania German affricates [ds] and [dʃ] (found both in native and loan words) are voiceless, with the initial stop being lenis (not fortis as in English [ts] and [tʃ]). Examples include *zehle* 'to count', *butze* 'to clean', *tschaensche* 'to change', and *Rutsch* 'slide'.

Altogether, Meister Ferré (1994, 23) finds the phonological system to be "rather resistant to American English influence." This observation confirms Van Coetsem's (1988, 3) general stipulation that the transfer of material from the source language (here English) to the recipient language (here Pennsylvania German), i.e. imposition, tends to affect stable domains of language, such as phonology. If English loan words include sounds that are not part of the Pennsylvania German sound system, the latter are usually replaced by native sounds. For example, *then* is realized as *den* and *the same* as *de seem* (/d/ for /ð/). In loan words, a voiced fricative /v/ before a consonant is realized as a voiceless [f] (*beheeft* 'behaved').

According to Meister Ferré (1994, 23), the front vowel /æ/ is one of the few American English sounds not replaced, as in *Kaendi* 'candy' and *Daed* 'dad', possibly because of its proximity to the front vowel present before /r/ (*raere* 'to rain') or /ʌ/ (*Kaer* 'car') in native words. Another case in point is the bilabial /w/, which is preserved in loan words like *gwilde* 'to quilt', while the cluster /kv/ occurs in native works such as *Gwetsche* 'plums' and *gwaxe* 'grown'. The same phenomenon is observed by Frey (1985, 8) for the loan word *Quaeck* 'quack', which the author insists should therefore be spelled *Gwaeck*. Meister Ferré (1994, 23) shows that in those instances when /w/ occurs in an English loan without preceding /k/, the bilabial sound is replaced with

the native /v/, as in *waere* 'to wear'.

A phenomenon reported by Van Ness (1992) for a variety of Pennsylvania German spoken in West Virginia falls into the transition zone between phonology, morphology, and syntax. Van Ness observes an increasing tendency among her informants toward the change of the past participle prefix *ge-* to *de-* (i.e. /gə/ to /də/) and in words like *gekennt*/*dekennt* 'known', *gereget*/*dereget* 'rained', *geblugt*/*deblugt* 'plowed'. Van Ness (1992, 78) argues that the relative frequency of English past participles starting in *de-* (*deprived, deduced, denied, decayed, debated*) along with the paucity of the English combination /gə/ has contributed to the spread of the change in West Virginian Pennsylvania German, not only in the speech of individual informants but also from one community to another.

Lexicon and Morphology

Two linguistic areas in which English has left its marks on Pennsylvania German are the lexicon and morphology. Van Coetsem (1988, 3) calls the transfer of lexical material from the source language (English) to the recipient language (Pennsylvania German) "borrowing" (as opposed to "imposition," which designates the transfer of phonological material). In this transfer, various degrees of adaptation to the recipient language can be observed. Attempts to classify the types of transfer are numerous (cf. Buffington 1941; Schach 1948, 1951, 1952 and 1954; Seel 1988,[7] 123-204 and 1989, 78; Meister Ferré 1994, 39f.; and Werner 2001, 397f., to mention just a few). For the purpose of this paper, I will try to present my own, somewhat simplified classification, which will serve as a guide through the various examples presented below: *Foreign words* (English words that appear unaltered in Pennsylvania German sentences); *Loan words* (English words that are assimilated to the Pennsylvania German system. This assimilation may be (1) phonological or (2) morphological); *Loan translations (calques)* (Pennsylvania German words or structures that mechanically render English compounds or phrases); *Loan renditions* (Pennsylvania German compounds in which one element is rendered somewhat more freely than in loan translations[8]); *Semantic loans* (Pennsylvania German words that take over a new meaning under the influence of an English word); *Pseudo-loans* (Pennsylvania German words that appear to be loan translations or loan renditions but are in reality new creations that are not directly based on an English model). As will be seen below, hybrid forms are abundant in some of these categories, particularly with loan words and pseudo-loans.

Foreign words. Sometimes English material comes into Pennsylvania German when speakers briefly switch to English, thus importing an English word without any change. The result of this code-switching is the occurrence of English foreign words in Pennsylvania German sentences, such as in the following examples from Kopp (1999, 213f.), gleaned from interviews with elderly sectarian and nonsectarian native speakers of Pennsylvania German in 1989:[9] *Ich bin net supposed fer die Oier zu yuuse wechem cholesterol* 'I am not supposed to use eggs because of the cholesterol'; *Mir hen ken refrigerator ghat* 'We didn't have a refrigerator'; *Hab ich eeniche hobbies?* 'Do I have any hobbies?'; *No duhscht . . . en layer Bottboi in dei Kessel* 'Then you put a layer of potpie into your pot'.

In these excerpts at least four foreign words occur: *cholesterol*, *refrigerator*, *hobbies*, and *layer*. The most plausible of the four are *cholesterol* and *refrigerator*, which, as scientific or technical terms, are directly transferred from English into Pennsylvania German.[10] The transfer of *hobbies* may be explained by the lack of this modern concept in the old Pennsylvania German culture. The direct transfer of *layer* is less expected, as Pennsylvania German would offer its own form (*Gleeg*), but may be due to personal preference of the speaker. Note how three of the four foreign words (the exception being the plural form *hobbies*) are assigned grammatical gender, which shows itself in the form of the preceding words (*wechem cholesterol*—neuter, *ken refrigerator*—masculine, *en layer*-masculine).[11]

Loan words. As Buffington (1970, 94f.) points out, the early German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania were confronted with a number of concepts and objects that had no equivalent in their original German dialects. Such words, as for instance *pie*, *county*, *sheriff*, *judge*, or *college*, were directly borrowed by Pennsylvania German. Often, phonological assimilation led to "Dutchified" forms, such as *Boi*,[12] *Kaundi*, *Schrief*, *Tschotsch*, and *Kalletsch*.

Buffington (1970, 95) also mentions a number of hybrid compounds in which one element is English, the other Pennsylvania German, such as *Fenseck* 'fence corner', *Poschdefens* 'post fence', *Bisnessleit* 'business people', *Garretschteeg* 'garret stairs', *Blaeckschmitt* 'black smith', *Wassermelon* 'watermelon', and *Ebbeldumplins* 'apple dumplings'.

For many everyday concepts, doublets are also very common, which, according to Buffington (1970, 95) resulted from the Pennsylvania Germans' business dealings with their English-speaking neighbors. Buffington's examples include: *Enser* (English *answer*) – *Antwatt; Baerl* (English *barrel*) - *Fass*[13]*; Tietscher* (English *teacher*) - *Schulmeeschder; butschere* (English *to butcher*) – *schlachde; schterde* (English *to start*) – *aafange; blendi* (English *plenty*) – *genunk*.

Seel (1988, 151f.) shows that in many instances the native part of the doublet is eventually pushed out by the English loan word, especially if the English word is extremely common (*Laade* is pushed out by *Schtor* [English *store*]), the Pennsylvania German word is very rare (*Aagebot* is pushed out by *Offer*), or a complex native word (especially verb) is replaced by an English word with a simpler structure (*sich aaschliesse* is pushed out by *tschoine* [English *to join*]). According to Seel, many Pennsylvania German dictionaries list native words that have long ceased to be part of the current vocabulary.

Sometimes, however, doublets seem to be part of an individual speaker's lexical repertoire, if only to clarify the meaning. One of Kopp's (1999, 216) sectarian informants used the terms *Brunnehaus* and *Schpringhouse* 'springhouse' in the same sentence.

Huffines (1988a, 61) provides a detailed account of the older literature dealing with English loans in Pennsylvania German. Early researchers like Rauch (1879, iiif.), Lambert (1924, ixf.), and Buffington (1941, 67f.) attempt to give percentages of English loan words in Pennsylvania German, arriving at various figures between 0% and 20%. Huffines's study (1988a, 62) also shows that English loan words are more frequently found in the Pennsylvania German varieties spoken by the sectarians (Amish and Mennonites) than in those used by the nonsectarians.

Three of the categories Huffines (1988a, 64-66) uses to describe various degrees of morphological integration seem particularly relevant. As seen above, English words can enter Pennsylvania German without any morphological marking: *Mir hen ken refrigerator ghat* 'We didn't have a refrigerator'.

Huffines's examples include nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs: *Mer sin no in die Schul gange mit well die ganz neighborhood* 'Then we went to school with, well, the whole neighborhood'; *'S is allfatt kumme wann's Hoi ready waar* 'It always came when the hay was ready'; *Nau sell is was ich es menscht remember devun* 'Now that is what I remember the most of it'; *Mir hen sell different geduh* 'We did that differently'.

As was seen in the example *Hab ich eeniche hobbies?* 'Do I have any hobbies?', however, some borrowings carry English morphological markers, such as the plural *–s* in *hobbies*. In the case of a verb, the past participle ending *–ed* may represent such a marker, as in our former example, *Ich bin net supposed fer die Oier zu yuuse wechem* cholesterol, 'I am not supposed to use eggs because of the cholesterol'. In addition, Huffines counts the gerund ending *–ing* into this category: *No hot er farming iwwer gnumme* 'Then he took over farming'. The third category is the morphological integration of the English word into the Pennsylvania German system: *Ich bin net supposed fer die Oier zu yuuse wechem cholesterol* 'I am not supposed to use eggs because of the cholesterol'. Here the English loan word *use* has adopted the Pennsylvania German infinitive ending *–e* (which is sounded as /ə/). Two other examples are found in the above list from Buffington (1970, 95): *butschere* (to butcher) and *schterde* (to start). Huffines supplies the following examples: *Der Jake un ich hen gestart farme* 'Jake and I started farming'; *'S waar yuscht en boringer job* 'It was a boring job'; *Mer watche sei chance* 'We watch his chance'; *Sie is en share mit ihr friends* 'She is sharing with her friends'; *'S is ordlich gut ausgeturned* 'It turned out rather well'.

As these examples show, English roots can take on Pennsylvania German prefixes or endings of past participles (*gestart*,[14] *ausgeturned*[15]), adjectives (*boringer*), finite verbs (*mer watche*), and present participles (*en share*).

Seel (1989, 80f.) lists a number of combinations consisting of an English free morpheme plus a Pennsylvania German suffix or a Pennsylvania German prefix: *Tschumberei* 'the jumping around', *Butscherei* 'the butchering', and *Tschoogerei* 'the joking around' are all formed in analogy to "pure" Pennsylvania German expressions such as *Schafferei* 'working', which consists of a verb (*schaffe* 'to work') plus the suffix *–erei*. Similarly, *Schpelles* 'the spelling' is formed with the English verb *to spell* plus the Pennsylvania German suffix *–es*. The word *Rumfuules* 'the fooling around' takes the hybridization a step further in that it also adds a Pennsylvania German prefix *rum-* 'around' to the English stem *fool*. In analogy to the Pennsylvania German formation *Gschmeer* 'smearing', an alternative for *Tschumberei* or *Tschumbes* 'jumping' is *Getschump*. Here the Pennsylvania German prefix *g(e)-* is connected with the English verb stem *jump*.

Loan translations (calques). Examples for loan translations of compound nouns are Pennsylvania German words like *Riggelweg* 'railroad', *Grundsau* 'groundhog', *Katzefisch* 'catfish', *Geldheber* 'treasurer', and *Hochschul* 'high school'.

Here both parts of the compound have been directly translated from English. The underlying English compound of the word *Geldheber* appears to be *money keeper*. Pennsylvania German *Hochschul* 'high school' is semantically different from

Standard German *Hochschule* 'university'. According to Schach (1954, 219), in each compound the already existing Pennsylvania German units were, under the influence of the English compound, transferred to an object that did not have a Pennsylvania German name yet. One of the prerequisites for this type of calque is the structural similarity of the English and Pennsylvania German units.

Riggelfens 'rail fence' may be regarded as a hybrid, in which the first element has been translated while the second remains English. Loan translations are also found in compound adjectives and adverbs such as *gutguckich* 'good-looking', *altguckich* 'old-fashioned' (based on *old-looking*), and *selleweg* 'that way, so'. An example for a loan translation of a compound verb is *rumkumme* 'to come up, to arise', as used in the phrase *wie die frigeration rumkumme is* 'when refrigeration came up' (Kopp [1999, 216]).

One of Kopp's (1999, 213) nonsectarian informants used the phrase *Ich fiehl gut davun* 'I feel good about it'. This structure may also be seen as a word-for-word loan translation from English. The sentence considered above, *Ich bin net supposed fer die Oier zu yuuse* 'I am not supposed to use eggs' (Kopp [1999, 214]), offers a further complication. Here we are dealing with a syntactic loan translation (*ich bin supposed fer zu*), in which, however, part of the verb element (*supposed*) remains untranslated, resulting in a hybrid loan translation of a whole phrase.

Loan renditions. While in loan translations both parts of an English compound are translated literally into Pennsylvania German, in loan renditions one of the two elements is rendered more freely. Loan renditions are relatively rare in Pennsylvania German. Seel (1988, 178) and Werner (2001, 397f.) give the following examples for nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and pronouns: *Kiehmann*, derived from English *cowboy*; *Danksaagdaag*, derived from *Thanksgiving Day*; *Voreldre*, derived from *forefathers*; *schraegaaich*, derived from *cross-eyed*; *beischtamme*, derived from *to stem from*; *deelmols*, derived from *sometimes*; and *ennicherweg*, derived from *anyway*.

Semantic loans. Pennsylvania German expresses the verb *to like* with *gleiche*, as for example in the sentence *Ich gleich net Fisch* 'I don't like fish' (Meister Ferré [1994, 40]). Thus, under the influence of English *like* (verb: 'to enjoy', adjective: 'alike, similar'), the Pennsylvania German verb *gleiche* 'to be alike, similar' has extended its semantic range to the meaning 'to like' (cf. Schach [1951, 258]). Louden (1992b, 119) makes a connection to the loss of impersonal dative verbs in English, where *to like* originally functioned like Standard German *gefallen* (*es gefällt mir*), but was re-analyzed to a personal verb plus accusative (*I like it*). The fact that Pennsylvania German *gleiche* imitates the English structure may be seen as a case of syntactic convergence (see below).

Another interesting phenomenon is the Pennsylvania German verb *meinde*, which, according to Beam (1985, 75) can mean 'to mind', 'to watch (children)', and 'to remember'. One of Kopp's (1999, 216) informants used the word in the latter sense: *Mir hen ken refrigerator ghat, wie ich erscht meind* 'We didn't have a refrigerator as I remember just now'.

It could be argued that we are dealing here with a loan word that has been morphologically assimilated to the Pennsylvania German system. At the same time, however, as Meister Ferré (1994, 40) points out, *meinde* constitutes a semantic

pseudo-loan, because its meaning is different from that of the English word *mind*, much rather representing English *remember*.

Pseudo-loans. These are sometimes called "hybrid creations" and include Pennsylvania German words that use elements from English vocabulary without being directly based on an English model. Examples (from Seel [1988, 196]) are: *Guckbox* 'television set', based on Pennsylvania German *gucke* 'to look' plus English *box*; *Hinkelbisness* 'chicken farm', based on Pennsylvania German *Hinkel* 'chicken' and English *business*; and *Gscharweschmaschien* 'dishwasher', based on Pennsylvania German *Gschar* 'dishes', Pennsylvania German *wesche* 'to wash' and English *machine*. Werner (2001, 398) mentions *abpickdere* 'to draw the picture of, to copy' (from Pennsylvania German *ab* 'off' and English *to picture*) as an example for a verbal pseudo-loan.

Syntax and Word Order

In an attempt to provide an overview of potential English influences on Pennsylvania German syntax and word order, the following topics will be discussed: loss of the dative case; aspect; infinitive constructions; relativization; syntactic idioms and specialties; word order.

The loss of the dative case. The big theoretical question surrounding the loss of the dative case in Pennsylvania German is whether this phenomenon is due to convergence with English or represents an internal Pennsylvania German process. As Born (2003, 151) shows, the loss of the dative has also been observed in other German-American varieties, such as Texas German, Kansas Volga German, and Michigan German. Huffines (1987, 175) elicited responses for three areas of dative function: (1) the use and distribution of dative personal pronouns, for example, *Ich hab ihne geschder gholfe* 'I helped them yesterday' and *Sie hen ihm en present bringe welle* 'They wanted to bring him a gift', (2) the use of the dative to express possession, for example, *Meim Graenpaep seini schmackt es bescht vun all* 'My grandfather's [wurst] tastes best of all' and *Mir waare in meinre Aent ihrem Haus* 'We were in my aunt's house', and (3) the use of the dative to express the object of prepositions, for example, *Fer was schwetscht er net zu ihre?* 'Why doesn't he talk to her?' and *Ich waar nach em Schtor gange* 'I had gone to the store'.

Huffines's (1987, 179f.) results differ by social group. The dative is best preserved among the nonsectarian native speakers of Pennsylvania German. Among those nonsectarians that have English as their native language as the first or second generation, the frequency of dative forms declines. In its place, common case forms or even ungrammatical attempts at producing Pennsylvania German forms occur. The sectarians almost exclusively use common case or accusative forms. Only some fossilized dative forms are found in the speech of the Mennonites. The sectarians have adopted a one-case (common case) system for nouns and a two-case (nominative and accusative) system for personal pronouns. Thus, their nominal system reflects that of English. While Huffines assumes convergence with English as the driving force for the case merger in the Pennsylvania German varieties of the sectarians, she explains

the loss of the dative among nonsectarian native speakers of English with inadequate access of this group to native speaker norms.[16]

Van Ness (1996) compares data she collected on the maintenance of the dative in a sectarian community in Ohio with that presented in studies by Huffines, Louden, Ferré, and Dorian. According to Van Ness (1996, 14), the rather rapid reduction of case endings in sectarian Pennsylvania German is an example of "multiple causation." While natural, internal tendencies have been the cause, increased contact with English was the ultimate catalyst of the change.

Similarly, Born (2003), in her study of the loss of the dative in the variety of German spoken in Frankenmuth, Michigan, does not regard convergence as the only driving force for the loss of the dative in German-American dialects. She notes that the loss of the dative in German dialects that are in contact with Russian (which has a fully developed case system) speaks against such a theory (151). Born assumes that the loss of the dative in Texas German and Michigan German accelerated once the dialects were no longer roofed by Standard German beginning after World War I. She also uses the regression hypothesis, i.e. "the thesis that grammatical features are lost in inverse proportion in which they are acquired in childhood" (161), to account for the substitution of accusative for dative forms as well as the increase of common case forms with nominative case markers.[17]

Aspect. Huffines (1986, 137) identifies three constructions in which aspect, i.e., information about whether an action is continuing, completed, repeated, or habitual, is expressed: (1) *Sei* + *am* and the infinitive of the main verb, e.g., *Sie sin am Balle schpiele* 'They are playing ball' (2) *duh* + the infinitive of the main verb, e.g., *No duhn mir die Frucht maahle* 'Then we grind the grain' (3) adverbial *als* with the main verb, e.g., *No hen mir sell als uff Brot gesse* 'Then we used to eat that on bread.'

According to Huffines (1986, 152), the *sei* + *am* + infinitive construction, which in Pennsylvania German fulfills the function of the English progressive (*to be* + *-ing*), does not appear to be influenced by English usage among the nonsectarians. However, Huffines found a change in the phonetic realization of *am* among the sectarians, whose repertoire ranges from [am] via [an] to [ən]. It is in this change as well as in the sectarians' loss of a rule that distinguishes the placement of modified and unmodified noun objects that Huffines assumes influence of English.

Huffines (1986, 150) further found that among the sectarians the *duh* construction has lost its iterative meaning and is used more frequently in a pro-form function, i.e., occurring in place of the main verb (as in English *She likes big yellow flowers that smell good, and I do too*). While Huffines was unable to determine whether the loss of the iterative meaning of *duh* is due to English influence, she maintains that "the use of *duh* in pro-form function is clearly based on an English model." No evidence is given that Pennsylvania German *als*, which signals past habitual action, is connected to any English patterns.

Altogether, just like in her findings on the loss of the dative case described above, Huffines (1986, 152f.) assumes the existence of two separate Pennsylvania German norms with regard to verb aspect. One, the relatively conservative nonsectarian system, shows no evidence of English influence, not even among non-fluent (i.e., younger) speakers. The rules of the sectarian norm, on the other hand, in many ways appear to be converging to English.[18]

Infinitive constructions. According to Huffines (1990, 103), the use of *zu* to mark infinitives that do not complement modals, as in *Er gleicht zu sehne wann ihre bandages dreckich sin* 'He likes to see when her bandages are dirty' is overall on the decline in the Pennsylvania German speech community. *Zu* is generally being replaced by *fer*, as in *No hen mir die chance grickt fer sie doch kaafe* 'Then we got the chance to buy it anyway' and, especially among (nonsectarian) nonnative speakers, by *fer . . . zu*, as in *No bin ich abgange fer des zu duh* 'Then I left to do that'.

Zu as an infinitive marker has receded the farthest in the sectarian group. Thus, as in the cases of the loss of the dative and of aspect, nonsectarian Pennsylvania German is more conservative than the sectarian varieties. These changes, however, do not reflect direct influence of English, but rather usage found in Palatinate and other southern varieties of German. Huffines (1990, 104) reports that unmarked infinitives, such as *Mer gleiche als unser Wutz uffhenke* 'We always like to hang up our pig' are most frequently found in sectarian Pennsylvania German.[19] Sectarians also use constructions such as *Sie sin der Rege gucke* 'They are watching the rain', in which the infinitive construction is confused with the progressive aspect of the verb (Huffines [1990, 106]). It is in these latter types of constructions found in sectarian Pennsylvania German that Huffines (1990, 107) observes a tendency to "parallel English usage more closely, thereby achieving more efficient translation and integrating their extensive borrowings more easily."

Relativization. As Louden (1993, 173f.) reports, sectarian Pennsylvania German shows "partial, but not total convergence" with English in the way it uses relative pronouns and complementizers. Pennsylvania German, unlike English and Standard German, most often uses the complementizer *as* instead of true relative pronouns such as Standard German *der* and English *who*, as in *Des is der Kall, as sell Haus gebaut hot* 'This is the guy that [who] built that house'.

An older Pennsylvania German complementizer was *wu*, which is still infrequently found in sectarian speech and has a widespread equivalent in Palatinate varieties. True relative pronouns are only rarely attested in Pennsylvania German, as in the following example from Buffington and Barba (1965, 95), showing the structure "dative definite article + possessive pronoun): *Des is der Mann, dem sei Fraa grank is* 'This is the man whose wife is sick'.

As Louden (1993, 174) shows, sectarian Pennsylvania German avoids these relative pronouns "by converging with a generalization of the complementizer relative characteristic of many varieties of spoken" American English, as in *Des is der Mann, as sei Fraa grank is* (nonstandard English: 'This is the man that his wife is sick').

Syntactic idioms and specialties. In the following, a number of special Pennsylvania German phrases showing English influence will be discussed briefly. Louden (1993, 174f.) mentions the structure "past participle + *griege* 'get' commonly found in sectarian speech, for example *Ich hab sell geduh grickt* 'I got that done' and *Grick's Bett gmacht* 'Get the bed made'. This is another example for partial convergence of sectarian Pennsylvania German with English combined with language-internal, i.e. independent, development. If the Pennsylvania German phrase includes the past participle *geduh*, it is a loan translation of English "to get something done." The

difference between the two languages is that in Pennsylvania German the calqued idiom has been widely expanded to many more transitive verbs, resulting in a general perfective meaning of "to succeed in resolving/completing/finishing what one set out to do" (Louden [1993, 175]).

Another interesting usage of *griege* is found in Huffines (1990, 106): *Er is ready griege . . .* 'He is getting ready . . .' Here the English idiom *to get ready* is partly translated into Pennsylvania German (*get* = *griege*) and partly rendered by a foreign word (*ready*). At the end of telling his life story, one of Kopp's (1999, 217) nonsectarian informants used the expression *Un sell bringt mich uff zu nau* 'And that brings me up to now'. This Pennsylvania German phrase keeps the syntactic structure of the English model, translating each individual word into Pennsylvania German with the exception of the last item (*nau*, from English *now*), which is an alternative of Pennsylvania German *yetz* (cf. Standard German *jetzt*).

Similarly, Buffington (1970, 102) lists a number of examples in which an English syntactic framework is reflected in Pennsylvania German idiomatic phrases: *Sell is uff zu dir* 'That's up to you'; *Mer sin uff Zeit kumme* 'We came on time'; *Wie ich zukumme bin* 'When I came to = regained conscience'; *Sie hen widder uffgemacht* 'They made up again'; *Mer hen Wadde ghat* 'We had words = talked with each other'; *Die Fraa is widder allrecht warre* 'The woman got all right again'; *Sei Bruder is gut ab* 'His brother is well off'; *Fer all sell* 'for all that = despite all that'.

Meister Ferré (1994, 59) gives another example of a loan translation that preserves the English syntactic structure: *Selle mir schicke fer de Dokder?* 'Should we send for the doctor?' not only imitates English *to send for someone*, but also is an example of how Pennsylvania German word order (in this case the placement of the infinitive *schicke* before rather than after the complement *fer de Dokder*) can be influenced by English.

Another example from Meister Ferré (1994, 31) shows how verbs calqued from English to Pennsylvania German underlie English rules, regardless of their equivalent in Standard German: The verb in the expression *Ebbes hot ghappened* 'Something [has] happened' is a loan translation of English "happen," which in the present perfect takes *have*. Consequently, the auxiliary in Pennsylvania German is *hot*, not *is*, even though both Pennsylvania German alternatives (*gschehe* and *bassiere*) take *is* as the auxiliary in the perfect stem.

Word order. Two distinctive patterns appear to be relevant to determine the presence of English influence on Pennsylvania German word order. Huffines (1991, 186f.) examines the position of the past participle in independent clauses, as in (a) *Es hot geschder geregert* 'It rained yesterday' versus (b) *Es hat geregert geschder* and (a) *Hab ich zu mir selwert gedenkt* 'I thought to myself' versus (b) *Hab ich gedenkt zu mich selwert.*

In each pair, version (b) is found almost twice as often in the speech of Huffines' Amish and Mennonite informants as in that of the nonsectarians native speakers. Thus, it is once again the sectarian group that more clearly converges to an English word order pattern, which allows adverbs and prepositional phrases to be placed behind the past participle.

The second pattern examined by Huffines (1989, 7-9) is the position of the finite verb in dependent sentences, as in (a) *Wann ich gwisst hett as du noch am schlofe*

waerscht 'If I had known that you were asleep' versus (b) *Wann ich gewisst hett as du warscht am schlofe* versus (c) *Wann ich gwisst hett as du noch en schlofe waerscht.*

While the prescribed position in Pennsylvania German is at the end of the clause, English has the order subject—verb—adverb. Pattern (a) was used by nonsectarians that speak Pennsylvania German natively and those who have English as their native language in the first generation. Type (b) was given by second-generation nonsectarians with English as native language, and (c) was the pattern used by the sectarians. Altogether, the finite verb in dependent clauses consistently appeared in final position, which indicates little influence from English. The deviant pattern of the nonsectarians the furthest removed from Pennsylvania German as first language reflects general acquisition limitations rather than a clear-cut tendency toward convergence to English (Huffines [1989, 10]).

Conclusion

Altogether, contact-induced change in Pennsylvania German appears to be most prominent on the lexical and morphological levels, less so in the area of syntax, and even less in phonology. In some cases, the contact situation merely supports internal developments, which shows that convergence toward English cannot always serve as the sole explanation of change within Pennsylvania German. All in all, Pennsylvania German is still by far more German than it is English.

Further, the information gleaned from a variety of studies suggests that Pennsylvania German is not at all homogeneous with respect to its convergence to English. Along with diachronic and dialectal variations, there are also differences between the various social groups of speakers.

In particular the more recent studies have shown that overall the variety of Pennsylvania German spoken by the nonsectarian native speakers shows the least amount of tendency to convergence toward English. Because of the widespread switch between the two world wars from Pennsylvania German to English as the first language used with children, the last nonsectarian native speakers of English are currently in their seventies and eighties. The Pennsylvania German used by their children and grandchildren is characterized by general acquisition limitations that only partly coincide with convergence processes. By far the strongest tendency toward convergence is found in sectarian Pennsylvania German. The explanation for this dissimilarity lies in the different linguistic strategies employed by each group. For the sectarians, language use is strictly governed by domains and the use of English is inappropriate in interaction with family and members of their own group. To maintain discourse despite changing reality, their variety of Pennsylvania German relies on convergence. Nonsectarians, on the other hand, because of the loss of Pennsylvania German among the younger generations, are more inclined to code-switching. The result is a significantly lower degree of English intrusion into their German variety.

Interestingly enough, the differences between the two groups continue with respect to their varieties of English. As sectarians put much emphasis on their children being taught "good" English in the parochial schools, their varieties of English show relatively low levels of interference from Pennsylvania German. Nonsectarians, on the

other hand, are less skilled translators from English to Pennsylvania German (Huffines [1991, 190]). If they ever translate, the direction is more likely from Pennsylvania German to English, which results in a high degree of Pennsylvania German features, or "Dutchified English."

Altogether, the convergence processes in Pennsylvania German have to be seen in the context of sociocultural differences. They are part of the "Pennsylvania German paradox" (Kopp [1999, 279ff.]), which finds the group that is culturally most conservative and most remote from the mainstream (i.e., the sectarians) to be linguistically rather progressive by avoiding "Dutchified English" while allowing their ancestral German dialect to be heavily influenced by English. The group that has assimilated itself to the mainstream much more (i.e., the nonsectarians), on the other hand, is characterized by a variety of English further remote from the standard and a variety of Pennsylvania German far more conservative. What at first sight appears to be a paradox can ultimately be explained by the diverging strategies of language use outlined above in conjunction with an analysis of the deviating attitudinal patterns (Kopp [1999, 210ff.]).

Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Notes

[1] A more detailed overview of the history of German immigration to Pennsylvania is found in Kopp (1999, 18-31).

[2] Cf. Werner (2001, 390f.) for various sources for the end dates of the switch.

[3] For all Pennsylvania German examples, regardless of the orthography or transcription employed in their respective source of origin, I will use the system preferred by C. Richard Beam, which, as he points out in his *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (1985, vii), is based on the Buffington-Barba system.

[4] Retroflex /r/ before vowels and in final position has also been found by Raith (1992, 161) in Amish Pennsylvania German. Raith (1992, 160f.) points out an interesting parallel between Pennsylvania German and English with regard to the influence of /r/ on the preceding vowel. In its equivalents of Standard German *Hirsch* 'deer', *kürzer* 'shorter', *Wurst* 'sausage', *Stern* 'star', *Mörder* 'murder', *dort* 'there', and *härter* 'harder' (in all of which Standard German features a variety of vowels before /r/), Pennsylvania German always has /a/ (*Hasch, katzer, Wascht, Schtann, Madder, datt, hadder*). The same uniformity in the quality of the vowel is caused by preceding /r/ in American English *Sir, merge, learn, clerk, word, burn, and myrtle.*

[5] Velarized dark /l/ has also been attested by Raith (1992, 160), particularly for Amish Pennsylvania German.

[6] Cf. Raith (1992, 160).

[7] Seel's 1988 doctoral dissertation is probably the most detailed study of the Pennsylvania German lexicon available.

[8] Cf. Seel (1988, 168-70) for a discussion of the terminology.

[9] Louden (1992a) presents an interesting account of how the Old Order Amish,

contrary to all expectation, lexically converge to English in the areas of everyday life (clothing, transportation, cooking, education, and recreation), motherese, the way they use family terms, greetings, interjections, numbers, etc., and even in proper names for their children. According to Louden, this linguistic behavior reflects the covert prestige of English in sectarian society.

[10] Note that the Standard German word for "cholesterol" is *Cholesterin*.

[11] However, the endings of these modifiers are not conclusive on their own as wechem is used for both masculine or neuter, while ken and en could actually mark all three genders. For a more extensive discussion of gender assignment to English words in Pennsylvania German see Reed, who offers the following categorization (1942, 25f.):

1. Nouns that have taken over the gender of the German nouns which they displace.
2. Nouns having a type of suffix that normally characterizes a particular gender in German.
3. Nouns whose gender is determined by the sex of a 'living being,' specifically, a human being—or by 'natural gender' [sic].
4. Nouns that have been given the feminine gender, because the English definite article [ði:/ðə] resembles phonetically the German feminine definite article [di:/də]. This is what Professor Aron calls the 'feminine tendency.'

For gender assignment in varieties of German spoken in the Midwest see Aron (1930).

[12] The Pennsylvania German form *Boi* has been regarded as representing an older English pronunciation still found in north-central English and some New England dialects. For a summary of the discussion see Meister Ferré (1994, 36).

[13] Beam's *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (1985, 12) also gives the tautological compound *Baerlfass*.

[14] Pennsylvania German generally treats verbs borrowed from English as weak verbs. Thus, past participles receive the prefix *ge-* and the ending *–t*. Fuller (1999, 45) mentions *gefarmt* 'farmed' as an example. The fact that some of Fuller's informants used the English form *farmed*, however, reflects both the effects of convergence (external) and morphological simplification (internal; cf. the loss of *ge-* in other German dialects as well as in English). Fuller (1999, 43-46) argues that verbs that are perceived to have an unstressed prefix (such as adopt) pave the way for full English participles in Pennsylvania German. For instance, if speakers of Pennsylvania German use the participial form adopted in Pennsylvania German, they actually follow German rules by avoiding the prefix *ge-* with verbs that have an unstressed (i.e., inseparable) prefix (e.g., *besuche* forming the past participle *besucht*).

[15] The form *ausgeturned* 'turned out' is another example for a hybrid compound, consisting of a Pennsylvania German prefix (*aus-*) and an English verb stem (*turn*), which as noted, receives a Pennsylvania German prefix (*ge-*) but keeps its English ending (*-ed*). Fuller (1999, 46-52) found the following types of separable prefix verbs in her Pennsylvania German data:

1. prefix and stem of German origin (*fattgeh* 'to go away')
2. prefix and stem of German origin, but calqued from English (*ausschaffe* from English 'to work out')
3. German prefix + English stem (*austurne* 'to turn out')

4. English prefix + German stem (*alongkumme* 'to come along')
5. prefix and stem of English origin, but marked with German morphology (*on-carrye* 'to carry on'; past participle ongecarried)

What all these separable prefix verbs have in common is compositional meaning and semantic transparency, i.e., the meaning of the prefixes is concrete (usually directional) and the overall meaning of the verb is directly derived from that of the simplex. The relative unproductivity of separable prefix verbs with opaque meanings shows that Pennsylvania German is undergoing simplification, the change thus being internally motivated. The contact with English becomes a factor in cases where native separable prefix verbs do not have compositional meaning and are therefore replaced by simple English loan words (for instance, Pennsylvania German forms based on English *imagine, stop,* and *move* replace *eibilde, uffheere, and umziehe*). Fuller (1999, 52) adds, however, that in general, lexical borrowing is motivated by "perceived semantic/pragmatic uniqueness." For instance, Pennsylvania German has no easy native equivalent for "to learn quickly" and therefore uses the loan translation *uffpicke* (from English to pick up). Similarly, the example *austurne* from the beginning of this note has no native Pennsylvania German equivalent and is used to express the morphologically and syntactically complex Standard German structure *sich herausstellen.*

[16] While earlier studies (such as Huffines [1987]) focus on a comparison of sectarian and nonsectarian varieties, Keiser (1999) investigates the degree of dative loss within a sectarian Pennsylvania German community in Iowa.

[17] The same claim is made by Raith (1992, 162) in connection with phonological features. Similar skepticism toward the concept of convergence as the main driving force in change is expressed by Fuller (1999), who discusses variation in past participle forms and restriction on separable prefix verbs. In Fuller's words (1999, 53), "in the real-life drama" of the development of Pennsylvania German, English plays "the role of best supporting actress," while "the internal motivations for language change are at center stage."

[18] For a detailed account of the development of the English progressive see Huffines (1988b, 137-40).

[19] According to Louden (1992a, 273f.), sectarian Pennsylvania German usually does not employ *fer* in cases where English allows a gerund (*Ich gleich* [Ø] *Deitsch schwetze* 'I like to speak/speaking German'), but uses a mandatory *fer* whenever the English equivalent disallows a gerundial complement (*Ich bin reddi fer Deitsch schwetze* 'I am ready to speak/*speaking German').

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Walter Sauer

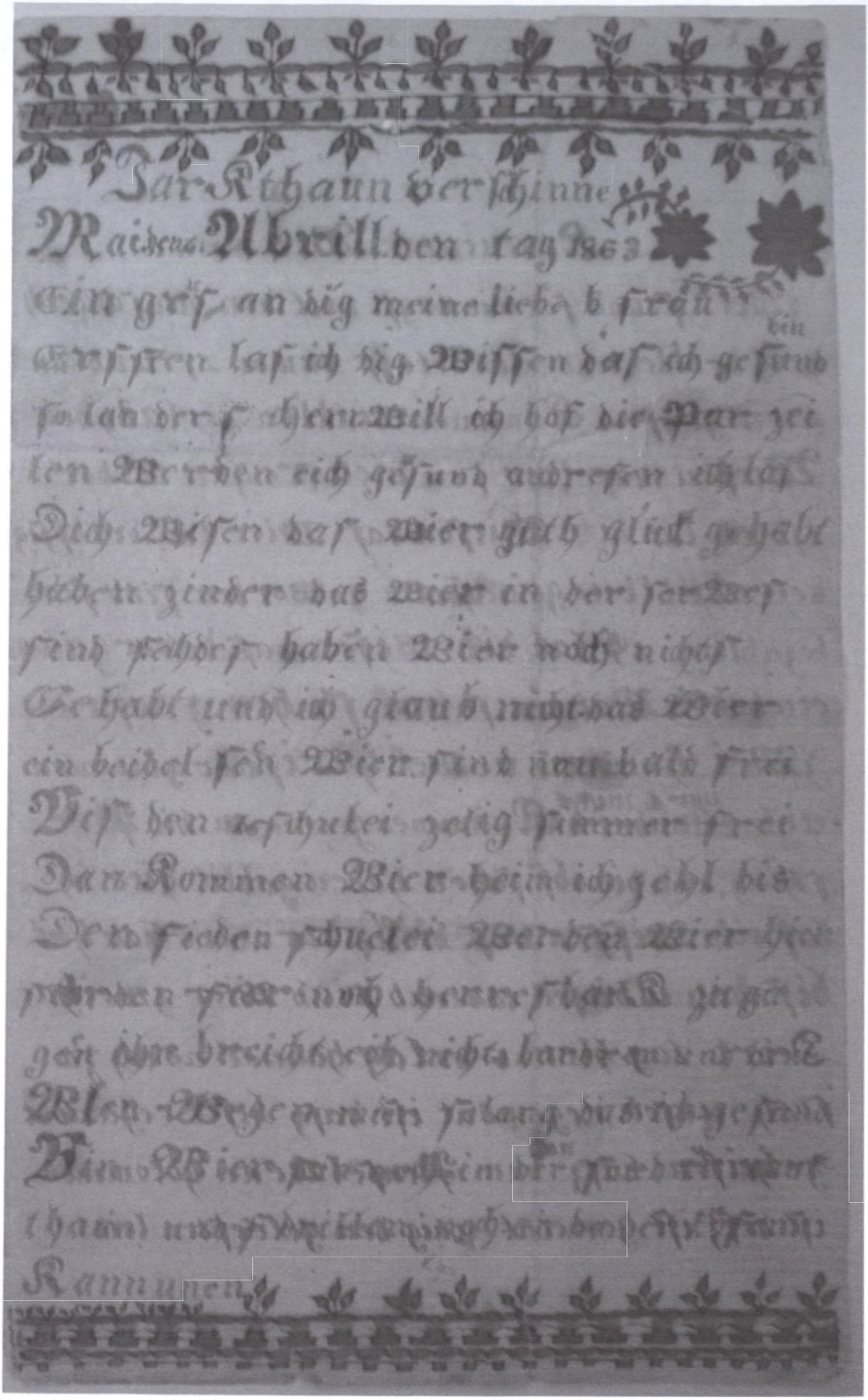
"Ein grus an dig meine liebe frau": A Civil War Letter from a Pennsylvania German Soldier to His Wife

Introduction

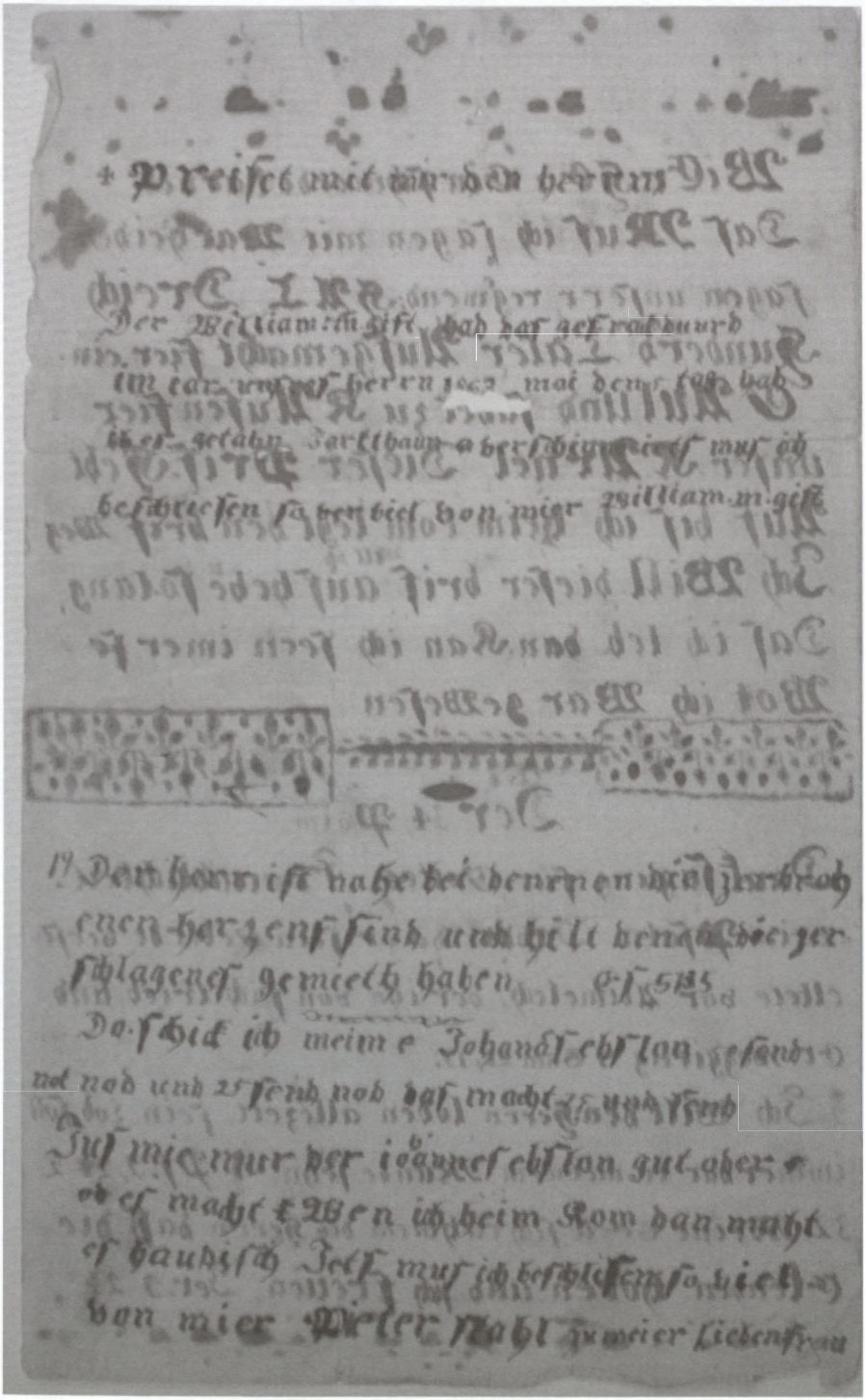
War letters have long been recognized as important documents for the reconstruction of the past. Located as they are at the crossroads of oral and written history, they represent important sources for the student of military and social history. Modern studies in these fields have therefore rightly taken such epistolary materials, many of them hidden in archives, private collections or among family papers, into account. This is especially true of letters written by soldiers during the Civil War.[1] While their contents have yielded new insights into important aspects of the Civil War, to my knowledge no such letters have been studied from a linguistic perspective. My short article selects one letter sent by a Pennsylvania Dutch Mennonite from Snyder County drafted into the Union army, Peter Stahl. The four-page letter was first made available to me in photocopy by a great-great-grandson of its author, J. D. Stahl of Blacksburg, Virginia, whom I thank for bringing it to my attention. The original is kept in the archives of the Muddy Creek Library at Fairmont Homes Retirement Community, Ephrata, Pennsylvania.[2] I am grateful to Amos Hoover for making it accessible to me and for his kind permission to edit and translate it and comment on its linguistic features.[3]

Transcription of Original Document[4]

[page 1]
JarKthaun verschinne
Mai. den 6. Abrill: den tag 1863
Ein grus an dig meine liebe frau
Erssten las ich dig wissen das ich gesund bin
so lan der herr. will ich hof die Par zei-
len werden eich gesund andrefen ich las
Dich wisen das wier guth glück gehabt
haben zinder das wier in der serwes
sind fehdes haben wier noch nichts
Gehabt und ich glaub nicht. das wier
ein beidel seen wier sind nau bald frei
Bis den 16 schulei zelig simmer frei
Dan Kommen Wier heim ich zehl bis
Den fieden schuelei werden wier hier



Original manuscript: page 1



Original manuscript: page 4

sterden fier noch herresbark zu
geen ihr breicht eich nicht bardren und dru
Wlen wegen mier so lang das ich gesund
Bin Wier sind noch in der ford iarik
thaun und drillen noch an der grosen
Kannunen

[page 2]
Kanuinen Wir dunen
zWei 2 stund formietags mit den muschgetch
ten drille und numietags dumer 2 stund an
Den grosen Kanunen trillen ich lasz dich
Wiesen das hier ser viel regen weder
ist ich las dich wiesen das wier den dreißig-
den abrill eingemosderd geworden sind sier
bezahling ich las dich wisen das doverganen
ein bedel War in sovock. sie hen unsre
zwei hunderd rewel Prisner genomen
und 6 hunderd Kannunen nur 6 misket genomen die Per-
sching und die obs sachen haben geblit hier ich
las eich wissen das die das es karneren hier hat
bis den 16 diesen monad sind wier zweihu-
Derd tag. hier 63 tag henner nonch zu
steh unser regement ist dasz beste regement
geheisen dasz noch von Penselwene gekommen
ist dasz ist gemeint unig den getreften leid

[page 3]
WiEr. HEn Ein schmerde karnel
Das Mus ich sagen mit warheiden
unser regemend: HAT Dreich
Hunderd und 10 Taler Aufgemacht fier ein
GAul und sadel zu KAufen fier
unser KArnel Dieser Prif. Hebt
Auf bis ich heim kom legt den brif weg
Ich will dieser brif will ich aufheben so. lang
Das ich leb dan. Kan ich seen imer
Wo ich War gewesen.

Der 34 Psalm
Danksagung für Gottes Freundlichkeit.
1 ein Psalm Davdis, da er sein Geberde verst-
ellete vor Abimelech, der ihn von sich trieb und
Er weggieng 1 Sam 21,13.[5]
2 Ich will den : Herrn loben allezeit, sein Lob soll
immerdar in meinem Munde seyn Ps. 9,2
3 Meine Seele sich rühmem des Herrn daß die

Elenden hören und sich freuen Jer. 9 24

[page 4]
4 Preiset mit mir den herrn,

Der William: m. gift had das gefrackduurd
im iar unsres herrn 1863 Mai den 5 tag hab
ich es getahn Jarkthaun verschinne iets mus ich
beschliesen so viel von mier william. m. gift

19 Der herr ist nahe bei denenen die zerbroch
enen herzens sind und hilt denen die zer-
schlagenes gemieth haben Ps. 51. 15

Da schick ich meim Johanaes Ebslon 50 send
not nod und 25 send nod das macht 75 send
Jus mie nur der iohannes ebslon gut oder
es macht wen ich heim Kom dan maht
es haudisch. Jets mus ich beschlisen so viel
von mier Pieter stahl zu meier lieben: frau

English Translation of Document

Yorktown, Virginia
May 6, 1863
Greetings to you, my dear wife. First, I am letting you know that I am in good health. As long as the Lord wills. I hope these few lines will reach you in good health. I am letting you know that we have had good luck since we came into the service. We have not yet had any fighting and I don't think we will see a battle. We will soon be free. I reckon we'll be free by July 16. Then we'll come home again. I reckon we'll start for Harrisburg on July 4. You needn't worry and trouble yourselves because of me as long as I am in good health. We are still in Fort Yorktown and drilling with the big cannons. In the morning, we drill with the muskets for two hours and in the afternoon we drill two hours with the big canons. I am letting you know that it is very rainy here. I am letting you know that on April 30 we were mustered in for payment. I am letting you know that there was a battle in Suffolk recently. They captured two hundred rebels and six canons and six hundred muskets.[6] Peaches and fruit have bloomed here. I am letting you know that there is sweet corn here. By the 16th of the month we will have been here two hundred days, sixty-three more days we'll have to stay. Our regiment is called the best regiment which has come yet from Pennsylvania, that is among the drafted people.
We have a smart colonel. That I must say in truth. Our regiment has raised three hundred and ten dollars to buy a horse and saddle for our colonel. Keep this letter until I return, put the letter away. I want to save this letter as long as I live. Then I can always see where I have been.

The 34th Psalm[7]

Thanks for God's Friendliness
1 A Psalm of David, when he changed his behavior before Abimelech, who drove him away and he departed. 1 Samuel 21:13
2 I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall continually be in my mouth. Psalm 9:2
3 My soul shall make her boast in the Lord: the meek shall hear thereof, and be glad. Jeremiah 9:24
4 O magnify the Lord with me.

William M. Gift wrote this (in Gothic letters) on the fifth day of May in the year of our Lord 1863. I have done it at Yorktown, Virginia. Now I must close. This much from me William M. Gift.

The Lord is nigh to them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite heart. Ps. 51,19

Here I send my Johannes Ebslon a 50 cent note and a 25 cent note, which makes 75 cents. Put Johannes Ebslon to work well or else there will be a spanking when I come home. Now I must close. This much from me, Peter Stahl, to my dear wife.

The Sender

Little is known about the sender of these lines. According to information received from his descendants, Peter Stahl lived in Snyder County, Pennsylvania, was the son of Frederick (1801-81) and Susanna (Shottsberger; 1803-84) Stahl, married Mary Herrold and is buried in Chapman, Pennsylvania. No precise dates are available for his life. His great-grandfather was Frederick Stahl, a native of Switzerland. His Civil War records state that, although a Mennonite pacifist, he was drafted into the 172d Regiment, Company A, on October 28, 1862, at Camp Curtin (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) for nine months. He proceeded to Washington, D.C., on December 2, then to Newport News, then to Fort Yorktown (where the letter was written). In July 1863 the regiment was ordered back to Washington, D.C., then to Hagerstown, Maryland and attached to the XI Corps, pursued confederates to Williamsport, and crossed the Potomac to Warrenton Junction. When his term expired, Stahl returned to Harrisburg, where he was discharged on August 1, 1863.[8]

Date, Handwriting and Spelling

The document, consisting of one folded sheet measuring 15 x 25 cm and decorated with floral ornaments is written in one hand. It is signed by a certain William M. Gift,[9] who dated his work on May 5, 1863. Peter Stahl must have dictated the letter to him, which may indicate that he was not able to write himself, at least not in *Fraktur* letters. The actual date for the letter is not so easy to ascertain. It must have been started in April and finally dated May 6 in the space left empty before the word

"Abrill," which accounts for the strange dating of "Mai den 6. Abrill." Apparently the writer forgot to delete the words "Abrill den," which no longer applied. "Mai den 6." must have been added a day after William Gift's explicit dating (on May 5) and the subsequent addition of a Bible verse and three more valedictory sentences. The long time span between the beginning and the completion of the letter corresponds with the poor quality of the handwriting and spelling. Quite obviously, William Gift was not a skilled writer or speller. His style does not show the hand of an expert penman. He must have spent many hours on this letter, painstakingly writing, or rather drawing letter after letter. This is also shown by his indiscriminate use of small and capital letters not only in word initial position, but also in the middle of words, his almost consistent use of the "long" German "s" in places where it does not belong, frequent omission of letters, deletion of wrongly placed letters and the addition of forgotten letters above the line as well as other corrections. Overall, his German spelling is quite deficient and points to a man with little education, but able to read and write and willing to make the effort. Peter Stahl's insistence on his wife keeping this letter would indicate that it might be the only one she would receive during his nine months' service.

Language

The letter is generally written in German, the language familiar to nineteenth-century Pennsylvania Dutch people from church, the Bible, devotional literature, hymnbooks and German language newspapers. It is, however, sprinkled with vocabulary items typically Pennsylvania German (PG), the language spoken on a daily basis when not communicating with the "English." In some cases the writer's (and sender's) Pennsylvania German accent accounts for phonological and orthographical peculiarities of the text. The grammar also shows occasional PG elements. These items do, however, not make the text a document consistently written in the PG dialect. It is these linguistic features which we shall examine in some detail in this short paper.

Vocabulary

Lexical items of a typical PG, i.e., not High German (HG), character are of two kinds: Words borrowed from English (Engl) and words "inherited" from the German dialects of the early settlers, especially from Palatine German (PalG; Pfälzisch). In the following analysis, each word is listed in the original spelling in the order of occurrence, and with an explanation of its origin and meaning.

zinder 'since'; from PalG *sinder, sidder.*
serwes 'service'; from Engl.
fehdes 'fights', 'fighting' (from Engl *fight* and HG *Fehde* 'war' and HG *fechten* 'to fight').
beidel, bedel 'battle'; from Engl.
nau 'now'; from PalG *nau* and Engl *now.*
Zelig, ich zehl 'I guess', 'I reckon'; from HG *zähle ich, ich zähle*, contaminated with

the meaning of Engl *to reckon* (HG *rechnen*).
schulei 'July'; a phonetic spelling of the English month's name.
sterden 'start'; from Engl.
bardren 'bother'; from Engl; synonymous with the following word.
druwlen 'trouble'; from Engl and PalG *truwwle*, HG *Trubel.*
numietags 'afternoon'; from PalG *nummiddags.*
eingemosderd 'mustered in'; from Engl and from HG *gemustert.*
bezahling 'payment'; the PG ending *-ing* (rather than HG *–ung)* is from PalG.
doverganen 'recently'; from PalG *do vergange.*
rewel 'rebel'; from Engl.
prisner 'prisoner'; from Engl.
persching 'peach'; from PalG *Persching.*
karneren 'sweet corn (ears); from Engl *corn* + *ears* (the plural ending *-en* being transferred from HG *Ähren*).
steh 'stay'; the meaning of HG *stehen* or PalG *stehe* may be influenced by Engl *stay.*
unig 'among'; from PalG *untig, unnig.*
getreften 'drafted; from Engl.
schmerd 'smart'; from Engl.
karnel 'colonel'; from Engl.
aufgemacht 'raised'; a typical PG meaning of PalG *ufmache* / HG *aufmachen*, reflecting influence from Engl.
Gaul 'horse'; from PalG.
gefrackduurd 'written in Gothic (fraktur) letters'; from HG *Fraktur.*
nod, not 'then'; from PalG *nood.*
legt...weg 'put ... away'; a loan translation from Engl in a sense not typical of HG or PalG *weglege(n).*
jus 'use'; from Engl. The word's meaning ('put to work') seems to be influenced by HG / PalG *anstellen / aastelle*).
haudisch 'spanking'; from HG *ich hau dich* ('I beat you').

In all, typical PG dialect words amount to little more than 8% of the total vocabulary (not counting the words quoted from the HG Bible text of Psalm 34). They nevertheless give the letter a distinctly PG flavor.

Grammar

The grammatical indicators for a PG provenance of the text can mainly be seen in the inflection of auxiliary verbs and some syntactical constructions influenced by English.

simmer 'we are'; from PalG.
sterden fier...zu geen 'start (for) to go'; the construction *fier zu* rather than HG *zu* may be owed to PalG *fer zu* and dialectal / archaic Engl constructions with *for to.*
wir dunen...drille 'we drill'; from PalG *mir dune.*
dumer 'do we'; from PalG.
sie hen, wier hen 'they have, we have'; from PalG.

henner (which must be a misspelling for) hemmer 'have we'; from PalG.
dasz ist gemeint 'that is'; an unusual construction in both HG and PalG, probably influenced by Engl in a contamination of HG *das ist* and Engl *this means.*
wo ich war gewesen 'where I have been'; the unusual word order (in HG and PalG *wo ich gewesen war*) must be due to syntactic influence from Engl.
henner (for: *hemmer*) *noch zu steh* 'we still have to stay'; the construction itself is modelled on Engl, whereas the form *steh* exemplifies loss of the infinitive ending in HG *stehen*, typical for PalG and PG.
ein schmerde karnel; *fier unser karnel*; *jus mie nur der Johannes*; *dieser brif will ich*: all four phrases show the typical loss, or confusion, in PG of "correct" (HG or PalG) inflectional endings for adjectives, pronouns and articles. Here, these would be *schmerder, unser(e)n, de(n), diesen.*

Phonology

Even though the letter is not consistently written in PG, the writer's dialect is also visible in the spelling (and pronunciation) of some words. Here are some selected features:

v/w: the typical confusion of PG speakers (as indeed most speakers of all Germanic languages) of these two letters and sounds is reflected in the spelling of *serwes* (service) and *Penselwene* (Pennsylvania).
-ar-: The lowering of /o/, /e/ and /œ / before /r/ clusters to /a/ is shown in *Jarkthaun, herresbarg, karn, karnel.*
Verschinne ('Virginia') and *schulei* ('July') may reflect a voiceless pronunciation of the affricate consonant in these and other words (rather than /dʒ/).
HG /y/ (written *ü*) is almost consistently represented as *i* or *ie*, as in PalG; e.g. *fier, wier, geblit.* The only occurrence of *ü* appears in *glück.*[10] *ie* is even found in the HG quotation from the Bible: *gemieth* (HG *Gemüt*).
The reflex of HG /oi/ is /ai/, as in PalG; e.g., *eich, breicht, leid.*
The consonant cluster /tr/ in the word *getreften* ('drafted') shows an interesting case of hypercorrection. Since HG /tr/ usually becomes /dr/ in PG (e.g. HG *antreffen* as opposed to *andrefen* in our text) the writer's attempt at writing "correct" German made him change Engl /dr/ into /tr/.
Loss of final /t/ is shown in *iets* ('now'), cf. PalG *jetz.*

Concluding Remarks

When Peter Stahl sent his letter to his "dear wife" Mary in May of 1863, asking her to keep it in a safe place, he had no idea that it would survive into the twenty-first century, that it would be cherished as a treasure by his descendants, and included in an archive. And he certainly would not have dreamt of its ever being analysed linguistically. And yet for the linguist, as much as for the student of military and social history, his letter represents an important document. Although, with its mixture of HG and PG, it certainly does not reflect the everyday speech of its author, but rather his somewhat floundering attempt at writing German, it does grant us valuable

insights into the two codes available to PG speakers around the Civil War period, a time formative in the evolution of the PG dialect. It can be assumed that the study of other letters written by Pennsylvania Germans during the nineteenth century would yield further material complementing the interesting biography of Bischli-Gnippli's beloved *Mudderschprooch*."

Heidelberg, Germany

Notes

[1] Cf. e.g., David Valuska and Christian Keller, *Damn Dutch: Pennsylvania Germans at Gettysburg* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004).

[2] Thanks are also due to Jacob Stahl, Lititz, PA, for logistic assistance.

[3] The letter is unpublished. It is mentioned in Christian B. Keller, "Pennsylvania and Virginia Germans during the Civil War: A Brief History and Comparative Analysis." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 109 (2001): 37-86.

[4] The text is presented line by line in a diplomatic transcription including its erratic capitalization of letters, repetitions of words and almost total lack of punctuation. No attempt has been made to correct any mistakes. Crossed out words and letters are not transcribed. Letters and words written above the line are integrated into the text. The writing is difficult to decipher in many places where the letters show through from the reverse side. For a facsimile of the first and fourth page see pp. 68-69.

[5] The writer copied cross references contained in his Bible.

[6] The German original (see above) reads "six hundred canons," with the three words "only six muskets" written directly above the line. Obviously, the writer must have noticed his mistake and with the superscript words somewhat awkwardly tried to indicate that "only six canons" were taken as well as "six hundred muskets."

[7] The English Bible text is quoted from the Authorized Version of the King James Bible.

[8] Cf. Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5; prepared in compliance with acts of the legislature,* vol. 4 (Harrisburg: Singerly, 1970) 1182. Peter Stahl is listed as a private and "Not accounted for" on p. 1184. The regiment's "smart colonel" mentioned in the letter was Charles Kleckner, who also mustered out on August 1, 1863; cf. op. cit., p. 1182. I am grateful to David Valuska, Kutztown University, for pointing this source out to me.

[9] William M. Gift is listed op. cit., p.1183, as a private and equally "Not accounted for."

[10] The reading "glück" is, however, doubtful; it may be "*glieck*" or "*glick*."

Simon J. Bronner

"*Heile, Heile, Hinkel Dreck*": On The Earthiness of Pennsylvania German Folk Narrative

Mahlon Hellerich strode to the Pennsylvania German Society podium in 2005 to explain Pennsylvania German culture to his audience in Allentown, Pennsylvania, composed of many people like him who grew up with "Dutch" traditions. Into his 80s at that point, he was well recognized as a former president of the Pennsylvania German Society for being a speaker on Pennsylvania German topics drawing on his experience growing up in East Texas, Pennsylvania, which he described as a Pennsylvania "Dutch" hamlet. He decided to begin with a story that for him encompassed what being Pennsylvania German was about. Here is what he said:

> A Pennsylvania German mother tells her daughter that she would need to go to English school to register. And she tells her daughter to take her little brother because he would need to register next year. She goes to the teacher and the teacher asks for her name. The little girl answers *Waggeraad* ("wagon wheel"). The teacher asks again, "Okay, what is your real name?" *Waggeraad*, the girl emphatically answers again. "And how did you get that name?" the teacher follows up. The little girl explains, "My mother told me that when I was born the first thing she saw out the window was a wagon wheel by the barn." Still sceptical, the teacher tells her to go home and get a note from her mother confirming the story. The teacher then asks the boy, her little brother, to come forward. But the little girl exclaims, "Don't bother, if she didn't believe me, she's not going to believe you *Hinkeldreck* ("chicken shit").[1]

The story got a good laugh, and several persons in the audience glanced knowingly at each other with the comment that they had heard that one before. But it may seem at first like a strange choice to represent Pennsylvania German experience. After all, besides its off-color reference, some people may interpret its crude characterization of Pennsylvania German bumpkins as unflattering. Hellerich, however, recalled it fondly from his childhood and appreciated the way it related the ethnic identity, and especially the rural consciousness, of Pennsylvania Germans in contrast to "English" (English speaking Americans) outsiders viewed as part of the formal establishment. He lamented that this identity arising largely out of an agrarian lifestyle was on the wane.

It is a story that I had heard regularly at the annual all-male *Fersommling* ("gathering") in Lykens, Pennsylvania, featuring an after-dinner speaker who relates humorous jokes and anecdotes to the crowd. It usually fitted into a series of narratives

that Pennsylvania Germans euphemistically refer to as "earthy" *Bauer* ("farmer") stories revolving around the feces of farm animals, especially of chickens and horses. The anal theme of the narratives was echoed in the joyous singing of *Schnitzelbank* with various barn images, including the *Waggeraad* and manure pile.

Ist das dein Schnitzelbank? [Isn't that your carving bench?]
Ja, das ist mein Schnitzelbank? [Yes, that is my carving bench]

Oh, du schoene,
Oh, du schoene,
Oh, du schoene
Schnitz-el-bank! [Oh, you wonderful carving bench]

Ist das nicht dein Waggeraad?
Ja, das ist mein Waggeraad.

Chorus

Is das nicht dein Haufen Mischt? [manure pile]
Ja, das ist mein Haufen Mischt.

Outside of the *Fersommling* hall, the most common description of narratives I heard when I solicited them as a fieldworker was "that's earthy stuff," connecting an awareness of manure with farm life on the land and suggesting that the motif of animal feces was a defining feature of Pennsylvania German humor. It was what folklorists might call an "esoteric" expression, because it was intended to be communicated from one member of the group to another, rather than material to be shared with outsiders or for outsiders to relate about the Pennsylvania Germans (categorized as "exoteric") (Jansen 1959). To be sure, it was not the sole theme, as published field collections of oral tradition made by John Baer Stoudt, Thomas Brendle, and William Troxell indicate. For public audiences, Pennsylvania German collectors might recount trickster tales of Eileschpigel, the cycle of Swabian jokes related to ethnic "moron" humor, ghost and treasure tales, accounts of stolen goods retrieved, and a number of *Parre* legends and anecdotes about notable ministers. But as I will show, there is more of a connecting thread of the feces theme among these Pennsylvania German narrative types than has been realized.

Aware of this "earthy" repertoire, I began to suspect that previously published collections, the largest of which was Brendle and Troxell's, mostly amassed in the early to mid–twentieth century had understated or omitted the "earthy" stories because they were off-color and potentially embarrassing to Pennsylvania Germans when read by outsiders. Or the fact that the prodigious collector Thomas Brendle was a pastor might have resulted in the selection of "clean" repertoire by tradition bearers for the man of the cloth to hear. Apparently, Brendle was not oblivious to this material, for when Richard Beam mined his journals (57,124 items spread over approximately 24,000 pages) for a posthumous compendium of folklore in 1995, 29 years after Brendle's death, he found a number of scatological expressions recorded in Brendle's hand as "Excrementa" (Beam 1995, 47-48). Nonetheless, Brendle, or the publisher,

chose not to print the material for public consumption earlier. Brendle's linguistic comments about the abundance of terms for excrement among Pennsylvania German speakers suggest that he was thinking about a cultural connection. He found "*Dreck*" the most common term, but a round-shaped dropping could be called a "*Gnoddle.*" "*Scheissdreck*" represented excrementa of all kinds, Brendle observed, but the "vulgar" *scheiss*, he wrote, was normally reserved for humans, while *Dreck* was reserved for animals, as is the linguistic usage in Germany. Differentiation of different *Dreck* types among Pennsylvania German speakers was made for different animals, most notably *Hinkeldreck* (chicken), *Geilsdreck* (horse), and *Kiehdreck* (cow)—connected to Pennsylvania German farm pastures and barnyards.

Brendle also noted that Pennsylvania Germans identified an abundance of manure as *Mischt* and again identified various forms such as *Geilsmischt* (horse), *Ginkelmischt* (chicken), and *Haasemischt* (rabbit). The last term could also be used as a synecdoche for rabbit farms. Brendle was apparently impressed with the Pennsylvania German penchant for designating places and implements as belonging to dirt, as in *Mischthof*, that part of the barnyard reserved for the collection of manure during the year (collected in Montgomery County as *Mischtpen* or a pile of manure (also collected as *Mischthaufe*). The *Mischtbrieh* was a special name for the liquid manure which collects around rotten manure heaps. Farmers typically had a *Mischtschlidde* (a sled), *Mischtgawwel* (four-pronged fork), and *Mischtwagge* (wagon) containing *Mischtbanke* or planks. Pennsylvania German speakers also used a form of *mischt* as a verb 'to spread manure' and 'to defecate' (Beam 1995, 47-48).

Even if Brendle and other collectors had published the scatological lore, they would likely not have applied symbolic or psychological analysis. The folkloristic project of the early to mid-twentieth century for the Pennsylvania Germans was to record what they assumed was a passing tradition, reflecting the decline of a self-contained rural Pennsylvania German folklife with the coming of industrialization and urbanization. The presentational strategy was to organize stories into themes and list them under these headings as a series of relic texts associated with a once vibrant expressive culture. In the introduction to their collection *Pennsylvania German Folk Tales, Legends, Once-Upon-A-Time Stories, Maxims, and Sayings*, Brendle and Troxell comment, "We have felt the greatest service we could render toward a study of our folk stories was to make a faithful record of what we heard and thus afford a true source for future comparative study" (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 10). Although they seemed to disavow a theoretical interest, they made theoretical assumptions by organizing their collection to show the historical progression from supernatural and wonder tales, associated, they claimed, with the distant past devolving to the "humorous anecdote and the tall story" in the living tradition of contemporary Pennsylvania German culture. Because of the emphasis on their generation of Pennsylvania German scholars of recovering the past, rather than interpreting the adaptation of the present, they published what they considered the more "traditional" material of a memory culture. As Brendle and Troxell explained, "Our collection consists, therefore, in large part of stories that arose in the past and belong to the past" (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 8). The president of the Pennsylvania German Society at the time, commenting on the significance of their collection, alluded to the importance of the memory culture in his statement, "Fortunately, their work was done in the very nick of time; for, with the vanishing use of Pennsylvania German dialect, these tales will be no longer

told by the descendants of this racial group" (Borneman 1944, 6). With that lack of an expressive outlet, they implied, descendants of the farm-raised, pre-industrial Pennsylvania Germans lacked a meaningful social tie and distinctive cultural identity. The impression Brendle and Troxell gave, therefore, was that the culture had dissipated with the passing of this folklore. In their view, the "humorous anecdote and the tall story" appeared to be less important, and less aesthetically pleasing for a reading public. The new narratives, they assumed, mistakenly, to be novel rather than as part of a longstanding tradition, were presented as an unfortunate devolutionary development for the culture (see Dundes 1969).

What is the historical background for the development, evolutionary or devolutionary, of the culture? The Pennsylvania Germans, or the "Dutch" (in the dialect *Deitsch*) as they call themselves, first came in a wave of immigration in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, attracted by William Penn's promise of land and religious tolerance as his agents recruited settlers in the Palatinate Rhineland region of what is now southern Germany and Switzerland. They consisted mostly of Protestant (Lutheran and Reformed) sects and Anabaptist and Pietist groups such as Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren. Moving beyond Quaker and Welsh areas in southeastern Pennsylvania, they sought farmland in the mountain valleys further west. They followed the valleys across the Susquehanna River into western Maryland and Virginia. Many of these areas were isolated from urban centers and transportation corridors by natural mountain and river barriers. The Pennsylvania Germans formed closed communities relying on mutual aid where a dialect drawing on the German dialect of their homelands dominated, although the dialect showed regional variations from the eastern to southern parts of the culture. The concentration of their settlements and the persistence of traditional agrarian life inland helped foster the formation of a cultural region (often called the Pennsylvania Cultural Region or, more familiarly, "Dutch Country"). In the nineteenth century, as governmental efforts were made to introduce English as the standard language through compulsory public education, a cultural awareness of ethnic difference grew among the Pennsylvania Germans and organizations such as the Pennsylvania German Society became organized to document and promote the folk culture as well as raise its standing in the general public's perception. They also distinguished themselves from other German immigrants moving to the cities by their religion, dialect, arts—and folklore. Estimated at more than 300,000 in 1950, the number of active dialect speakers in 1995 was given as less than 80,000. Many nonspeakers of Pennsylvania German in the region display what is known as "Dutchified" English, also called a Dutchy or central Pennsylvania accent—featuring the use of phrases in the dialect and rhythms and grammatical formations based on Pennsylvania German patterns. A break in tradition appeared to occur during World War II, when many Pennsylvania German parents stopped teaching their children the dialect, and an out-migration of youth for industrial and professional work occurred from what was once a culture deeply rooted in the land. After the war, a number of organizations sponsored festivals and programs to revive the culture, leading to cultural tourism in Lancaster County (primarily for the Amish farmlands) and America's largest folk festival (the Kutztown Folk Festival) celebrating Pennsylvania German culture. Into the twenty-first century, Pennsylvania German identity has gained stature for its expressive arts, but still suffers, according to Pennsylvania Germans, to images of

"dumb Dutch"—referring to the perception of their backwardness because of a hold onto the folk past. Moreover, Dutchiness is often viewed as less visible than other ethnic movements in the United States, such as those racial and cultural movements for Latino, African, and Native American groups.

My purpose in this essay is to more critically analyze examples of the "humorous anecdote and the tall story" circulating in, and commenting on, contemporary Pennsylvania German culture, allowing for a reinterpretation of the extensive corpus of narratives collected by Brendle and Troxell. The service I offer is to encourage the exploration of prominent themes and symbols in the living narrative tradition to see if folklore reveals Pennsylvania German cultural attitudes, anxieties, and identities in relation to a changing surrounding society. I will focus on the *Dreck* motif because it appears to me from fieldwork to be the most conspicuous theme that Pennsylvania German tradition-bearers among themselves associate with their folklore. In addition to being found in narrative, it can also be seen visually in a number of t-shirt designs with sayings such as "*Heile, Heile, Hinkel Dreck*" proclaiming pride in Pennsylvania German identity. Significant to my thesis, these t-shirts are usually not sold to tourists, who typically do not understand the reference, but to people who grew up in the culture. While my analysis emphasizes the symbolic readings of texts within cultural contexts, there is a comparative component prompted by Alan Dundes's characterization of continental German culture as anal by examining its prevalent scatalogical humor, to evaluate sources of the *Dreck* theme in Germany.

The "*Heile, Heile, Hinkel Dreck*" saying comes from a chant often reported as being used in powwowing rituals. The full text is typically, "*Heile, heile, Hinkeldreck, Bis morgen (mariye) frieh is alles weck*" or "*immer morgen (mariye) is alles weg*," meaning "holy, holy, chicken shit, in the morning, all has gone away (on its way)." It did not have to be uttered by powwowers, judging by the accounts of Pennsylvania German informants. If a child got hurt, it was common for parents to pretend to heal it with the anally suggestive chant, much as the more oral "kissing the boo-boo" is common in American popular culture to magically heal a child's bruise. Attention was drawn in the Pennsylvania German chant to "*Dreck*," probably because it substituted for the use by powwowers of holy water. An example is this generally used charm using religious images:

> Die Wasser und dis Feuer,
> Die Wasser und dis Feuer,
> Die Wasser und dis Feuer,
> Die ist eine grosse Dinge,
> In dies grosses geheilige Land,
> Unser yunge frau Maria,
> Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen.
> [This water and this fire,
> This water and this fire,
> This water and this fire,
> This is a big thing,
> In this big holy land,
> Our young lady Maria,
> Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen.] (Bronner 1996, 551)

Narrative evidence is provided by Brendle and Troxell who recorded the story of a *Braucher* or powwower sprinkling holy water on scrawny cattle every morning and evening to fatten them. The powwower reports to the farm servant that after three months the cattle will be free of evil and they will grow. The servant answers "Your cattle need less holy water on the outside and more feed on the inside" (*Was des do Vieh brauch is wennicher heilich Wasser uff di haut un mehner Schrod im Bauch*) (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 151-52). The story suggests the pragmatic concerns of the servant, closer to the land than to heaven. It implies, in fact, that the reference to *Hinkeldreck* as a powwow chant is itself a parody, inverting the heavenly water into earthly dirt. Not only is a symbolic opposition created between water and dirt, but between *heile* (from the German *heilig*) and *Hinkel* (from the German *Henne*).

The opposition of clean and dirty materials can be interpreted as creating separation between sacred and profane categories. This is partly necessary because the human body may be viewed as unclean and in forms of fantasy; the dirt is removed from the self and projected onto outside objects and places (Kubie 1937). Brendle notes, for example, that "*naus misse*," meaning having to defecate originally meant "to go out of the house to void the bowels." A traditional German riddle expressing the problem of differentiating dirt in the bodily interior and physical exterior, for example, is "*Was ist draussen und doch drinnen*? (What is outside and yet inside?). The answer is "*Der Dreck, wenn man sich in die Hosen beschissen hat* (Dirt when a person has shit in his pants) (Dundes 1984, 32-33). The psychological implication is, as Lawrence Kubie explains, "the body must, despite its own uncleanliness, shun as dirty anything in the outside world which resembles or represents the body's own 'dirt,'and that above all else it must never allow its own relatively 'clean' outsides to become contaminated by contact with the filthy interior of itself or of anyone else" (Kubie 1937, 39). Applying this idea to the *Hinkeldreck* image, it appears that the inside, or the human body, becomes cleaner by noting the extraordinary dirt created outside by the chickens.

The pants and the shirt act as a boundary zone between inside and outside zones. Narratives recount the efforts of people to retain a clean or stoic exterior while they are producing "mess" inside their bodies. An example bearing this out is the German-American story of an officer who is tested by facing a firing squad with guns loaded with either blanks or bullets. When they shoot, the officer does not flinch. The first round consists of blanks. He is complimented on his external display of bravery and discipline, and asked if there is anything he needs. He replies, "a new pair of pants" (Dundes 1984, 34-35). Brendle recalls a related Pennsylvania German counting-out rhyme, indicating the German "Kaiser" defecates in his pants: *Edelmann, Beddelmann, Bauer, Soldaat, Keenich, Kaiser, Hosseschеisser*" [Nobleman, beggar, farmer, soldier, king, Kaiser, one who defecates in his pants] (Beam 1995, 99). Moreover, the Amish game of "*Mischtball*" often played at "mud sales," suggesting the active discharge of goods, revolves around a boy in the center of a pen avoiding a ball thrown by players from corners. The boy is rewarded for staying "clean," and "out" if he is hit and falls into the mud, thereby showing dirt on his body.

Another implication of constructing a separate category of clean and dirty is between up and down, short and long, narrow and broad, with the latter in each case representing the earthy, anal side. Alan Dundes, in fact, bases his analysis of

German worldview on the German proverbial expression, "*Das Leben ist wie eine Hühnerleiter—kurz and beschissen* (Life is like a chicken coop ladder—short and shitty) (Dundes 1984, 9). In a common variation, there is a connection to infant toilet training, reinforcing a cognitive connection found in Hellerich's narrative: "*Das Leben ist wie ein Kinderhemd—kurz und beschissen*" (Life is like a child's undershirt—short and shitty). The ladder or life journey is metaphorically climbed step by step to success or to heaven. In one of the most popular Pennsylvania German religious broadsides called "The Broad and Narrow Way," for instance, the broad, easy path to follow is on the earth filled with temptations of vice, while the narrow way, more difficult to achieve, is directed toward heaven (Yoder 2005). Even in Pennsylvania German baptismal certificates, often divided structurally into a clear differentiation between an earthly bottom side and heavenly top, flowers and animals associated with the land often line the bottom while angels and eagles grace the top (Bronner 1992). In the *Schnitzelbank* song still popular among Pennsylvania Germans, the lyrics emphasize some of these oppositions, related to the inclusion of the wagon wheel and manure pile mentioned earlier: "*hin und her*" (here and there), "*kurz und lang*" (short and long), and "*krumm und graad*" (crooked and straight).

Other oppositions may be implied by the holy-hinkel substitution. The patriarchal heaven is contrasted to the matriarchal chicken, often expressed as the "mother hen" laying eggs and watching her chicks (Davis 2002). The chicken as a domesticated bird controlled by humans is frequently infantilized in imagery, as it is in the designation of the little boy in Hellerich's narrative. A Pennsylvania German folk rhyme reinforcing the infantilized feminine connection to *Hinkel* is "*Haahnekamm, Hinkelbiebs, frehlich Maedchen, du warscht hibscht*" (Cockscomb, hen peep, cheerful maiden, you were lovely) (Beam 1995, 21-22). In the case of Brendle and Troxell's story of the scrawny cattle, the powerful *Braucher*, put into the patriarchal provider role, is bested by the subordinate servant, put into a feminine role, but shown to be more in touch with the day-to-day care of the child-like cattle. The feed has more substance than the water, and instead of having spiritual value, descends through the body to the ground as "*Dreck*."

The symbolic opposition of the heavenly and earthly approaches can be read in another story of a farmer wanting to protect his cattle. The *Braucher* recommends closing openings in the roof *above* the cattle. But when the cows' milk turned sour in the pots, the answer to the problem came from *below*. The pots were laid out on the manure heap and then shot to pieces with a gun. The pragmatic advice was to get new crocks and keep them clean (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 142-43). Unpublished from Brendle's journal was a narrative he identified as an "anecdote" and commented that he heard it often:

> A farmer who was unable to raise good crops went "*zum Prieschder*" [to the priest] and asked him to pray that he might have good crops. He received the answer, "*Do bade Bede nix; do muss Mischt bei*!" [Here prayers are of no avail; manure is the answer.] "*Do batt Bidde un Bede nix; do muss Mischt bei*!" [Here asking and praying are of no avail; manure is the answer.] (Beam 1995, 71-72).

If manure in the above story is shown as producing results, the anal tail of cattle and chickens appears in German lore to eject or lay bodily objects. One indication of this ejective function is the euphemism of *machen* or "making" for defecation. There may indeed be a veiled wish for a pleasant defecation experience in the typical parting phrase among Pennsylvania Germans of "*mach's gut*" (literally "make it good"). Brendle found other examples of the relation of the tail or anus to production; for instance, he collected the belief "*so as die Hinkel lege, glob uff ihre Schwenz*" [to make the chickens lay, beat on their tails] (Beam 1995, 95). Although the cow does not lay eggs, its ejective function creates manure, as in the German children's riddle "*Wie kommt Kuhscheisse auf das Dach?* [How did the cowshit get on the roof?] *Hat sich Kuh auf Schwanz geschissen und dann auf das Dach geschmissen* [The cow shit on its tail and then threw it up on the roof" (Dundes 1984, 12). The humor derives from the manure being out of place, on the lofty roof, rather than on the ground, but there may be implied an association of the residents with the cow and its feces.

Pennsylvania German folk narrative shows ambivalence toward ritualizing manure as lowly, profane "dirt" and contrasting it with lofty, sacred "cleanliness."[2] To be sure, the dirt-profane association is an important way that ethical choices and cognitive categories are culturally constructed (see Bourke 1891; Kubie 1937; Sabbath and Hall 1977). But the affinity with the chicken in Pennsylvania German culture suggests a specific complicating context, since the separation of dirt and clean is more difficult to imagine with a bird thought to be immersed in its own feces and associated with living in roosts, suggesting their own community. Since the bird does not fly, it is seen as being docile, stupid, and "grounded." It is a domesticated bird not linked with the wild, but to the farm for exploitation by humans for its meat and eggs. Its feces, then, become one of its few natural defenses, since many humans would rather avoid the smell and substance of the material. For the Pennsylvania Germans, their association with raising chickens raises their self-perception of toughness, since they realize that it will be viewed as dirty and "disgusting" by outsiders. While the main motif of chickens in American popular humor is a variation of "why did the chicken cross the road?" with the catch answer "to cross the road" (suggesting the simplicity or stupidity of the animals), in Pennsylvania German folklore chickens have a role as metaphor for the farm because they were frequently described as having, in Richard Beam's words, "the run of the barnyard" (Beam 1995, 22). The implication is that indeed chickens have a kind of dominant role within the landscape, although that environment may not be recognized outside of the culture. Indeed, a difference exists between the Pennsylvania German symbolization of *Hinkeldreck* and the image of its translation of "chickenshit" in American popular culture, for the latter is associated with cowardice and lowly social status, whereas the Pennsylvania German use of the term in narrative and belief suggests "earthiness" in the sense of an ordinary person or noble *Bauer*.

The symbolic association of Pennsylvania Germans with chickens is evident from non-Pennsylvania-German versions of Mahlon Hellerich's story of *Hinkeldreck*, which typically leave out the chicken motif. An example is one I included in my collection *American Children's Folklore*:

> It was the first day of school and the children filed into the classroom and took their seats. Teacher says, "All right, boys and girls. Now I want you

all to stand up one at a time and tell everybody here your name, so we will all get to know each other." First little boy stood up and said, "My name is John Brown." "Very good, John, you may be seated." Next a little girl stood up and said, "My name is Nancy Jones." "Very good, Nancy you may be seated." Next a little girl stood up and said, "My name is Pissy Smith." The teacher said, "You mustn't talk that way. We're in school, you know. Now tell us your real name." "My name is Pissy Smith," the little girl said. The teacher again reminded the little girl where she was and again asked her to give her real name. The little girl for the third time said, "My name is Pissy Smith." Okay, the teacher said, "one more chance to tell us your real name or leave." The little girl again said, "My name is Pissy Smith." "Get out," the teacher said, "until you can learn to talk right." As Pissy left the room, she said to a little boy in the back row, "Come on, Shit Head, she won't believe you either!" (Bronner 1988, 135).

Both stories revolve around the prudish authoritarian teacher sceptical about the child's name. In both stories, the first child's name belongs to a girl while the second, invariably referring to excrement, is to the little brother. There is, therefore, suggested a social hierarchy of dirt—from the feminine to the masculine, and in age from the older to the younger (presumably closer to the age of toilet training). In contrast to Hellerich's story, however, the above narrative lacks the ethnic associations of the *Hinkel* representing the farm life of the Pennsylvania Germans. Hellerich also suggests a linguistic and cultural difference, not just a moralistic one, concerning the use of German sounding names to the English teacher.[3]

Of significance in Hellerich's narrative is the boundary between inside and outside the house. It is not only the name that the teacher does not believe exists but the human association with earthly dirt. Inside the house in the narrative is presumably clean, while outside is dirty, but the mother relates to what she sees as the surrounding context for her onomastic texts, and perhaps implies the pre-toilet-training status of children with defecation. The wagon wheel is a clue that the teacher does not get, for as Brendle's abundant examples of excrementa showed, the wagon wheel in the yard is associated linguistically with "*Mischt*" or "mess." The *Hinkel* is significant because it, and its droppings, cover the yard. The children appear to occupy a middle position between the clean inside and dirty outside. A popular ring game known in English as "Ring around the Rosey" among Pennsylvania German children, for example, differs from the English version by its reference to *Dreck*:

Ringe, Ringe, Rosen
Die Buben tragen Hosen
Die Maedeln tragen Roeck
Un fallen dann in Dreck

[Ring around a rosey,
The boys wear pants
The girls wear skirts
And fall in the dirt.] (Beam 1995, 106).

In the English version, the children "fall down" rather than specifying the *Dreck* as a happy destination. The mother could be viewed relating to the *Hinkel* outside as a hen would to her chicks, but the English teacher cannot understand the inclination, and in fact, judges it negatively. In the humor, then, is an indictment of the English establishment as harshly judging or suppressing the Germans as different, to be sure, but additionally as dirty. The story absorbs the exoteric judgment and turns it into an esoteric source of pride. The name *Hinkeldreck* signals ethnic separation for the boy as a symbol for his group (and its culture handed down from his mother) and it also can be viewed as an act of verbal aggression hurling "shit" at the establishment that "looks down" on the group like dirt.

One of the traditional tales I have collected that further connects the *Hinkel* with *Dreck* and contrasts it in an indicting way with the sacred establishment concerns a man on his way home who cannot hold his bowel movement. Thinking that no one sees him, he goes to the side of the road and defecates. But a minister comes up the hill and the man quickly covers the pile with his hat. The minister asks him what he is doing on the side of the road, and the man explains defensively that he has caught one of his chicks escaping from the barnyard under his hat. The minister offers to buy the bird, and the man agrees only if the minister picks up the hat after the man is out of sight. The priest bends down to grab the bird, and gets feces on his hands (Aarne-Thompson [AT] Tale Type 1528). The AT index shows that the story was originally documented in Germany as a moral tale as early as the fourteenth century, but it is most often related in the twentieth century as a joke (Uther 2004, 2:257-58).

The other animal associated with the production of feces in the Pennsylvania German world is the horse and it, too, is pervasive in Pennsylvania German folklore. A common parody of the "Our father" prayer in the dialect, for example, is:

> Unser Vadder, wer du bischt
> Marye faahre mer wider Mischt
> Freidaag faahre mer die grosse Load
> Bis Samschdaag faahre der Schimmel dod
>
> [Our father, who you are
> Tomorrow we haul manure
> Friday we haul the big load
> Until Saturday the horse is dead.] (Beam 1995, 55)

Like other references to ritualized dirt, there is a contrast to the sacred category of cleanliness as a difference between the spiritual and the earthly. Also like the chicken, the horse has benefits for humans, but people may express ambivalence toward the animal because of its being immersed in feces, and perhaps for male tellers the status of the horse as a male rival. The linguistic association in the dialect of *Geilsdreck* (horseshit) is of manure that is particularly abundant and potent. The size of the animal, and its muscular appearance, as well as fantasies about its sexual organ, give it a masculine symbolism compared to the feminine chicken.

One indication of the symbolic associations of the chicken with the feminine and the horse with the masculine affecting their characterizations in storytelling is a contemporary sounding pseudo-fable told about a chicken and a horse playing

together in a barnyard. Tellers then describe the horse falling into a pit or mudpile. The horse yells to the chicken to get the farmer to help. Unable to locate the farmer, the chicken gets the farmer's fancy car (described as a BMW, Mercedes, or Porsche) and drives it to the mud pit, throws a rope to the horse, and ties it to the car to pull him out. The horse is grateful to the chicken for saving his life. A few days later, the two animals are playing again and this time the chicken falls into the mud pit or manure pile and the chicken exclaims, "Help me, go get the farmer!" The horse says, "No, I think I can save you." The horse stretches across the mud pit and tells the chicken to grab on to his penis. The chicken clutches it, the horse stretches back, and the horse saves the chicken's life. The moral of the story, male tellers like to say, is that if you are hung like a horse you don't need a fancy car to pick up chicks. The fear that both have is of being submerged in dirt, or feces, suggesting a projection of the male teller's concerns to the animals' plight. Although both the masculine and feminine animals become lodged in the dirt, it is the masculine horse—an alter-ego for the farmer/teller—that becomes the hero.[4] In another way, the story is unusual in Pennsylvania German lore in its sexual content because unlike American popular culture, the German repertoire of risqué narrative emphasizes "earthy" themes of excrement and anality over phallo-centric motifs (Dundes 1984, 87).

One way that Pennsylvania German folk humor mediates between the animal as benefactor (as well as metaphor for the culture) and its association with masculinized dirt is to show the farmer's obliviousness to the *Mischt*, suggesting the normative "earthy" existence. Here, for example, are two versions of a joke about a horse stable filled with feces told to me at a Pennsylvania German gathering in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, in 2005.

> A farmer was a little lazy and he didn't clean out the horse stable. The manure got so high that the horse hit his head on a beam about the door. This made the horse dizzy and he couldn't work. The farmer hired a carpenter to raise the beam so the horse wouldn't hit his head. When the carpenter asked why the farmer hadn't removed the manure, he replied, "the horse hits his head not his feet."

> Bob went to see an Amish friend. When he got to the house the man's wife answered the door, "Hello Bop, what do you want?" He says, "I came to see Abie." "Vell, he's at the barn verking." Going to the barn he sees Abie on a ladder with a hatchet, chopping at the top beam of the door to he horse stable. "What are you doing Abie?" "Vell hello Bop, you see I have this horse whose ears are too long, and they rub the beam and getting sore." "Well, Abie, why don't you take some of the manure away at the bottom? You vern't listening Bop, I said his ears were too long, not his legs."

In the second narrative, although told by a Pennsylvania German male narrator in his 60s, he uses the Amish to intensify the connection to farm life and dialect of Pennsylvania Germans. Reflecting on the story after he told it, he expressed the view that the Amish are living the life that Pennsylvania Germans used to, and he felt that Pennsylvania Germans had lost their identity with the decline of the dialect and agrarian lifestyle.

The Pennsylvania German obsession with cleanliness comes up in a joke I heard frequently about a farmer dealing with the problem of a sickly horse. The farmer wants to avoid going to the veterinarian, so he goes to the neighbor (sometimes identified as non-Pennsylvania-German or "English") for help. The neighbor says, "Oh yes, he's got something that worked wonders for him." He takes a tube with him to see the sickly horse and sticks the tube in the horse's rear end. He proceeds to blow into it, but the horse still would not stand. The farmer says to his neighbor, "Here, let me try." The neighbor says, "Sure, come on back." The farmer takes the tube out of the horse's butt and turns it around. He then sticks the tube back in the horse's anus. "What did you do that for?" the neighbor asks. The farmer replies, "I wasn't going to blow in it after you had your mouth on it!" In a common variant, the farmer does go to the vet and says, "My horse is constipated." The vet suggests, "Take one of these pills, put it in a long tube, stick the other end in the horse's ass, and blow the pill up there." But he comes back the next day and he looks sick. The veterinarian asks, "what happened?" The Dutch farmer says, "The horse blew first." In both versions, reversals occur between human and animal, triggered by the insertion of a tube physically linking man and horse. In the first narrative, the theme of obliviousness to the ritualized dirt coming out of the anus recurs, while in the second narrative, this dirt, in the form of flatulence, is the expression of the animal's potency. Tracing the high number of German folklore texts confusing the oral and anal, folklorist Alan Dundes suggests that the oral action (expressed as "*Leck mich am Arsch*" or ass licking) implies "eating shit. . .the ultimate degradation" (Dundes 1984, 48). Brendle documents a Pennsylvania German children's custom that verifies this view. He observes that as children going to school passed excrement on the ground, they would spit. Children want to avoid being the last one to spit or of not spitting because they will be accused of metaphorically eating "shit" (Beam 1995, 98).

A corroborating bit of evidence of the confusion of the oral and anal in German cultural sources is the devilish character of the German character Eulenspiegel (rendered often in Pennsylvania German as Eileschpigel) traced to the meaning of the name in forms of "*Leck mich am Arsch.*" According to this theory, "*Eulen*" in the first part of the name means to wipe or clean and "*Spiegel*" refers to the posterior (Collofino 1939, 1048; Dundes 1984, 49). In a Pennsylvania German story recorded by Brendle and Troxell that may be given in support of the theory (and relates to Hellerich's association of the mother with manure and the dreck-water substitution in the powwow parody), Eileschpigel is said to be baptized three times in one day. One time was by a pastor with water in the church, and the second is when his mother brought him outside and he fell into the "*Mischt.*" The third is when she washed him clean (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 176).

The anal Eileschpigel appears in Pennsylvania German folklore in a variant of Tale Type 1528 mentioned earlier about the minister thinking he was getting a bird grabbing feces under a hat. Brendle and Troxell collected it from Mrs. Emma Faustner of Bath, Pennsylvania, who said:

> When Eileschipijjel's end drew near, he filled a box with worthless things and nailed it up tightly. Then taking the box he went to his pastor. He asked the pastor to preach a good sermon over his remains.
>
> "As a reward for your services you will receive this box which I have

filled with things for you," said Eileschipijjel.

The pastor conducted the funeral with an eye to the reward that was coming to him. After the burial he was given the box that Eileschipijjel had made ready. He hastened home and eagerly opened the box, and found in it nothing but rubbish.

The "rubbish" in the text represents waste, and may very well have been *Dreck* originally, but was edited by Brendle and Troxell or cleaned up by the teller. Worth noting is the rhetorical strategy also found in Hellerich's story of shocking the establishment (or sacred) figure with ritual dirt, echoing an infant's act of defecation as a gift, an unwelcome gift for the mother (Dundes 1984, 34).

Eileschipigel in contests, usually with the devil, shows his superior ability with the aid of trickery to haul loads, make piles, and throw sheaves. The actions suggest an anal ejective function, and being portrayed in this way, Eileschpigel figuratively soils the profane devil and wipes himself clean. He typically gloats after completing his task, finding pleasure in his discharge, usually done, he emphasizes, without exertion. In a story that is reminiscent of the narrated confusion between oral and anal actions between human and horse given earlier, Eileschpigel goes out hunting with an old musket. As Brendle and Troxell record it,

The devil came along and seeing the musket asked, "What is that?"

Eileschipijjel answered, "A smoke pipe" [*Schmokpeif*] and turning the end of the barrel to the devil, said, "Take a puff."

The devil took the end of the barrel into his mouth and began to suck. Thereupon Eileschipijjel pulled the trigger and the bullet and the smoke flew into the devil's mouth.

The devil, coughing and gasping for breath, spat out the bullet and said, "You—you surely use strong tobacco." (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 161)

Although Brendle and Troxell published this narrative as related by Anson Sittler of Egypt, Pennsylvania, they comment that it is told by "many others," suggesting its wide circulation. Brendle in his journal added linguistic evidence for the pleasure of defecation by noting the idiomatic phrase "*Ich muss en Tschabb schaffe*" and "*Ich muss naus*" [both of which he translated as "I must ease myself"] (Beam 1995, 68).

One theory explaining the male fascination with anality in folk narratives is that it represents ejection as a form of creation, simulating by males in fantasy the female ability to give birth (Dundes 1962). A striking part of the Pennsylvania German corpus that may invite this interpretation is the story of "The Mule's Egg" reported as "quite widely heard" by Brendle and Troxell:

Eileschipijjel came across a pumpkin and did not know what it was. As he was looking it over, a man came along and asked, "Do you know what that is?"

Answered Eileschipijjel, "I do not. I never saw anything like it."

The man said, "That is a mule's egg and if you sit on it for three weeks there will be a young mule."

Eileschipijjel reflected upon the matter and decided that it would be worthwhile to sit on the mule egg for three weeks. He proceeded to sit on the pumpkin.

Becoming tired in a short time, he arose and rolled the pumpkin down the hill. The pumpkin rolled on until it hit a boulder and flew into pieces. At that very moment a rabbit that had been nesting at the boulder scurried away. Seeing the rabbit, Eileschipijjel cried,

"Hee-haw little colt, here is your mammy" [Hie-ha Hutchehelli, Do is dei Mudderli] (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 169-70)

The trickster character, as such able to take risks, squats on the pumpkin in an anal position, and as he rises, the pumpkin as a kind of discharge descends toward the ground and breaks apart. There is a transformation into a rabbit, often associated with the abundant production of dung pellets.

A connection is frequently made in German lore between the taint of money and the dirt of feces, sometimes being used to link values placed on being orderly, parsimonious, industrious, and obstinate (Dundes 1984, 80). All these traits are attributed in literature and lore to Pennsylvania Germans. Alan Dundes points out that "While the money-feces equation is found outside German culture, it is nowhere more explicit than in German folklore. One thinks of the goose that laid the golden egg (Motif B103.2.1, Treasure-laying bird) or the donkey which defecates gold (Motif B 103.1.1, Gold producing ass) or perhaps even German version of Aarne-Thompson tale type 500, The Name of the Helper. In that folktale, the heroine's parent boasts that the girl can spin straw into gold—is it the straw found in the stable? If so, it would very likely contain animal manure" (Dundes 1984, 81-82). An Eileschpigel cycle that utilizes the money-feces equation is the story titled "The Devil Wants Eileschpijjel's Soul" by Brendle and Troxell.

Eileschpijjel sold his soul to the devil on the understanding that the devil was to fill a room with gold for him.

The devil was willing and a hole was made in the ceiling of a large room. Thereupon the devil began to pour gold into the room.

Eileschpijjel, however, had made a hole in the floor of the room. When the devil found that it was impossible to fill the room, he disappeared. (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 158)

The trickster triumphs because he has directed the gold poured into the top of the room, like a mouth, through a cavity on the bottom that could be called anal. The trickster derives great pleasure from the evacuation of the room's contents, suggesting, if one accepts the metaphor of the anal cavity, an equivalence of gold and feces. The boundary crossing of the trickster adjusting the defecation process to create wealth and pleasure can be taken a sign of the culture's adaptability, particularly to an uncomfortable environment. Psychologists David M. Abrams and Brian Sutton-Smith observe in a comparison of global trickster tales that in a complex society, the trickster genre expresses an emotional ambivalence toward the success-orientation or privilege of the dominant society, and expresses a value placed on adaptability and flexibility as an alternative (Abrams and Sutton-Smith 1977, 45). This view brings

into relief Dundes's example of the chicken coop ladder as conveying ambivalence toward the drive toward success and the German signification of *Dreck* to show pleasure and independence. The violation of taboo was a particular form of culturally symbolic reversal that contributes to cultural stability, not to its downfall. As Abrams and Sutton-Smith observe, "Dealing in such symbolic contraries appears to deliver the group from the frustrations that arise out of the entrapment in a particular form of adaptation"; mocking authority figures and exaggerating trickery, the trickster remains autonomous (Abrams and Sutton-Smith 1977, 45-46).

From a psychoanalytic viewpoint, the money-feces equation is a cognitive reaction to a preoccupation with things unclean, and the cultural context of rural life, with its earthiness, intensifies the need for order. Indeed, Pennsylvania Germans, as do Germans, indicate in folk speech a sense of satisfaction or normality by saying "*alles in Ordnung*" (everything is in order). Folklore provides an outlet to symbolize the drive to be fastidious about cleanliness, perhaps deriving from early toilet training and culturally inherited values, although one desires to revel in defecation as a source of pleasure, and in the German context, often a sense of identity. In the fantasy of the story, one may read the transformation of feces as something pleasurable but dirty, into something valuable and clean. Immobility is viewed as a form of constipation and anal retention, and associated often in stories with efforts in the barnyard to force ejection. The most common type is told about horses that get stuck, and as I have pointed out, the feces produced by horses are considered especially abundant and potent in the social hierarchy of animals constructed by humans. Brendle and Troxell give six versions of a story relating the insertion of an implement into the horse or symbolically, the *rear* of the wagon, with a human falling dead to the ground. An example is one they report from Bucks County, Pennsylvania:

> A farmer, hauling hay and grain to Philadelphia, found that, whenever he was passing a certain inn, his horses stopped. He was advised to take a revolver along and, should his horses to stop again at the same place, he was to get off the wagon and walk around the rear, and shoot into the hub of the hind wheel on the other side. This he did, and his horses immediately went on. The next day he learned that a man sitting in the bar-room had fallen over dead. (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 98-99)

This relates to a story of horses categorically out of place because they are out of the stable with its association with manure. In the following story, the contrast is again made with the "unnatural" *Braucher* and the "natural" movement of animal and human:

> There was a farmer who found that his horses would not enter the stable when he brought them in from the fields, after a day's hard work. They refused to cross the door sill, and, though he took off their harnesses, they only entered after he had used the whip upon them.
>
> He consulted a braucher, and was advised, that should they again refuse to cross the door sill of the stable, he was to take a sixteen or twenty penny nail and slowly pound it into the sill.
>
> A short time thereafter it again happened that the horses balked against

entering the stable. Thereupon, he took a nail and hammered it into the sill, to one-third or one-half its length. He had scarcely done this before an old woman came along and told him to draw out the nail or she would die.

Thereafter the horses never balked. (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 97-98)

Related to animate objects that cannot move is the frequent reference to narratives about inanimate items stolen. Brendle and Troxell are at a loss to explain why so many narratives revolve around theft (often humorously described as the owner's misplacement of objects mistakenly thought to be the result of a burglary), when a presupposition is that the strong social bond among Pennsylvania Germans results in a trusting community. Following the previous interpretation is that the fantasy of the story reflects an anal order because the objects, like emissions that belong to one's body, are out of place. The story treats this misplacement as a serious violation not just of property but of personal well-being. In many narratives, the humor serves to remind listeners that the objects or piles of them can be easily recovered, often to the embarrassment of the neurotic owner. In supernatural tales, a wheel associated with a natural circle shape (or anus) brings the thief to return the stolen goods. In the first of four versions published of this type published by Brendle and Troxell, a farmer discovers that a bag of corn on the ear had been stolen. The farmer goes to his wheelbarrow (used to haul manure) and turns the wheel backwards. At first he moves the wheel slowly, "then faster and faster, all the while repeating some mystic words. When the wheel was revolving at its highest speed, the thief came running breathlessly from behind the barn with the bag of stolen corn" (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 177). In a more direct signification of the Pennsylvania German farmer's anality, a farmer has his purse stolen. In Brendle and Troxell's published version from Allentown, Pennsylvania,

To discover the thief, he went into the stable and rubbed balsam on the tail of his donkey.

Then he called his men together and said, "One of you stole my purse, and I am going to discover which one of you is the thief. One by one you must go into the stable and rub your hands upon the donkey's tail and when he who stole the purse touches the tail, the donkey will bray."

All the men went into the stable, one by one, and all came out, but the donkey didn't bray. Thereupon the master lined the ten men against a wall. He went along the line, took their hands and smelled at them. He came to one whose hands were free from the odor of balsam. To him he said, "You are the thief. Your hands betray you." (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 181-82)

The hands are supposed to have an earthy odor connected with the donkey, known in colloquial speech as an "ass," the same name given to the human posterior. And the recovered goods are coins kept in a sack (*Tasch*) substituted magically with anal odor, suggesting again the money-feces equation.

Another form is of guns that would not shoot, and as the previous Eileschpigel story shows, the gun, while often interpreted in psychoanalytical treatises as phallic, in Pennsylvania German stories appears anal. In the Schnitzelbank song, for example, there is a lyrical reference to a "shooting gun" (*Schiessgewehr*) playing

on the resemblance of *schiess*, or shoot, to *scheiss*, or shit. The "bank" image itself, with a craftsman sitting on the plank ejecting shavings in carving, suggests an anal ejective function (a "bank" is often associated in Pennsylvania German with a manure wagon). In Brendle and Troxell's collected narratives, there is a force that takes away the power to shoot (*schiess*, with its symbolic equivalent of *scheiss* or shit) from the anal gun. In the following story, for example, from Perkiomenville, Pennsylvania, a woman is the culprit and her curse is eliminated by destroying a cat associated with feminine power.

> In the days of muzzle loading guns, it was believed that envious people could and would "take the fire from a gun."
>
> Two men of the Perkiomen Valley, while out hunting, passed a cabin. An old woman who was in the yard looked at them intently, and then tucked one corner of her apron under her apron strings. The hunters went on, but had no success.
>
> Game was plentiful, and the shots were easy, but the hunters were unable to hit whatever they shot at. They, then, concluded that the old woman had put a spell on their guns.
>
> One of them suggested that they leave the open fields, and take to the road, and if perchance they would come upon a cat, they would shoot her; and that would restore the killing power to the guns.
>
> They took to the road, and shot a cat. Thereafter, they easily shot whatever game they saw. (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 101-2).

Evidence of the anal metaphor is the contextual explanation given by the collectors that a charm would cause the shot to fall to the ground as soon as it left the barrel, suggesting the weakness of the ejection. A similar narrative motif is found in another version that the collectors claim is "widely heard." A man boasts that "he could take the shot from a gun; that is he could cause the shot to drop straightaway to the ground as soon as it came from the mouth of the barrel" (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 203).

A third type of distress in this group of stories is created by cream that will not turn to butter, suggesting a bodily transformation from food churned into feces. Often the motif of a bag is introduced which magically helps the transformation and destroys the curser. In one of five versions collected by Brendle and Troxell, for instance, a family is told to take "a flour bag [*Mehlsack*] and pour a dipperful of cream from the churn into the bag and beat it well with a stout cudgel. This was done, and thereupon the cream readily turned to butter." They subsequently discover that an "old lady" had fallen and broken a leg. The bag simulates the action of a digestive bladder that has been "stopped" by the charmer. The flour or "meal" is connected in Pennsylvania German proverbs with the fertile field, as indicated by "*Der Hawwer sucht sei Mehl uff em Feld*" [Oats looks for its flour in the field] (Beam 1995, 56).

The other side of the coin from a lack of movement in the money-feces equation is of finding treasure. But this find can also imply a lack of order, or regularity, in life, since it involves a massive change of fortune. Most Pennsylvania German stories about treasure are about fortunes buried in the ground or down a hole, again making a link to a certain earthiness and anality. And in most stories, the fortune is not found,

as if to warn against the irregularity of not only a lack of ejective production until one finds the fortune, but of soiling oneself in the process of digging. One can see the connection to concentrated defecation in the motif of maintaining silence while digging in a hole. Brendle and Troxell give seven different variants of the motif that the hidden treasure must be sought for in silence. In the first story given by Edwin Long of Geryville, Pennsylvania, searchers dutifully remain silent while digging until they look up and see the devil, identified in one version as "*dar Mann mit em Mischdhoke*," the man with the manure hook (connected as well with the animal symbol of "*der mit de gloee Fies*" or cloven feet) (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 46). In another version showing a possible money-feces connection, the searchers open the chest after digging, and find it full of gold pieces. In a violation of anal retention, one digger is "unable to restrain his joy" and yells "Now, we'll be rich," which causes the chest to disappear (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 46).

The social hierarchy of animals in relation to literally working in the "dirt" occurs in a version from Laurys Station, Pennsylvania. In it, the added motif of the searchers digging within a ring further adds to the anal symbolism.

> N.N. heard that a treasure was buried at the Sand Bank, not far from Hellertown. He and several others went to a *braucher* who told them to draw a ring around the spot where the treasure was supposed to be, and then, in absolute silence, they were to dig within the ring.
>
> Soon after they began digging, a flock of blackbirds flew on a tree nearby. The birds whistled and sang, but the men kept on digging.
>
> Then a hen with a flock of chicks came to the ring, but the men paid no attention to her, and kept on digging.
>
> Then came an ugly ferocious looking boar up to the ring, and one of the men became scared and cried out, "*Huss*!" [Exclamatory word used in driving pigs]
>
> The boar immediately vanished. The men ceased digging for they knew that it would be impossible for them to find the treasure after one had broken the injunction of silence. (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 49)

Sometimes the pigs, representing animals that root in the dirt, become replaced by money. In a story from Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, the searcher hears that he needs "seven brothers" to find the treasure. He remembers that his sow had a litter of seven. He took the seven little pigs down into the cellar and the next morning he found them torn to pieces, and on the floor lay a large pile of money (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 52, 53).

Treasures found in beds suggest defecation as the soiling of sheets or in pants, often with the mother in view. The German counting-out rhyme relates, for example, "*Herbert hat ins Bett geschissen, Gerade aufs Paradekissen, Mutter hat's geseh'n—Und du kannst geh'n*! [Herbert has shit in bed, Right on the good pillow, Mother has seen it, And you can go out]" (Dundes 1984, 33). Finding treasures in bed (suggesting feces as gifts or rewards) is known by folklorists as widely circulating tale type 1645B "Dream of Marking the Treasure." A man (e.g., farmer, poor man, miser, fool) dreams that he finds a treasure or is told (often by the devil or spirit) where a treasure is buried. It is too heavy for him to carry so he marks the place with his own excrement. In the

morning he finds that only the end of this dream was true: he has defecated in his bed. In Brendle and Troxell's collection, a Pennsylvania German narrative involves the mother guiding a daughter and subservient character to treasure:

> After old mother N.N., who died at the home of her daughter, had been buried, the daughter asked her maid whether she would occupy the bedroom where the old lady had slept.
>
> "Surely! Why not?" answered the maid. "Your mother was a good woman and harmed no one while she was living, and now she has found rest and will never come back to this world."
>
> The first night that the maid slept in the room, she awoke around midnight and saw the mother sitting at the foot of the bed. The next morning she told her mistress, who smiled and said, "That was only a dream. Nothing more."
>
> Several nights later the maid again saw the mother sitting at the foot of the bed and again she told her mistress. Unwilling to believe that the maid had seen her mother, because she could not understand why her mother should come back from the grave, the daughter resolved to sleep with the maid, and should her mother appear, to ask of her what she sought.
>
> That very night the mother appeared. The daughter asked, "What is your desire?" The mother answered that the bedpost where she was sitting had been chiselled out and much money concealed in it, and then disappeared.
>
> They searched and found a large sum of money. The old woman never reappeared thereafter. (Brendle and Troxell 1944, 54-55)

Related to this symbolic equivalence of money and feces is the linguistic use of "deposit" as both finance and excrement. Common in the United States is variation of the riddle-joke "What is the difference between a bankrupt lawyer and a pigeon? The pigeon can still make a deposit on a Mercedes." To show the German variation of the gold-feces equation, Dundes gives the following wellerism from oral tradition, "*Es is nicht alles Gold, was glänzt! Sagt der Herr—da war er in einen Haufen Kleinkinderscheisse getreten*" [All is not gold that glistens, said the man as he stepped into a pile of baby shit] (Dundes 1984, 103-4).

While this equivalence is widespread, a German distinction, according to anthropologists, is the high status accorded to the display of piles of manure. Dundes finds that the pile of manure in front of a house served as a public proclamation of wealth in Germany as early as the seventeenth century. This assessment was based on the greater amount of manure created by a family owning more farm animals. In the nineteenth century, a chronicle of Saxony announces that "boys and girls in the streets, with a barrow, broom, and shovel, gathering up the horse-dung for the increase of the much-prized muck-heap at the back of every dwelling" (Mayhew 186, 2:611). In the late twentieth century, anthropologist Ethel Nurge studying village life in the Vogelsberg region of Germany found that "One of the symbols of household wealth is the size of the manure pile. The manure pile stands in the front yard. Decades and centuries ago it must have been a more important symbol of the industry and wealth of a family than it is today but even today, when a family builds a

new house and could put their manure heap in the back by changing floor plans and work routes, they do not; they put it in the front" (Nurge 1977, 137).

Even in the twenty-first century, I heard reference from neighbors to tolerance for dog dung left in the streets in my northern Rhineland city as relating to older rural customs of status associated with animal manure. I found it strange at first that there should be such an emphasis on cleanliness in the homes and mess on the streets, until the folk explanation was given. Another related puzzle that may be solved by an understanding of anality was the insistence on tight "water closets" for toilets throughout the Rhineland. It may appear to be another example of a continental cultural construction of categories of clean and dirty zones, since this segregation of the toilet is not shared in the United States and the United Kingdom. But another possibility is that there is also a reveling in the defecation or materially representing a tight anus by being enclosed by walls in stink (even getting a chance to look at one's results in popular "platform" toilets and go through the process of focusing on it as it is wiped away). Indeed, at the Festival of the Relief of Leiden (*Leidens Ontzet*) in 2005, a water closet was featured humorously in the annual parade as a cultural icon along with windmills and wooden shoes. This information suggests that in Hellerich's narrative, the symbolic opposition of German and English in the story is made even greater by the possibility of a Rhineland attribution of value, and identity association, given to manure while the English view it as a sign of depravation.

Having argued that the Pennsylvania German "earthy" attitude toward manure as a marker of rural identity is rooted in German cultural sources, the question arises to differences between Pennsylvania Germans in the American setting and Germans in the European homeland. The essential distinction is the ethnic status of Pennsylvania Germans in the United States, and particularly the collective memory in the Middle Atlantic region of homogenous settlements where Pennsylvania German was the workaday language before modernization broke down the isolation and self-contained folklife of Pennsylvania German farming communities. Especially expressive in the onomastic details told by Hellerich and in others is the identity of Pennsylvania Germans as a linguistic community tied to the land. When performed among Pennsylvania Germans, the story serves to ask about the sources of identity once these two important markers disappear. Brendle's corpus did not reference ethnic status as much as it did a separate world apparently homogenously Pennsylvania-German. Richard Beam observes, for example, that Brendle's collecting in 1942 in Lehigh County, "was a time when the PG culture was the dominant one in many of the rural sections of southeastern Pennsylvania." Into the twenty-first century, Beam sighs, "Among the non-sectarian Pennsylvania Dutch only the oldest generation speaks the dialect fluently and not all of those are bearers of traditional sayings and beliefs" (Beam 1995, vii, ii).

Yet a dialect folklore, rather than folklore being in the dialect, continues, because it has to, for a generation understanding its relation to a rural heritage and ethnic identity and resolving cultural conflicts through symbols in folklore's fictive plane. Without that heritage, since many Pennsylvania Germans have left the land, without the dialect, the ethnic identity revolves around the perception of cultural difference in values and the collective memory of a common historical experience. The big difference between Brendle and Troxell's corpus and mine, for example, is that the mid-twentieth century repertoire barely mentioned outsiders to the culture. The

anecdotes and jokes in today's material is preoccupied with what it means to be Pennsylvania German in relation to modern American society, symbolized as the authoritarian establishment in the center with Pennsylvania Germans at the margins, and it draws liberally therefore on earthiness as an identifying Pennsylvania German theme. The inside-outside distinction for ethnicity seems more blurred in modern consciousness and the dialect folklore acts to bring order and boundary to a non-racial status for Pennsylvania Germans. The signification of anality in modern Pennsylvania German folklore speaks to adaptability under changing conditions, and the understanding of a Pennsylvania German past to the creation of an ethnic self in modern life.

Pennsylvania State University-Harrisburg
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] Wherever possible in the text I have used the orthographic standard for Pennsylvania-German (sometimes known as *Pennsylfaanisch* or *Deitsch* in the dialect), the Buffington-Barba system developed after the 1950s. Since the dialect is primarily an oral language and was differentiated in the culture from "High German" used in worship services, it did not develop a standard spelling for literature. However, when quoting texts published by Brendle and Troxell, and others, I have preserved their original orthography.

[2] Alan Dundes in his survey of scatological scholarship finds that "the bulk of scholarship has been traditionally written in German or by Germans," suggesting that this interest arises from a German obsession with *Dreck*. See Dundes 1984, 79-80.

[3] Alan Dundes states that "the delight in pseudo-scatological names is a longstanding tradition in Germany." He points out that Wittenwiler's fifteenth-century mock epic *The Ring* has three peasants with names referring to cow dung: *Ochsenkäs* [Ox cheese], *Fladenranft* [Cow pie] and *Rindtaisch* [Cow dung] while one of the hero's kinswomen is named Jützin Scheissindpluomen [Shit-in-the-flowers]. He also quotes wordplay by Mozart in which he described "Dutchess Smackbottom and Princess Dunghill" (Dundes 1984, 72-73).

[4] A similarity can be detected to another pseudo-fable collected by Alan Dundes in Germany in 1979, although it has different animals used as characters: *Eine Maus ist auf der Flucht vor einer Katze. Auf der Wiese steht eine Kuh, die gerade einen Kuhfladen macht, der glücklicherweise auf die Maus fällt. Nur die Schwanzspitze schaut noch heraus. Die Katze zieht die Maus am Schwanz aus dem Kuflfladen heraus, reinigt sie und frisst sie auf.*

> *Moral: 1. Nicht jeder, der dich bescheisst, meint es mit dir schlecht. 2. Nicht jeder, der dich aus der Scheisse zieht, meint es mit dir gut. 3. Wenn du schon in der Scheisse steckst, so ziehe wenigstens den Schwanz ein.*

[A mouse was being chased by a cat. A cow was standing in the meadow and was dropping a cow pie which fortunately fell on the mouse. Just the tail stuck out. The

cat pulled the mouse out by the tail, cleaned it off, and ate it. The moral of the story is (1) Not everyone who shits on you means you ill. (2) Not everyone who pulls you out of the shit means you well. (3) If you find yourself in the shit, at least pull your tail in.] (Dundes 1984, 35-36).

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David W. Kriebel

Powwowing: A Traditional Pennsylvania German Healing Practice

Powwowing, or *Brauche (Braucherei)* in the Pennsylvania German dialect, is a magico-religious practice whose chief purpose is the healing of physical ailments in humans or animals. In the past it has had other aims as well, such as conferring protection from physical or spiritual harm, bringing good luck, and revealing hidden information. The practice has been present on this continent since the first German-speaking settlements were established in Pennsylvania, although as Don Yoder notes, it has its roots in much older German esoteric traditions (Yoder 1976).

In the following pages I will present my research on powwowing, with special emphasis on the practice as it has existed in central and southeastern Pennsylvania during the twentieth century. I will describe my fieldwork experience, acquaint you with powwowing rituals and some of the methods for training powwowers, and outline a tentative cultural model of healing among the Pennsylvania Germans which accommodates both powwowing and biomedicine.

I have performed ethnographic fieldwork on powwowing in Adams, Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Montgomery, Schuylkill, and York counties. While I continue to investigate the subject, my most intense period of fieldwork was between August 1998 and October 2000. One of my main objectives was to document the existence of living, practicing powwowers and witness a powwow ritual. However, tracking down existing powwowers and powwow clients was difficult for three reasons.

First, there is a perception within the culture area that powwowing is no longer practiced. In fact, fewer than half of the people I spoke with had even heard of it. Second, former patients and practitioners are afraid that others will label them crazy, or at a minimum, old-fashioned and "dutchy." Finally, there is opposition to the practice by certain religious individuals who believe either that powwowing's efficacy derives from the devil or that spiritual healing should be the province of organized churches, as well as by those who believe powwowing is inconsistent with a modern, scientific worldview. Accordingly, my fieldwork involved a great deal of detective work. However, I was able to obtain information on at least eight living powwowers in southeastern and south-central Pennsylvania, and have reports that at least 8 to 12 others also exist in that region. I was also able to acquire material on 100 twentieth–century cases. Most of my data was based on first-hand interviews with powwowers, clients, and family members, supplemented by documentary research, survey data, and participant observation.

Powwowing Rituals

Powwowing rituals involve the use of one or more acts which I have classified as verbal, somatic, and material components. Verbal components are incantations, whether audible or subvocalized, somatic may be gestures or specific body positions, and material are the manipulation of physical objects. In the past, powwowers used Bible verses in their incantations or performed rituals prescribed in manuals such as John George Hohman's *Der lang verborgene Schatz und Haus Freund* (usually published in English as *The Long Lost Friend*, but more accurately rendered as *The Long Hidden Friend*), *Albertus Magnus Egyptian Secrets*, or even the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*. However, only one contemporary powwower I interviewed used any manual or spell book other than the Bible. Few powwowers have ever admitted using *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, since this work is considered a "hex book," or a work of the devil by many of those who know about it. It can be speculated that the decline in the use of such books is a result of the 1929 York "Witch Trial" and the subsequent calls for "superstition" to be eradicated by the introduction of scientific education.

Three distinct ritual genres may be distinguished, which I refer to as Type I, II, and III rituals. Type I rituals are simple, easy to learn, and almost always used by non-professionals. There is no verbal component and their healing power is limited to one ailment. Examples are curing a wart by rubbing a potato on it, or passing a young child around a table leg to cure livergrown. Type II rituals also use relatively simple rituals which are quick and easy to learn, yet are used by professionals and non-professionals. No more than two components are used, but the ritual typically includes a verbal component. Healing is limited to a class of ailments (e.g., skin diseases, bleeding, burns). A good example of a type II ritual is the use of Ezekiel 16.6 to stop bleeding.

Type III rituals are complex, difficult to learn, and always used by professional powwowers. They involve more than one component and can heal a wide range of ailments. They take place in a special treatment area used for powwowing and the powwower generally receives a donation ("offering") for his or her services. A typical Type III performance would consist of the powwower's moving his or her hands over the patient's body, though not touching the skin, and "drawing" symbols such as crosses, while subvocally uttering complex incantations. Such a ritual takes 15-20 minutes and may be repeated three times. After running his or her hands over the patient, the powwower will make wringing motions with them in order to shake off the symptoms of the affliction—though not the affliction itself–removed from the client.

Types of Powwow Practice

Powwowers practicing during the twentieth century may be classified as either non-professional (the housewife, older relative, or neighbor whose clients are limited to those in his or her family or circle of friends) or professional (whose clients may be drawn from the general population). Professionals may be further subdivided into those who charge for their services (whom I term "entrepreneurial" powwowers) and

those who do not, but who may accept free-will "offerings" for healings performed. Professional powwowers, are sometimes referred to as "doctor" or "professor," while non-professionals use kin terms ("mother, granny, grandpa, aunt, uncle") or simply common modes of address ("Missus, Mister"). Professional powwowers typically treat a wider range of ailments (usually in a specially designated treatment room or area) and employ more elaborate rituals than non-professionals.

Recruitment and Training of Powwowers

Because of the secrecy surrounding powwowing, the actual recruitment and training process is difficult to fully describe. There are a variety of beliefs regarding the qualifications necessary to be a powwower, ranging from the belief that anyone can learn it to the belief that one must have very particular qualifications from birth, such as being the seventh son of a seventh son. Most who believe in the efficacy of powwowing have beliefs falling somewhere in between these two extremes, so that some qualifications are necessary, but these may be minimal. A common belief is that one must believe in God to be a powwower, although it is not necessary to be a Christian, so a Jewish person could do it. This is a belief held by Anita Rahn and Julius and Daisy Dietrich (both pseudonyms), who learned from Ruth Strickland Frey.

Calvin E. Rahn (pseudonym) (himself the seventh son of a seventh son) believed one had to be born with the power and then "win your own private war with the devil just like I did" (Lewis 1969, 180). Rachel Rahn claimed the ability to stop blood was congenital and was a requirement for further training as a powwower (Lewis 1969, 197). Perhaps this was what she had in mind when she informed my consultant Hazel Sauer (pseudonym) that she had the ability to become a powwower if she wanted to. Some also believe the power is passed down through families.

Other than powwowers who believe the power runs in families or who otherwise train their own family members, some (like Rachel Rahn and Preston Zerbe) recruit from among their patients, if they see someone whom they believe could learn the art. However, most training is at the initiation of the prospective powwower, who asks if he or she can learn.

Training procedures vary greatly, although there is one rule which is nearly universal, namely that only a woman can teach a man and only a man can teach a woman. The rule of cross-gender ("crossways") transmission is sometimes broken, as when Calvin E. Rahn taught his son Calvin M. Rahn (Lancaster County) and when the ability to powwow was passed down in the male line through the Blymire family (York County). Cross-gender transmission is used in other contemporary magico-religious practices, most notably initiation into Wicca or similar neo-Pagan sects. Calvin M. Rahn claimed that when one powwower trains another, the teacher gives up half of his power to his student. He also indicated that the two may end up becoming enemies (Beissel 1998, 54).

Training time can take anywhere from a few minutes (according to a Berks County powwower) to a year (according to a powwow trainee in Adams County). The training procedure used by Ruth Strickland Frey and passed onto Julius and Daisy Dietrich of Schuylkill County consisted of a 10-week program, with all information imparted orally. When the initiate returned for the second session, he (or she) must repeat all

the incantations and gestures perfectly. If he did, then that was a sign the initiate was meant to become a powwower. Otherwise, training ceased and the individual was gently informed that he was not meant to learn and that there were other ways in which he could follow God's will. Every week of training, the initiate had to repeat back verbatim everything learned in all the previous lessons. Incantations which had to be memorized were mostly in English, but some in Pennsylvania Dutch or High German.[1] The cumulative memorization ensured that the powwower would be able to perform all the complicated hand movements and incantations deftly and swiftly (as Daisy was able to) without having to pause and remember or worse, consult a book. This may have been intended to demonstrate the powwower's competence to the patient, and therefore increase his or her belief in the efficacy of the treatment and the powwower's power to heal.

Recently, however, Daisy taught a man to powwow without requiring him to come back for 10 weeks. Instead, it only took two, although he told me the second session was very long. He suggested she may have decreased the time required because he was coming from a distance. This suggests a degree of flexibility in her training method.

York County powwower Rachel Rahn also adopted a structured approach, believing that a prospective powwower must learn the cures for various ailments in a prescribed order. According to her, after learning how to stop blood (a congenital ability), the initiate's next step was to learn how to remove warts, then various other ailments, then the take-off, erysipelas, and tumors (Lewis 1969, 197). Because neither Mrs. Rahn, Daisy, nor Julius revealed anything more specific, it is impossible to accept or reject the possibility that all three used the same training program

Aaron Boehm, a Berks County powwower, had an entirely different method. It was much briefer and easier, perhaps because he specialized in only one class of ailments, whereas Daisy and Julius can powwow for anything. Barbara Reimensnyder (1982) reports that she learned to powwow also using a simple method.

Calvin E. Rahn's training method, described more fully by Lewis (1969), was the most dramatic. Being the seventh son of a seventh son, he believed he was born with a great deal of power and struggled with the devil at a young age. He used this power as a "non-professional" powwower to minister to his family. When he decided to become a "professional," he realized he needed to increase his power and visited a very old woman named "Amy" on Garrett Mountain in Cumberland County. He never tried to contact Amy before leaving home, because "he know'd in his heart she would" help him. When he reached her, she did indeed accept him and allowed him to stay in her shack. After 21 days of prayer, fasting, and soul searching, Calvin had a vision. He was in Heaven sitting at a dinner table with St. Peter and many other people. After a time, St. Peter motioned for him to rise and directed him up a long, long flight of golden stairs. At the top of the stairs were five spirit guides, three American Indian males, one child, and one East Indian male. These spirits became his constant companions in his life ever since then. He named them, was able to perceive their presence, and used their powers to heal and remove hexes. However, these spirits also sometimes went off on "missions" of their own without consulting Calvin (Lewis 1969, 179).

Powwowing and Hexing

Hexerei, or black magic, is practiced by *hexer* (witches, or sorcerers) who put *hexes* (evil spells) on people. It is opposed to *Braucherei* (powwowing). The view of most who believe in the efficacy of powwowing is that the powwower is the enemy of the *hexer*, whose purpose is often to undo the hexer's black magic. As one Pennsylvania Dutch woman, an amateur historian named Geraldine, notes:

> The Pennsylvania German feeling is that there are two life forces, *Braucherei,* the good life force based on Christianity, *hexerei*, or black magic, based in witchcraft. And I guess I kind of ascribe to that belief. And when it comes to anything that I consider black magic or devil worship or anything like that, I try to stay away from it... I simply feel that I'm not smart enough or powerful enough to deal with it.

However, the relationship between powwower and hexer is not always this straightforward, because the powwower (like the hexer) uses supernatural power, and (as one consultant put it), "what he can take off, he can also put on." An Adams County woman who at one point started powwower training, was frightened away: "Back in the old days, I think powwow was great. I think it could be good today, but black magic is the negative part of powwowing."

In fact, when the powwower is called upon to remove a hex from someone, he may use the power at his disposal to attack the hexer, in effect, putting a hex on the hexer. Therefore, the powwower does have the ability to throw hexes and is a potential danger himself. The murder victim (Nelson Rehmeyer) in the York Witch Trial was, according to the defendants' testimony, a powwower who placed a hex on another powwower (John Blymire), who himself evidently possessed the ability to hex people (Lewis 1969, 22-23). The existence of *hexerei* renders the powwower's position in his or her community problematic. Since at least the mid-nineteenth century, some Pennsylvania Dutch clergy and church officials have condemned powwowing as the work of the devil. A saying collected by Thomas R. Brendle (Beam 1995, 100) from Egypt, PA, reflects this attitude: "*En Braucher hot en hadder Dod. Er is dem Deiwel ergewwe.*" ("A powwower has a hard death. He has given himself over to the Devil.")

Hexers, or evil witches, were sometimes called "hex doctors," but that term could also be applied to a powwower who removed hexes. Contemporary powwower Karl Herr's use of the word "*Hexenmeister*" to describe himself (Herr 2002), further complicates the issue. Hexers were not well-liked. They derived most of their income from hexing people whom others wanted revenge on. People always avoided a hex doctor's house, because they believed a hex doctor would torment you for coming too close.

Typically one would deal with a hexer by consulting a powwower, who could reveal the hexer's identity and recommend a counter-spell. The counter-spell would generally not negate the hex itself, but rather hex the hexer, who would then appear at the victim's house and beg for the counter-spell to be removed. A trade would then take place wherein each party would release the other from the hex.

One means of protecting a building from a hex is to place protective scrolls or triangular pieces of paper held by plugs of wood inserted in or near the windows and

doors of the structure. I have collected two instances of this practice from Schuylkill County and one from Lehigh. Daisy Dietrich reports using this method to protect a client in Schuylkill County several years ago. Another consultant tells of a Schuylkill County barn which was protected by scrolls containing "German special hex words to ward off the witches and evil spirits" placed in cubby holes and sealed in by plugs of wood. The owner pulled out the plugs once and "had a very bad day that day." Darla Biehl of Allentown reports a similar procedure to keep hexes out of a building, namely, folding pieces of paper into a triangles, placing three X's upon them, and placing the triangles in the windows. The X's no doubt are crosses, and the number three, so significant in powwow practice, may represent the Christian Trinity.

A Cultural Model of Healing among the Pennsylvania Germans

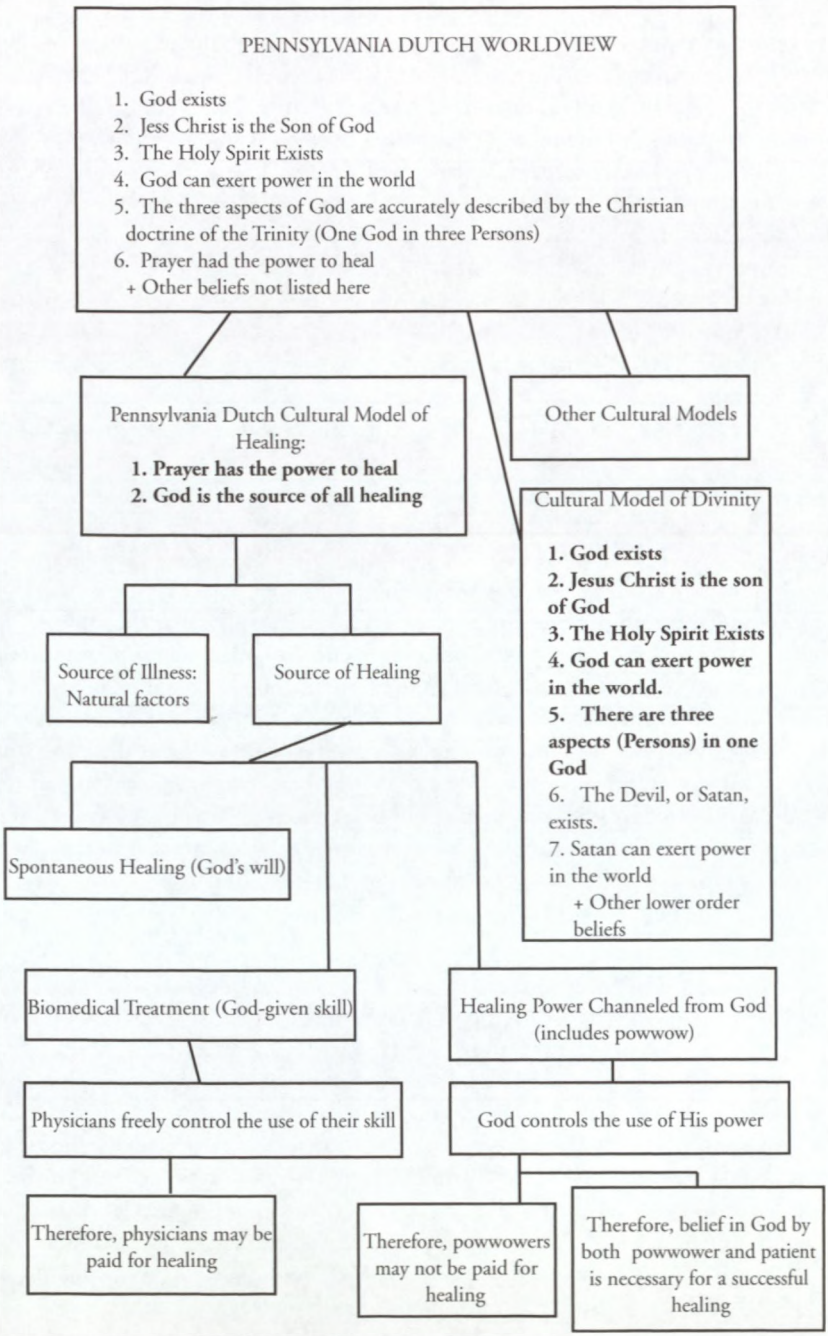
While belief in the efficacy of powwowing appears to be generated by personal experience, rather than cultural factors, beliefs about powwowing (why it works, how it should be performed, the role of God) fit within a larger cultural model of healing present among the Pennsylvania Germans. I constructed such a model based on a survey distributed to consultants and others identifying themselves as Pennsylvania Dutch or German and living within the culture area. Respondents indicated their reactions to a series of propositions using a 5-point scale (strongly agree, agree, no opinion, disagree, strongly disagree). The propositions were based on statements from various consultants which I had collected in the course of my fieldwork. Propositions whose aggregate response fell into the two highest categories (representing "agree" and "strongly agree") were included in the model.

Since cultural models, as defined by cognitive anthropologist Roy D'Andrade (1998) are a type of cognitive schema,[2] or pattern in the mind which is used to understand concepts, they are hierarchical in structure. The highest, most inclusive level, is worldview, the basic cultural assumptions of the society. Each proposition on every level must be consistent with the propositions at all higher inclusive levels. I refer to propositions shared by two levels at "linking beliefs," so that, for example, the belief that "God is the source of all healing" is a linking belief between the cultural model of healing and the Pennsylvania German worldview.

All propositions with an aggregate response of "strongly agree" were placed at the level of worldview. These were all beliefs about the nature of the cosmos, divinity, and humanity, such as "God exists," "Jesus Christ in the Son of God," "The Christian doctrine of the Trinity is correct." Propositions with an aggregate response of "agree" were placed in lower level models nested within the worldview.

The diagram below depicts the principal features of the cultural model for healing among the Pennsylvania Germans, including aspects of the cultural models for powwowing and biomedicine that are directly related to worldview. Other elements, such as the belief in "crossways" transmission of powwow–listed above are not included because they have no identifiable (at this time) connection with worldview. However, they do form part of the model since they do not conflict with the worldview.

Note: "Linking beliefs" connecting worldview and cultural model are in boldface.



In this (revised) model, among believers in powwowing, the triune Christian God is ultimately responsible for all healing, whether by the intervention of powwowers or physicians, or the spontaneous remission of symptoms. Human practitioners and antibodies, then, are all under God's control. There is a devil who can act in the world, just as God can, but neither he nor his evil spirits cause most disease. Thus, the Pennsylvania Dutch have what medical anthropologist George Foster (1996, 1978) refers to as a "naturalistic" system of disease causation, although there are personalistic elements in the form of hexing and, as folklorist Brendle notes (Wentz 1993, 177-78), in the belief that certain diseases are caused by the will of God.

It is important to note that a "naturalistic" system is not necessarily a scientific one. For instance, a belief in the existence of humours (in the case of medieval medicine sangue, phlegm, choler, and melancholer), which still exists in folk medical systems around the world, is a naturalistic system of disease causation. In the case of the contemporary Pennsylvania Dutch model, natural factors include conventional notions of infection, as well as the notion that diseases are inherited (Brendle in Wentz 1993, 178). Belief in these natural factors as the cause of most disease is not unique to the Pennsylvania Dutch and is shared by most people throughout the United States.

However, God can act more directly, in some cases using people of faith as channels of divine healing power. Such individuals, including powwowers, cannot be paid because they are not using their own power (or skill) to perform the healing. A physician may, however, be paid because he chooses how he uses his skill (this implies a belief in human free will), even though the skill itself is God-given. God also answers prayers, by which anyone can obtain healing.

Because the dominant disease etiology is naturalistic, physicians are able to cope with most diseases. However, powwowing (the exercise of direct divine power through humans) is needed to deal with hexes (the exercise of direct demonic power).[3] The faith of the patient is not required for biomedicine to function effectively, but it is for powwowing. In both cases, something harmful is removed from the body when healing takes place, whether that be a disease or a hex. The powwower is generally a respected member of the community, but his status is somewhat ambivalent. This may be due to the power the powwower wields and his or her status as a person chosen by God.

Concluding Statement

Contemporary powwowing appear to have more in common with healing prayer than with any form of magic, white or black. Powwowing no longer requires the use of charm books and rarely use material components. Powwowers speak less of their own power now than they did in previous times and usually are quick to credit God for their results. Yet, there remains much opposition to it in central and southeastern Pennsylvania, particularly from the various Mennonite groups. Some cite their belief that the Devil works the cures, others claim that it conflicts with medical science, and still others hold that spiritual healing is the exclusive province of the church.

Most of the people with whom I have spoken who oppose powwowing do not oppose spiritual healing per se, suggesting that powwowing's detractors still view it

as a magical practice, rather than a religious one, and that they draw a line between the two ways of mobilizing supernatural power. Perhaps this perception is behind the shift away from traditional white magic and toward a more generic type of spiritual healing—the powwower, knowing that he or she may be viewed as a witch by others, strives to eliminate those elements of traditional powwowing (such as material components and the use of spells) which might be seen by others as inconsistent with proper religious practice.

It is interesting that the one well-known living practitioner who embraces these traditional magical elements of powwow practice is a self-proclaimed "witch" whose religion is Paganism, not Christianity (RavenWolf 1997). While other living powwowers stress the Christian nature of the practice, she traces it to pre-Christian magical traditions and claims that anyone, of any religious tradition, can learn how to powwow. Thomas Barone (pseudonym), the man who recently learned powwowing from Daisy, represents an intermediate position. Before meeting Daisy, he used a few powwow charms from *The Long Lost Friend* and does not reject the label of "*white magic*." However, he strongly opposes RavenWolf's revisionist interpretation of powwowing, basing his practice squarely in Christian belief and Pennsylvania Dutch tradition. As Thomas notes, the Bible is more powerful than any charm book.

Based on my interviews with the families of powwowers, I believe that powwowing will likely persist in some form in central and southeastern Pennsylvania for at least two more generations. There is also a demand for it. I, myself, have been approached by a number of people seeking powwow healing, from a woman with a sick horse to another who believed she was possessed by the spirit of a witch. Powwowing's future and development is uncertain, but I would not want to forecast its disappearance at any particular point. Thus far, to paraphrase Twain, reports for its demise have been greatly exaggerated.

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Notes

[1] The term used was "German," but many natives refer to the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect as "German."

[2] For a much more complete discussion of culture models and cognitive schemas, see D'Andrade (1996) and Strauss and Quinn (1997).

[3] The theory of hexing needs further development, but most believe that hexing requires its own study to adequately understand it. For now, I speculate that one key difference is that powwowing is undertaken in the *hope* that God will respond by sending healing power to the patient through the powwower, whereas hexing is undertaken in the *expectation* that the hex (spell) will be effective in bringing direct demonic power (from the devil or other demonic beings) to bear against another human, animal, or object. In powwowing, God uses divine power (with the powwower as channel), but in *hexerei* (hexing), the hexer/witch uses demonic power (the source of which is the devil or other evil spiritual beings).

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Mark L. Louden

Edward H. Rauch's *Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book*[1]

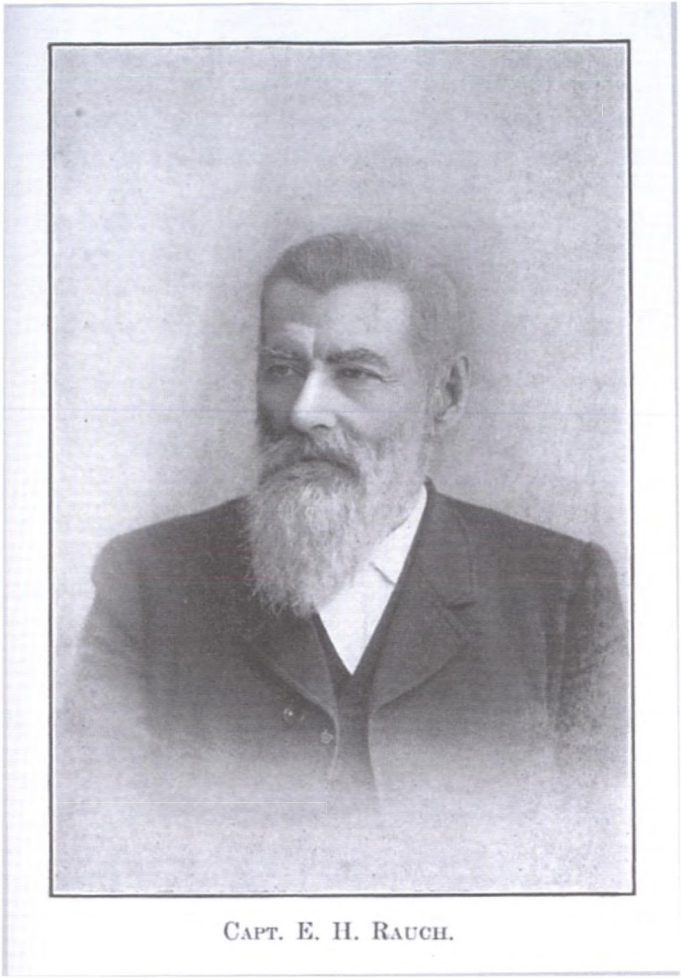
One of the classic works produced in and/or about Pennsylvania Dutch (Pennsylvania German) is the *Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book* written and published by Edward H. Rauch in 1879.[2] For those of us interested in the early history of Pennsylvania Dutch, this fascinating book stands out not only for its relevance for linguistic analysis; it also sheds important light on the external situation of the language at the time, the late nineteenth century, when the number of its speakers was at its highest. In what follows I describe some of the more interesting aspects of the content of Rauch's *Hand-Book*, with an eye to modern research questions in Pennsylvania Dutch linguistics. Before proceeding directly to the *Hand-Book*, a few biographical remarks about its author are in order.

Edward Henry Rauch was born on July 19, 1820, near the town of Lititz, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[3] Rauch was a third-generation American, his paternal grandfather, Johann Heinrich Rauch, having emigrated from Cologne to Lititz in 1769. Rauch's family operated a stone quarry and lime kiln, which enabled him to be educated at a local school known for its quality across Pennsylvania and beyond, the Lititz Boys Academy founded and operated by John Beck. We know no details of Rauch's education at the Academy, but given the school's reputation and Rauch's successful later career in public service and journalism, we can infer that Rauch was well-educated for someone growing up in 1820s and 1830s America.

One important aspect of Rauch's biography was his political activity. As a young man, Rauch was an enthusiastic supporter of the Whig Party, and later the Radical wing of the Republican Party. He was an associate of one of Pennsylvania's most prominent politicians of the era, the "Great Commoner" Thaddeus Stevens (1792–1868), and actively assisted Stevens's work on the Underground Railroad. In 1846–47 Rauch was employed as a clerk for a slave-catcher in Lancaster, George Hughes, who was unaware of Rauch's covert work on behalf of several runaway slaves.[4] Later, Rauch was appointed chief clerk in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. When the Civil War broke out, the Radical Republican Rauch assembled Company H of the 11th Regiment of the Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry and was appointed to the rank of captain. He and his men saw action in several engagements, including the Second Battle of Bull Run.

After the war, and for the remainder of his life, Rauch devoted himself to journalism and newspaper publishing, residing mainly in Mauch Chunk (now Jim Thorpe), Carbon County, Pennsylvania. It was also during this time that he began to publish work in his native language, Pennsylvania Dutch. Rauch began by writing a number of humorous letters on contemporary political and social issues under the pseudonym "Pit Schweffelbrenner" (Pete Sulphur Burner), which he republished in

a small booklet in 1868.[5] In 1873 Rauch brought out three issues of a bilingual magazine, the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, the title of which was resurrected in 1949 by the eminent founders of the Pennsylvania Folklife Center, Professors J. William Frey, Alfred L. Shoemaker, and Don Yoder, for their weekly newspaper, which eventually became the monthly magazine *Pennsylvania Folklife*.[6] Six years later, in 1879, the subject of this article, Rauch's *Hand-Book* appeared, followed in 1883 by a highly



CAPT. E. H. RAUCH.

Figure 1. Photograph of Edward H. Rauch.

creative translation of Washington Irving's literary classic, *Rip Van Winkle*.[7] After *Rip*, there is no evidence that Rauch wrote anything else in Pennsylvania Dutch, though he did regularly deliver a light-hearted but insightful lecture, "De Olta un Neia Tzeita" (The Old and New Times), which was one of four plenary addresses delivered at the founding meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society in April 1891—and the only one not in English.[8] Edward H. Rauch passed away in Mauch Chunk on September 8, 1902, at the age of eighty-two.

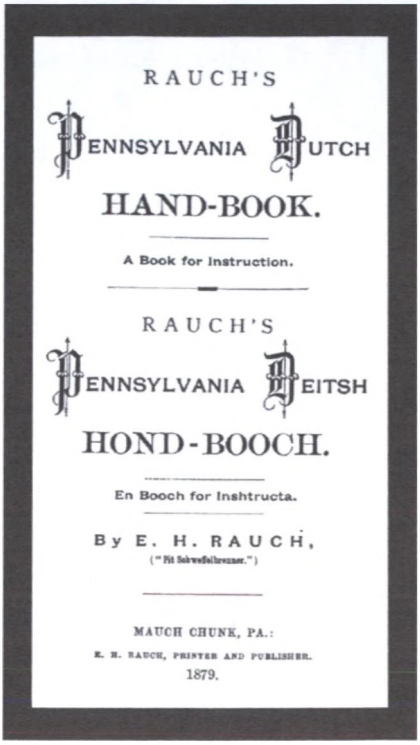
* * *

Among Rauch's various writings in Pennsylvania Dutch, the *Hand-Book* gives us the clearest sense of his views about the language and the scope of his abilities in it. As mentioned above, this book contains a significant amount of material of linguistic importance, specifically as regards Pennsylvania Dutch vocabulary and grammar. In what follows, I describe some of the major sections of the *Hand-Book* and mention just a few of the linguistic gems contained in them.

The title page of the *Hand-Book* (figure 2) suggests what Rauch makes explicit in his bilingual preface,[9] namely that he had two audiences in mind. On the one hand, his book was intended to serve as a language guide for English-monolingual neighbors of the Pennsylvania Dutch, especially business people. On the other, Rauch hoped the *Hand-Book* might be used by native Dutch-speaking school children. Exactly what practical use he thought these younger readers might derive from the book is unclear,[10] yet the overall tone of the book was clearly one of advocacy: Rauch sought to establish the legitimacy of Pennsylvania Dutch in the face of its constantly negative image as something less than a real language. It stands to reason that an appropriate venue in such a crusade would be the classroom. In any case, the overall didactic purpose of the "book for instruction" is clear.

After mentioning his target audience of English-speaking business people and Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking children, Rauch spends much of the rest of the preface justifying his use of English-, rather than German-based spelling rules for Pennsylvania Dutch. Indeed, through the early twentieth century, it is safe to say that most texts written in Pennsylvania Dutch followed English orthography, though usually inconsistently. This is understandable, given the fact that these texts, which often appeared in local newspapers, were aimed at native speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch, who were typically literate in English only. The preferred orthography today, known as the "Buffington-Barba-Beam" system, is oriented to German, thereby making Pennsylvania Dutch more easily accessible to those with knowledge of German.[11] However, the earlier practice of using English orthography, as Rauch did, lives on in the work of the Committee for Translation, a group of native Pennsylvania Dutch-speakers with ties to Old Order sectarian groups involved with translating the Bible into Pennsylvania Dutch.[12]

Over one-half of the *Hand-Book*'s 238 pages consists of English-Pennsylvania Dutch and Pennsylvania Dutch-English word-lists (page 1 is shown in figure 3). These word-lists are of some value to linguists since Rauch was clearly concerned with describing the language as it was naturally spoken, meaning that he had no qualms about including English-derived vocabulary. Especially during the past century, many promoters of Pennsylvania Dutch have expressed dissatisfaction with the number of English loanwords in the language, fearing that they are supplanting older, German-derived words. While it is true that speakers themselves sometimes express regret over the replacement of words like "Voggel" with "birdie" and "Seideschpeck" with "bacon," the average percentage of English-derived lexical items in spoken Pennsylvania Dutch has probably never exceeded 15%, a relatively low figure given the fact that effectively all Pennsylvania Dutch speakers have been bilingual in English since the genesis of the language in the eighteenth century.[13] Thus Rauch's lists are useful to the descriptive linguist.


RAUCH'S

PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH

HAND-BOOK.

A Book for Instruction.

RAUCH'S

PENNSYLVANIA DEITSH

HOND-BOOCH.

En Booch for Inshtructa.

By E. H. RAUCH,

("Fit Schwedelbrenner.")

MAUCH CHUNK, PA.:

E. H. RAUCH, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER.

1879.

Figure 2. Title page of the *Hand-Book*.

Given the extensive early linguistic research on lexical variation within the original Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking areas of southeastern Pennsylvania, especially the work of Carroll E. Reed and Lester W. J. Seifert,[14] it is interesting to see whether Rauch's forms seem to favor one particular area. We recall that Rauch was a native of Lititz, in Lancaster County, and lived there until early adulthood, though after the Civil War, as mentioned earlier, he moved to Mauch Chunk (Jim Thorpe) in Carbon County, where he remained until his death in 1902. Reed and Seifert identified four major regions in southeastern Pennsylvania across which lexical variation can be observed: 1. western Lehigh County; 2. western Berks County; 3. north-central Lancaster County; and 4. the Upper Susquehanna Valley.[15] Lititz, of course, belongs to region 3, but Carbon County is almost literally off the Pennsylvania Dutch linguistic map, located due north of region 1. Unfortunately, Reed and Seifert (whose major fieldwork was conducted in the summers of 1940 and 1941), had few data from Mauch Chunk (a single consultant), and the data from this one speaker are not always consistent with forms dominant in geographically proximate Lehigh County.

A initial review of Rauch's vocabulary, as given in the *Hand-Book*'s word-lists, does not yield a clear picture. Often his forms agree with Lancaster (region 3) variants (e.g., "Harrebscht" instead of "Schpootyohr" for 'autumn'; *Word Atlas* map 102), but for many items he in fact lists multiple variants, which is most likely due to his experience of living in the two very distant areas. For example, *Word Atlas* map 12 gives the most famous Pennsylvania Dutch shibboleth, the words for 'pail'. Lancaster

English-Pennsylvania Dutch
TRANSLATION OF WORDS.

Englishe-Pennsylvania Deitshe
IVVERSETZUNG FUN WARDTA.

ABACK.

Aback, tzurick.
Abandoned, ferlussa.
Abate, nochlussa.
Abatement, nochlussung.
Abbreviate, obkartza.
Abbreviation obkartzung
Abbreviated, obgakartz'd
Abdicate, ufgevva.
Abdomen, leib, bauch.
Abhor, obshei.
Abhorrent, obsheilich.
Ability, ability.
Able, able, g'shickt.
Abolish, abolish.
Abolished, abolished.
Abolishing, abolisha.
Abolition, abolition.
Abolitionist, abolitionist.
About, about, weaga.
Above, uvva, ivver.
Abreast, navanonner.
Abroad, im ouslond.
Abrupt, pletzlich.
Absent, aweck, net doh

ACCOUNTABLE.

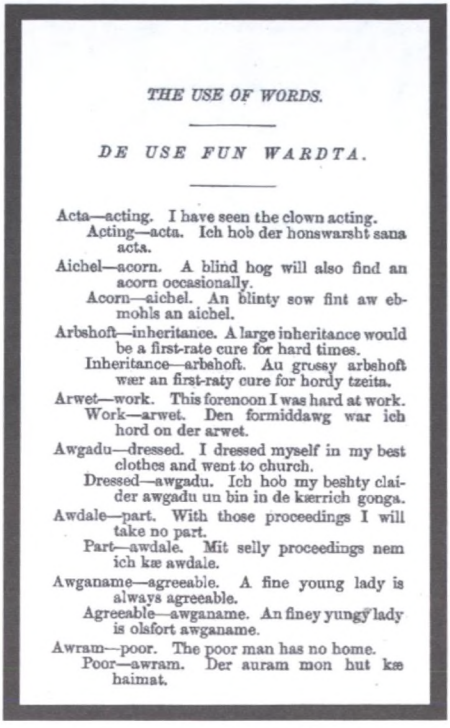
Absentee, absentee.
Abstain, obshtæ.
Abstract, obtzoog.
Absurd, unfershtendich.
Absurdity, unfershtond.
Abundant, irverflissich.
Abuse, abuse.
Abused, abused.
Abusing, abusa.
Abusive, abusif.
Abut, awshtosa.
Abutment, awshtose.
Accept, accept.
Accepting, accepta.
Acceed, ferwillicha.
Access, tzugong.
Accident, unglick.
Accidental, unglicklich
Accumulate, tzunemma.
Accumulation, tzunawm
Account, rechnung, account.
Accountant, accountant.
Accountable, accountable

Figure 3. First page of *Hand-Book*'s word-lists.

shows solidly "Kiwwel," while Berks and Lehigh are almost exclusively "Eemer" regions. Under the entry for 'pail' in the *Hand-Book*, one only finds "aimer,"[16] yet under 'bucket', one finds both "amer" and "kivvel" (in that order). To complicate things, if one looks up "amer" and "kivvel" in the Pennsylvania Dutch-English list, both are translated as 'bucket'; there is no mention of 'pail'. In future research it would be instructive to do a thorough analysis of Rauch's vocabulary as they appear in other examples of his prose, for example, the "Pit Schweffelbrenner" letters. One might find differences between earlier and later texts, as Rauch may have used fewer Lancasterisms after his relocation to Carbon County.

One clear drawback in terms of the linguistic value of Rauch's word-lists is the absence of any context, especially when multiple variants are listed. For example, in the first page shown in figure 3, under 'about' we find both "about" and "weaga."[17] The user is left to wonder where these are free variants, or, more likely, they are subject to some kind of patterned variation. This lack of context is corrected only partially in a later section (*Hand-Book*, 160–71) titled "The Use of Words"/"De Use fun Wardta" in which Rauch, apparently randomly, selects Pennsylvania Dutch words and their English equivalents and indicates how they might be used in a complete sentence. See figure 4.

More Pennsylvania Dutch-English sentence pairs are given in a section labeled



THE USE OF WORDS.

DE USE FUN WARDTA.

Acta—acting. I have seen the clown acting.
Acting—acta. Ich hob der honswarsht sana acta.

Aichel—acorn. A blind hog will also find an acorn occasionally.
Acorn—aichel. An blinty sow fint aw ebmohls an aichel.

Arbshoft—inheritance. A large inheritance would be a first-rate cure for hard times.
Inheritance—arbshoft. Au grussy arbshoft wær an first-raty cure for hordy tzeita.

Arwet—work. This forenoon I was hard at work.
Work—arwet. Den formiddawg war ich hord on der arwet.

Awgadu—dressed. I dressed myself in my best clothes and went to church.
Dressed—awgadu. Ich hob my beshty claider awgadu un bin in de kærrich gonga.

Awdale—part. With those proceedings I will take no part.
Part—awdale. Mit selly proceedings nem ich kæ awdale.

Awganame—agreeable. A fine young lady is always agreeable.
Agreeable—awganame. An finey yungy lady is olsfort awganame.

Awram—poor. The poor man has no home.
Poor—awram. Der auram mon hut kæ haimat.

Figure 4. "The Use of Words."

"Practical Exercises" on pp. 174–84, an example of which is shown in figure 5.

The linguist's desire for examples of connected speech is satisfied most in the *Hand-Book* by a very important twenty-two-page section titled "Business Talk"/ "Bisness G'shwetz." This consists of nine dialogs set in everyday public situations: book store, clothing store, drug store, doctor's office, dry goods store, furniture store, grocery, hotel, and lawyer's office. The dialog was an early Pennsylvania Dutch (and English) genre common in local newspapers. While the main purpose of these dialogs was to convey a message to readers in a style maximally proximate to speech, as opposed to more essay-like articles, or stylized poems and songs, their value to linguists interested in naturally occurring speech is considerable. Rauch's unabashed use of English-derived Pennsylvania Dutch vocabulary seen elsewhere in the *Hand-Book* is found here as well. The final dialog, set in the lawyer's office, is given in figure 6.

The extensive amount of sentences and extended prose written in a colloquial style in the *Hand-Book* offers much to the linguist interested in tracing the history of Pennsylvania Dutch, especially its grammar (morphosyntax). For example, one area of Pennsylvania syntax where we know change to have occurred is infinitival complementation, that is, verbal infinitives that are the complement of another syntactic element, such as another verb or an adjective. It appears that the earliest forms of Pennsylvania Dutch resembled modern European German, in that infinitives that were not the complements of modal verbs were marked in one of three ways: 1.

by the marker "zu" "to"; 2. in purposive constructions by "fer ... zu" ("in order to"; cf. standard German "um ... zu"); or 3. without a marker (ø) with certain verbs, such as "gehe" "go." Among most sectarian speakers of Pennsylvania Dutch today, this three-way system has been restructured through the loss of "zu" as an infinitival marker (its homophone still exists in the language as a preposition meaning "to"), leaving only two options: "fer" or ø + infinitive. When "fer" is used is basically predictable according to the following rule: if the English equivalent of the construction may only use "to" + infinitive, and not also the gerundive form infinitive + "-ing", "fer"must be used. Examples from modern sectarian Pennsylvania Dutch are given below; their presumed antecedent forms are given to the right.

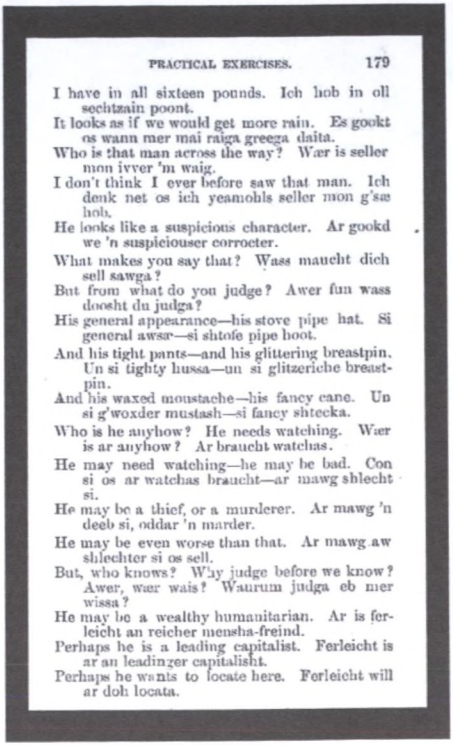
Ich hab gschtoppt fer Gaes griege. 'I stopped (in order) to get gas.'	*Ich hab gschtoppt fer Gaes zu griege.*
Ich hab gschtoppt ø Gaes griege. 'I stopped getting gas.'	*Ich hab gschtoppt Gaes zu griege.*
Ich bin reddi fer gehe. 'I am ready to go/*going.'	*Ich bin reddi zu gehe.*
Ich bin faddich ø schwetze. 'I'm done talking/*to talk.'	*Ich bin faddich zu (?) schwetze.*[18]

Recalling that Rauch was born in 1820, only two or three generations after Pennsylvania Dutch emerged, it is interesting to see what his infinitival complements look like. Basically, his grammar represents a stage intermediate between European (Palatine) German and modern Pennsylvania Dutch. There are almost no examples of "fer ... zu" constructions, yet many with "fer" and ø, as in the modern language, but also quite a few with "zu." Examples are given below, with their modern equivalents indicated in italics. The numbers at the far right refer to the page in the *Hand-Book* where these forms are found. The English equivalents are Rauch's; the spelling is regularized to facilitate easier reading.

Ich bin heit yuscht runner kumme, fer zu sehne weege e wennich Bisness. (204)
Ich bin heit yuscht runner kumme, fer ø sehne weege e wennich Bisness.
'I just came down today to see (you) about some business.'

Fer so en guts Penn. Deitsch Buch schreiwe nemmt's hatti Arwet un viel Geduld. (165)
Fer so en gut Penn. Deitsch Buch schreiwe nemmt's hatti Arwet un viel Geduld.
'To write such a good Penn. Dutch book takes hard work and much patience.'

Was is die Use, devun zu schwetze? (191)
Was is die Use, fer schwetze devun?
'What's the use of talking [about it]?'



PRACTICAL EXERCISES. 179

I have in all sixteen pounds. Ich hob in oll sechtzain poont.
It looks as if we would get more rain. Es gookt os wann mer mai raiga greega daita.
Who is that man across the way? Wær is seller mon ivver 'm waig.
I don't think I ever before saw that man. Ich denk net os ich yeamohls seller mon g'sæ hob.
He looks like a suspicious character. Ar gookd we 'n suspiciouser corrocter.
What makes you say that? Wass maucht dich sell sawga?
But from what do you judge? Awer fun wass doosht du judga?
His general appearance—his stove pipe hat. Si general awsær—si shtofe pipe hoot.
And his tight pants—and his glittering breastpin. Un si tighty hussa—un si glitzeriche breastpin.
And his waxed moustache—his fancy cane. Un si g'woxder mustash—si fancy shteeka.
Who is he anyhow? He needs watching. Wær is ar anyhow? Ar braucht watchas.
He may need watching—he may be bad. Con si os ar watchas braucht—ar mawg shlecht si.
He may be a thief, or a murderer. Ar mawg 'n deeb si, oddar 'n marder.
He may be even worse than that. Ar mawg aw shlechter si os sell.
But, who knows? Why judge before we know? Awer, wær wais? Waurum judga eb mer wissa?
He may be a wealthy humanitarian. Ar is ferleicht an reicher mensha-freind.
Perhaps he is a leading capitalist. Ferleicht is ar an leadinger capitalisht.
Perhaps he wants to locate here. Ferleicht will ar doh locata.

Figure 5. "Practical Exercises."

Ich gleich guti Bicher zu lese. (177)
Ich gleich guti Bicher lese.
'I like to read good books.' (= 'I like reading good books.')

Ich vermut, du bischt faddich Hoi ø mache. (181)
Ich suspect, du bischt faddich Hoi ø mache.
'I suppose you are done with haymaking?'

As mentioned above, the distribution of modern "fer" and ø + infinitive is predictable based on whether or not the Pennsylvania Dutch construction corresponds to English "to" only: simply put, "fer" + infinitive corresponds to "to" + infinitive, and bare infinitives in Pennsylvania Dutch correspond to "-ing"-suffixed forms in English. Intriguingly, Pennsylvania Dutch infinitives in Rauch's word-lists are often translated with an "-ing"-form; e.g., "accepta" = "accepting" in the page shown in figure 2. Rauch is more explicit about this correlation in a brief (bilingual!) note of "Explanation" following the word-lists on p. 150. He states:

> The many English words transferred into the foregoing without translation, are all in common use as part of the Pennsylvania Dutch language. In addition to those stated there are yet many more. In a number of cases we have translated English words ending with *ing* by simply using the letter *a* as the last syllable, such as

G. No, I drove as far as the bridge and there I tied the horse and walked across, and so did'nt have to pay the toll.

G. Nay, ich bin g'fawra so weit os on de brick un dort hob ich der gowl awgabooma un bin rivver g'luffa un seller weg hob ich kee bricka geld tzawla braucha.

The Landlord did'nt seem to be very favorably impressed with his bridge dodging customer, and found it convenient to attend to the wants of one who had just arrived with a carpet bag.

Der waert hu net g'sheint orrick favorably impressed tzu si mit seim brika dodge customer, un ar huts nootwendich g'fooma for tzu aim tenda os yusht aw cooma is mit 'm a carpet bag in der hond.

THE LAWYER.

Lawyer. Well sir—let me see, Mr. Mack, I believe?

Lawyer.—Well, luss mich sana, ich glawb du bisht der Mr. Mack?

Client.—Yes, Mack is my name.

Client.—Yaw, Mack is my nawma.

L. You reside up in the valley I believe?

L. Du wohnsht druvva in der valley, net so?

C. Yes, I have lived there for now nearly ten years, and I just came down to-day to see you about some business.

C. Yaw, dort hob ich shun sheer tzain yohr g'wohnt, un ich bin heit yoosht rooner cooma for tzu sana wenga a wennich bisness.

L. Well, Mr. Mack, what's the nature of the business?

L. Well, Mr. Mack, was is de noddoor fun der bisness?

C. Why its about settling up my father-in-law's estate.

C. Ei es is weaga meim shweega fodder siner eshtate settla.

L. When did he die?

L. Wann is ar g'shtorwa?

C. He died week before last.

C. De woch for der letsht is ar g'shtorwa.

L. Leave much property?

L. Hut ar feel property hinnerlussa?

C. Well yes, he left his farm, and some bonds and notes, and a good deal of stock on the farm.

C. Well yaw, ar hut si baueri, un bender, un notes un aw an ordlich grosser shtock uf der baueri.

L. And who is going to administer?

L. Un wer will adminishtra?

C. That's what I want you to see about.

C. Sell is evva weaga wass os ich dich sana will.

L. Is the widow living?

L. Lebt de widfraw noch?

C. No, she died two years ago.

L. Nay, se is g'shtorwa for tzwæ yohr.

L. Your wife is living is she?

L. Di fraw lebt noch, net so?

C. Yes, she and her sister and one brother—that's all the family.

C. Yaw, se du't, nn aw era shweshter un brooder—sell is de gons family.

L. Has he any debts on his property?

L. Sin enniche shoolda uf 'm property?

C. Oh, well, he has some debts, but not a great many.

C. Oh, well, ar hut shoolda, awer net orrick feel.

L. And you want to administer, I suppose?

L. Un ich fermoot os du selwer adminishtra wid?

C. Well yes, that's my intention, but may be Sam my brother-in-law thinks he ought to do the same.

C. Well yaw, sell is my obsicht, awer der Sam, my shwoger will ferleicht aw sell du.

L. Did you talk to him about it?

L. Husht shun mit eem g'shwetzd der-

weaga?

C. I did, and he said he thought we should both administer.

C. Ich hob, un ar hut g'maned mer setta oll tzwæ administera.

L. Well, Mr. Mack, your best way is in the first place to pay me a retainer of twenty dollars, and that will enable me to act professionally in the matter.

L. Well, Mr. Mack, di beshter waig is im arshta plots mer amohl an retainer fun tzwonsich dawler gevva, un sell gebt mer d'no an professional recht der my roat tzu gevva.

C. Retainer!—Let's see, that, I suppose, means a lawyer's fee?

C. Retainer!—Luss mohl sæ, sell mained denk ich, au lawyer's fee?

L. Exactly so. Being only the first instalment we call it a retainer—to retain me in the case.

L. Exactly so. Es is der arsht inshtalment, os mer 'n retainer haisa—for mich im case retaina.

C. Yes, now I understand. Well, here is twenty dollars. Now, what next?

C. Yaw, now fershtæ ich 's. Well, doh sin de tzwonsich dawler. Now, wass naigsht?

L. Well, from all you have told me, my advice is that you come again and bring Sam, your brother-in-law with you, and then we'll consult him and proceed to business.

L. Well, fun ollem os du mersawgsht is my advice os du widder coomsht un bringsht der Sam, di shwoger, for mitnonner consulta un on de bisness gæ.

C. Then that's all we can do to-day?

C Don is des olles wass heit tzu du is?

L. That's all. But you can come again to-morrow, or next day.

L. Sell is olles. Ower coom morrya, odder de naigsht dawg.

C. Well yes, say next day.

C. Well yaw, der naigsht dawg.

This ended the first professional interview in regard to Mr. Mack's father-in- law's estate.

Sell war 's end fum arshta professional g'shpraich weaga 'm Mr. Mack seim shweega fodder siner eshtate.

Figure 6. "The Lawyer" dialog in "Business Talk."

Accommodating, *accommodata,*
Delivering, *delivera,*
&c. In all such cases the English words are used in every other sense, as accommodate, accommodation, deliver and delivered, &c., without any change from English proper.

The correlation that Rauch intuits here is between English "–ing" and the Pennsylvania Dutch bare infinitival suffix "–e." It would appear that this correlation has come, in modern Pennsylvania Dutch, to be crucial in determining the structure of infinitival constructions. This would, then, be a subtle example of syntactic change in Pennsylvania Dutch induced by contact with English, incipient during Rauch's time, and brought to near completion today.

* * *

This brief review of Edward H. Rauch's *Hand-Book* underscores the importance of such older Pennsylvania Dutch texts for modern linguistic analysis. There are hundreds of such examples of such natural prose surviving from the nineteenth century, most of which appeared in local newspapers. For the linguist familiar with German, but not Pennsylvania Dutch, the English-based, and often idiosyncratic, orthography of these works poses a serious impediment to their comprehensibility. Fortunately, with the establishment of the systematic orthography for Pennsylvania Dutch developed by Professors Buffington, Barba, and Beam, we have a tool with which linguistic gems such as the *Hand-Book* may be made accessible to audiences that Rauch and his fellow Dutch writers would never have imagined.

University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Notes

[1] It is with pleasure that I dedicate this article to Prof. C. Richard Beam, whose tireless and enthusiastic work on behalf of Pennsylvania Dutch would have met with the approval of another, earlier promoter of the language and its speakers, Edward H. Rauch.

[2] Edward H. Rauch, *Rauch's Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-Book: A Book for Instruction./Rauch's Pennsylvania Deitsh Hond-Booch: En Booch for Inshtructa* (Mauch Chunk, PA: E. H. Rauch, 1879).

[3] Mark L. Louden, "Edward Henry Rauch," *Pennsylvania German Review* (Fall 2003): 27–40, is an overview of Rauch's life and his significance in Pennsylvania Dutch history. The two most important biographical sources on Rauch are a five-page profile in Fred Brenckman, *History of Carbon County* (Harrisburg: James J. Nungesser, 1913), 548-52, which I suspect was based on Rauch's own writings, and a brief autobiography that Alfred L. Shoemaker acquired from one of Rauch's sons at some point in the late 1930s, Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Pit Schweffelbrenner fum

Shliffeltown," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1,10 (July 7, 1949): 1. The image of Rauch in figure 1 is taken from Brenckman (1913).

[4] Shoemaker, "Pit Schweffelbrenner," 1.

[5] Edward H. Rauch, *Pennsylvanish Deitsh: De Campain Breefa fum Pit Schwefflebrenner un de Bevvy, Si Alty. Gepublished Olly Woch im "Father Abraham"* (Lancaster, PA: Rauch & Cochran, 1868).

[6] In Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Rauch's Dialect Writings," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1.10 (July 7, 1949), 1 the author makes explicit his respect for Rauch's lack of shame in preferring the term "Pennsylvania Dutch" over "Pennsylvania German."

[7] Edward H. Rauch, *Pennsylvania Dutch Rip Van Winkle: A Romantic Drama in Two Acts. Translated from the Original, with Variations* (Mauch Chunk, PA: E. H. Rauch, 1883).

[8] *The Pennsylvania German Society: Sketch of Its Origins, with the Proceedings and Addresses at Its Organization* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1891). Rauch's address appears on pp. 33–36.

[9] *Hand-Book*, iii–viii.

[10] It is interesting to compare Rauch's *Hand-Book* with another Pennsylvania Dutch classic, Abraham Reeser Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual for Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English: A Guide Book for Schools and Families* (Kutztown, PA: Urick & Gehring, 1875). A contemporary of Rauch, A. R. Horne (1834–1902) was a leading educator in southeastern Pennsylvania, with a special concern for the education of Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking youth. Horne's *Manual* promoted literacy in Pennsylvania Dutch as a way of improving children's acquisition of English (and standard German). See William W. Donner, "Abraham Reeser Horne: To the Manor Born," *Der Reggeboge* 33 (1999): 5–17, and William W. Donner "We Are What We Make of Ourselves': Abraham Reeser Horne and the Education of Pennsylvania Germans," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 74,4 (October 2000): 521–46.

[11] It was developed starting in 1930s and 1940s by Profs. Albert F. Buffington and Preston A. Barba (cf. their *Pennsylvania German Grammar*, Allentown, PA: Schlechter's, 1965), and refined by Prof. C. Richard Beam, whose lexicographic work on Pennsylvania Dutch is unmatched. See also C. Richard Beam and Joshua R. Brown (eds.), *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary, Vol. 1:A*, (Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 2004), vi–xi.

[12] Cf. *Es Nei Teshtament* (The New Testament) (Sugar Creek, OH: Committee for Translation, 1993).

[13] This is based on my own counts of English loanwords in texts and transcripts of oral discourse produced by modern Old Order sectarians, among whom it is widely—and correctly, I believe—presumed that their Dutch has more English loans than any other varieties of the language. It is interesting to note that Rauch himself, in his preface (*Hand-Book*, iii–iv/vi) cites a figure of 18% to 20% loan vocabulary.

[14] Cf. Lester W. J. Seifert†, *A Word Atlas of Pennsylvania German* (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute, 2001), which includes 173 maps, as well as reprints of all major Reed and Seifert articles on the analysis of regional lexical variation.

[15] See Lester W. J. Seifert, "Lexical Differences between Four Pennsylvania

German Regions," reprinted in the *Word Atlas*, pp. 69–80. This article originally appeared in the *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Yearbook* 11 (1946): 155–76.

[16] This is evidently a typographical error on Rauch's part, since this word is spelled "amer" elsewhere.

[17] It is appropriate to mention here that the culmination of Prof. Beam's life's work on the Pennsylvania Dutch lexicon is his multi-volumed *Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary*, (Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 2004ff.), produced with the assistance of Joshua R. Brown and Jennifer L. Trout, the first four volumes of which have now appeared. This superior reference work on Pennsylvania Dutch is the very model of a dictionary: every item is listed in a culturally relevant sample sentence, the sources of which are meticulously listed.

[18] It is unclear whether the Palatine German dialects from which Pennsylvania Dutch is most directly descended would have had a "zu"-marked infinitival complement after the adjective "faddich" (cf. German "fertig").

Leroy T. Hopkins, Jr.

Afro-German Diasporic Studies: A Proposal

In his 1937 assessment of *Research Possibilities in the German-American Field* Heinz Kloss recommended an interesting relationship for further study:[1]

The Germans and the Negroes

> In treating this subject, we must avoid any overlapping with research work on the German-Americans in the wars of the U.S. (Civil War) and on the German-Americans in American politics (slavery question).
>
> Besides the German-American influence in abolitionism and the Civil War, there aremany aspects requiring further examination.
>
> The German-American *attitude* toward the Negro as a human being. Again and again it has been emphasized that the German-Americans did not like slavery. Perhaps it could be added that they did not like the Negro either. The reason why they had few slaves was partly their moral character, but they most likely did not want to have the Negro in their immediate neighborhood either. During the Civil War there was much resentment among the Pennsylvania Germans against abolition (cf. Hoover, *Enemies in the Rear*). But this is an opinion which I submit not for approval, but for critical discussion.
>
> Negro missions were established in the South by several German-American church bodies, notably the Missouri synod. The *writings* of a number of authors of German descent deserve special treatment. Faust mentions F. L. Hoffman (born in Germany in 1865) as the author of one of the most authoritative books on the American negro (2:651-52). H. R. Helper (1829-1909) published, in 1857, an anti-slavery book *The Impending Crisis* which is said to have created a sensation far greater than *Uncle Tom's Cabin* produced (*Deutsche Allegemeine Biographie* 8, 517-8). In 1859 a fund was raised to print 100,000 copies of it for free distribution, but the same man wrote, after the Civil War, several books wherein he warned his countrymen against over-rating the Negro's mental abilities. To me he seems to have reacted in a typical Teutonic way (his grandfather Helfer had immigrated to North Carolina in 1752).
>
> The economic competition betweens German-Americans and Negroes in the South; German-American cotton growers and their colored rivals.

Kloss's assessment of German-African interaction is surprisingly frank and lacking the

filiopietism and ethnocentricity often found in accounts of the German encounter with Africans. The various themes which he identified are indeed a useful frame of reference to examine the intersection of ethnicity and race. Lacking in Kloss's model is reciprocity. What did the people of African descent think of Germans? Were their reactions as ambivalent as those of the Germans with whom they interacted? An answer can be found using a broader interpretative model that I term "Afro-German Diasporic Studies."

The term "Diaspora" or "diasporic" traditionally denotes the involuntary dispersal of Jews throughout the Mediterranean world following the destruction of the Temple. It connotes not only coerced displacement but also the vagaries of life in exile. For Jews, diasporic existence has meant both productive interactions with host cultures as well as discrimination, persecution, and genocide. The application of the term to the involuntary displacement of indigenous African populations is not meant to diminish or denigrate the Jewish experience. It is, rather, a useful interpretative framework that facilitates the analysis of the multi-faceted experiences of peoples of African descent beyond the shores of Africa.

"Afro-German," on the other hand, is a much more diffuse concept that in its complexity reflects the diversity of experiences in the African Diaspora. Although research on the African presence in Europe has steadily increased in volume over the years, research on Africans in Germany is of relatively recent vintage. Using archival records it is possible to date an African presence in German-speaking Europe from at least the sixteenth century. As exotic subjects these displaced Africans were not only part of the households of their masters but often entered into legal and extra-marital liaisons that produced children. Evidence of such liaisons can be found in the records for Castle Ahrenburg, the residence of Carl Friedrich Schimmelmann near Hamburg, where individual slaves were trained for work on one of Schimmelmann's large plantations in the Virgin Islands.[2] Also the records of the Kassel garrison document the fate of African loyalists who were brought from the New World by the returning "Hessians."[3] The offspring of these eighteenth-century liaisons might properly be termed "Afro-Germans."

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries created new complications in the term "Afro-German." German involvement in the colonization and exploitation of Africa after 1884 brought individuals from modern day Togo, Cameroon, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and Namibia to the German Reich to be educated and/or trained for colonial duty. With the outbreak of World War I, a process was begun that ended in Germany's loss of its colonies but not its physical presence in Africa. Mpundo Akwa, son of King Akwa of Duala (Cameroon), was a voice of protest in Germany against atrocities and malfeasance in Africa before World War I. In an interview with a Berlin newspaper he referred to himself and his countrymen as "wir schwarze Deutsche" in an attempt to secure fair treatment and even equal rights for Africans under German rule.

During the early Weimar period, when the young republic found itself unable and also unwilling to meet the reparation demands of the victorious allies, North African and Senegalese troops were stationed in the Rhineland with the result that in excess of 400 children were born. These mixed heritage children were identified by the Weimar government as "Rhineland bastards" probably analogous to the "Rehoboth bastards" examined by Eugen Fischer in the infamous study of the mixed race population in

German Southwest Africa born as a result of the German occupation. When the Nazis came to power a program was designed that resulted in 1937 and 1938 in the forced sterilization of each of the children.[4]

Since World War II the number of mixed heritage Germans has grown almost exponentially. During the years in which allied troops occupied large sections of Germany, fraternization between the foreign troops and German women was unavoidable. The children were variously termed "Besatzungskinder" or "Mischlinge" by governmental agencies who were alarmed by the growth of this segment of the population. After 1960 with expanding educational, cultural, and economic ties with Africa, the number of mixed children continued to grow. In 1984 a group of young women who had gathered to hear the feminist scholar Audre Lorde analyze Afro-American and Women's literature spontaneously decided to call themselves "Afro-Germans." By so doing they initiated a movement which is still active in almost all major German cities promoting a cultural awareness program for "Schwarze Deutsche" or "Afro-Deutsche."[5]

Given the various groups of Germans of African or African-American descent in Germany and the individuals of German descent in Africa, the concept of "Afro-German" is quite complex. Adding to that complexity is German and African interaction in the New World. Using Kloss's categories for interaction augmented by an African perspective it is possible to construct a more differentiated perspective on Afro-German interaction in the New World, and specifically in Pennsylvania.

The general category of "attitude towards" as outlined by Kloss centered on the slavery question. A cherished truism for German–Americans is their ingrained opposition to slavery. The Germantown "Protest against African Slavery" (1688) is usually cited by German Americans and Quakers alike as proof of their early commitment to the cause of abolition. Elsewhere I have emphasized the economic motives that played a major role in German objections to slavery because of its potential for creating unfair economic competition. Generally overlooked is the fact that the protest was directed at the Quakers who controlled the flow of slaves into the colony and were the principal slaveholders in Southeastern Pennsylvania.

Furthermore, the Germantown "Protest" was never made public until the nineteenth century after Quakers had already moved into the vanguard of the abolition movement. As late as 1762, however, Quaker merchants were actively involved in expanding the slave trade as documented by an editorial by Christopher Saur II that warned Pennsylvania Germans not to get involved in the slave trade. Philadelphia merchants were reducing the costs of importing slaves by bringing them directly from Africa instead of sending them first to the West Indies for "seasoning." The motivation behind the Germantown "Protest" and Saur's editorial speaks directly to the ambivalence which Kloss discerned in Pennsylvania German attitudes towards Africans.

Saur was concerned that an influx of Africans into the colony would replicate the situation in the Carolinas where there was allegedly four slaves for every white person. That situation was so intolerable because the colonists were afraid to sleep at night for fear of slave revolts. Thus, Saur was concerned about slavery's impact on his community and not so much about its effect on the enslaved, a selfish but understandable motive.

Opposition to slavery does not necessarily translate into sympathy for its

vicitims. The Germantown "Protest" has traditionally been interpreted as a statement of humanitarian concern for the enslaved African's plight. Unexamined still is the extent to which Pennsylvania Germans shared in the common prejudices of the day against Africans. In the text of the "Protest" itself the signatories posed a statement that illustrates their awareness of racial prejudice and a conscious effort to overcome it. In protesting the enslavement of Africans the Germantowners noted:[6]

> Now tho' they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; macking no difference of what generation, descent, or Colour they are.

Another perspective on German ambivalence is found in the journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America. Upon his arrival in South Carolina Muhlenberg recorded his consternation over the refusal of slaveholders to educate their slaves and thus deny them access to the Scriptures.[7] Muhlenberg was impressed with the depth of religious feeling which the Africans displayed but he has no comment on his son's (Rev. Peter Muhlenberg) and Rev. Caspar Stoever's use of slaves to clear land to build churches.[8]

Reading between the lines it seems likely that Muhlenberg's attitude towards slavery was that it was of the world and thus ordained by God. It was the peculiar lot of the African to be a servant (Ham's or more specifically Caanan's curse). As a consequence the African must have access to the means of salvation (via literacy) to prepare himself or the afterworld.

A similar attitude can be found among another German group, the Moravians or Unitas fratrum, in the eighteenth century. While initiating world-wide missions that converted indigenous populations in the Americas, Africa, and Asia the Moravians felt compelled to respond to criticism that their efforts were fomenting rebellion among the enslaved Africans. Contributing to the criticism was certainly the fact that other Christian sects resented the intrusion of Moravians in communities which they felt were their own domain. A special point of contention was the action of Matthes Freundlich, a Moravian missionary to the Virgin Islands who sought to gain respect among the enslaved Africans there by marrying Rebecca, a mulatto exhorter who worked in the Moravian community.

This marriage violated Danish law which in the Islands strictly forbade legalized miscegenation. Extra-marital miscegenation was not tabu. Both husband and wife were consequently condemned to death; only, to be rescued by Count Zinzendorf who was visiting the Virgin Islands and was able to convince the authorities to commute the death sentence into one of exile. On the return to Europe Matthes died and his widow was later married to Jakob Protten, an Afro-European. Together the couple was then sent on a mission to Africa, to Jakob's home, today's Ghana.[9]

With that background and the obvious sectarian rivalry between the Moravians and other Christian groups who tacitly supported the institution of slavery, it is not surprising that the Moravians would answer the charge of spreading rebellion by stating that their work transformed the African into a better servant. Physical emancipation was not a stated goal of the work among the enslaved.[10]

Further evidence of Moravian ambivalence towards Africans is found in the

Moravian Diary, a protocol of the group meetings in which communal business was conducted. After discussing the proposition of replacing arrogant and insolent white employees with Africans purchased on St. Thomas who would then be wage earners in the settlement, the protocol notes that such an action would "[...] show Pennsylvania and a conscientious author, who in his writing has opposed slavekeeping how one could treat *even* Negroes" (emphasis mine).[11] The sarcasm in that remark reflects a generally pessimistic view of the African's character:[12]

> We would always simply deceive ourselves should we have dealings with such people with the laudable intention of converting them.
> No one becomes converted in a state of servitude; such folk seek their own advantage and harbor false designs.
> If one should wish to help people pay off their debts, one should do so out of pity and as an act of mercy, and then let them go their way again.

This pessimistic assessment had little or no impact on Moravian missions among the African populations of North and Central America.

Clearly, the attitude of German church groups towards Africans deserves in depth and case by case investigation. Despite the reservations expressed in the documents reviewed it is undeniable that Africans were congregants in many German churches where they were baptized, married, or received the last rites. Jerome Woods has also found evidence that African children attended church school. This proximity and interaction is especially evident in eighteenth–century Pennsylvania.[13] African voices on the relationship to German religious communities are absent – if one excludes the *Lebensläufe*, curricula vitae, that detailed how the author found salvation.[14] Afro-German relations in eighteenth century Pennsylvania and the other colonies is a much needed research project.

The nineteenth century brought momentous changes in racial relations. The growth of the African and especially free African population was the catalyst for numerous tensions with both the majority and ethnic communities. It was also the initial phase of a fruitful and also well documented interaction of Africans with Germans and Germany that extends into the twentieth century. African-American intellectuals such as James W. C. Pennington, Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, Ernest Just, Carter G. Woodson, R. R. Wright, Jr., and Alaine Leroy Locke – to name just a few—felt an affinity to Germany and its culture. Pennington was given an honorary doctorate in theology from the University of Heidelberg, Douglass had his autobiography translated into German in effort to recruit the fourty-eighters to the abolition campaign, and DuBois, Woodson, Wright, and Locke pursued studies in Germany. The African-American affinity for German culture found expression in simple acts such as learning the language or immersion into German musical and theatre culture. The colleges established for the Freedmen after the Civil War did not neglect German culture.

DuBois who studied at Fiske University probably was exposed to German there before entering Harvard and then departing for two years study at Berlin University (today's Humboldt University). After completing his studies it is known that he taught German for a time at Wilberforce before creating his own field of study that combined elements of economics and sociology. Ira Aldridge, one of the greatest

African-American actors of the nineteenth century, played before full houses in Europe where he was received by kings, queens, dukes, and the czar. His theatrical career began in New York in the African Grove Theater where he apparently got his first experience in the role of Rollo in August von Kotzebue's *Pizarro*.[15]

African-American reception of German culture was not uncritical. Frederick Douglass, who had a special relationship to German culture because of his friendship to Ottilie Assing,[16] divided German-Americans into two distinct groups.[17] The first group was comprised of the early immigrants who had arrived before the Revolutionary War and were conservative and not favorable to abolition, i.e., the Pennsylvania Germans as assessed by Kloss. The second group consisted of fugitives from the political upheavals in Europe after 1848. From among them Douglass hoped to recruit supporters for his anti-slavery crusade. Because of her familial connections Ottilie Assing obviously belonged to the politically liberal forty-eighters such as Carl Schurz who contributed significantly to various American reform movements in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Afro-German relations are uncharted terrain in the Post-Civil War Era. After the end of slavery and the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the world of work changed radically for Americans. The creation of labor unions designed to articulate and agitate for more humane and just working conditions heightened the economic competition between racial and ethnic groups that had existed prior to 1860. Kloss does not mention one facet of that early competition: urban riots. Outbreaks of violence against African-Americans erupted frequently during the Antebellum Era. The perpetrators, but not always the instigators, were the Irish and Germans who sought through violence to eliminate what they perceived or were led to perceive was a threat to their economic well-being.[18]

With abolition and the start of the Great Migration that brought thousands of former plantation and tenant farming African-Americans to the urban centers of the North, new possibilities for negative and positive interaction with ethnic groups were created. Exclusion from labor unions and also violence were two strategies utilized to eliminate African-Americans as potential economic competitors. German-American participation in or resistance to these actions constitutes a valuable research project. The economic arena is, of course, not the only framework in which Afro-German relations can be studied.

The social sphere offers many opportunities for productive study. Although many German-Americans rejected slavery and African-Americans as well, some owned slaves, lived in close proximity to Blacks or even married an African-American man or woman. Slave holding was an important status symbol in Colonial America because it was an outward sign of affluence. Conscientious slaveholders such as Thomas Jefferson recognized the evils of slavery but were unable to manumit their slaves because it would have jeopardized the lifestyle they relished. Likewise, the presence of German slaveholders in a core area of early German settlement (South Central Pennsylvania and North Central Maryland) around 1800 was likely a sign of the owner's desire for assimilation into the dominant class.

In those same rural areas of Pennsylvania and Maryland African-Americans not only lived and worked in close proximity to Germans but also frequently adopted German cultural traits such as language and food. This proximity also occasionally resulted in tensions and conflicts. One can contrast the newspaper advertisement

in which an enslaved mother expressed the desire to find a new German master for herself and her child[19] with the violence that erupted in the so-called "Negro Plot" in York, Pennsylvania, in 1803 or Lancaster County's "Manheim Tragedy" of 1858.

In York slaves and free Blacks allegedly set fire to property belonging to prominent German-American residents of the borough. Their reputed motive was revenge for the draconian punishment dealt to a servant who was found guilty of trying to poison her German employer and daughter. The acts of arson resulted not only in the capture and prosecution of the conspirators but also the imposition of a control system that forced all Blacks entering or leaving York to carry a pass.

The reaction to the Manheim Tragedy was even more severe. Two Black itinerant workers, Alexander Anderson and Henry Richards, had robbed and brutally murdered two German women in the Neffsville area of Lancaster County (Manheim Township). The German-American residents of the area were so incensed by the brutality of the crime and also the identity of the culprits that they petitioned the authorities for the right to burn the two culprits alive.[20] That being refused, it was asked that there be a public execution. Since such displays had been banned by the state years before, residents contented themselves with climbing trees, sitting on eaves, removing third-floor windows, and renting perches on a scaffold that was being used to build a structure near the site of execution, the county jail. Thus curiosity seekers were able to watch the spectacle over the prison walls.

The interesting aspect of this event is the action taken by the two convicted murderers. Following a long tradition, they allowed their confessions to be recorded and offered for sale to the public. The proceeds were to be given to their widows and children. The confessions were published in English and German. Not surprisingly we learn in the confession that the chief culprit, Alexander Anderson, could speak German—a skill that he had acquired living and working in close proximity with German-Americans. Tensions ran so high after the trial that no Black congregation was willing to accept the corpses of the accused. Indeed, after the execution a ruse was necessary to prevent onlookers from desecrating the bodies on their way to Potter's Field. This negative episode in Afro-German interaction needs further study.

A more positive aspect of Afro-German interaction began just before the Civil War and culminated in a remarkable event during Reconstruction. In August 1852 a German citizen named Richard Barthelmess, M.D. emigrated to Brooklyn, New York. There he joined Pythagoras Lodge No. 1 which had only recently switched affiliations from the Grand Lodge of New York (as Pythagoras Lodge No. 88) to the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, Germany. This transplanted German freemason was to play a significant role in Afro-German relations after the Civil War. His actions have remained controversial into the recent past as documented by biographical article published about him in 1970.[21]

Barthelmess's achievements are summarized by the author in the following manner:[22]

> The history of Richard Barthelmess, a devoted and talented German freemason, shows some problems and tendencies in Masonry that continue up to our present time. Fully recognized and accepted are his demands for a careful selection of candidates, for Masonic education and research, the

encouragement of Masonic libraries, a simplification of the ritual, and the increase of intellectual and cultural activities of the Brotherhood.

Masonry, the art of bringing men together on the same level, however, was probably insufficiently taught and practiced by him. Learning from his example all well-meaning brothers should ask themselves: How far may we go in criticizing fellow brothers, institutions or neighbors without disturbing irreparably the harmony of the whole, without making enemies and possibly attaining the opposite of our Masonic plan – brotherly love?

In the author's judgment, Barthelmess made significant contributions but he also was a source of disharmony. Granted that Barthelmess was relentless in his crusade to promote a more perfect form of masonry in the U.S. and in so doing he did not hesitate to chastise or excoriate the Masonic shortcomings of his contemporaries, but could there be more involved in this somewhat lukewarm assessment?

Two items in the article demand interpretation. In listing Barthelmess's Masonic affiliations, the author states that, among others, Barthelmess was an honorary member of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg and the Prince Hall Grand Lodge, Boston.[23] However, under the rubric "Recognition of Colored Masons" the author wrote:[24]

> Concerning the recognition of lodges of colored men, he [Barthelmess] agreed with his and other European Grand Lodges to accept regular members of 'just duly constituted' colored lodges as visitors but 'owing to the exposed position of Pythagoras Lodge and the low intellectual levels of Negroes in New York – they could not be admitted as members.'

This passage presents a paradox. How could Barthelmess become an honorary member of the preeminent African-American grand lodge (Boston) and yet think that African-Americans were incapable of membership in his lodge? Might not the truth behind Barthelmess' relations to the African lodges be a significant source of the disharmony that he allegedly generated?

After his arrival in New York, Barthelmess did the unthinkable. In December 1852, according to his own account, he visited Boyer Grand Lodge, the Prince Hall-affiliated grand lodge in New York City. Contact between African-American and white freemasons was strictly forbidden by the white grand lodges. As early as the 1790s the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania not only expressly banned such contacts but also threatened violators with expulsion. It is, however, a truism that that which is not done, does not have to be outlawed. The laws against miscegenation that existed in the U.S. up to the early 1960s were not enacted because the races were not mixing. They were and racial purists were alarmed. Likewise, unofficial Masonic contact across racial lines has probably always occurred. There are also isolated examples of integrated white lodges. Noted theologian Theodore S. Wright, the first Black graduate of Princeton's Theological Seminary was identified along with his father as a member of the Caucasian lodge in Schenecteday, New York.[25]

It is uncertain whether Barthelmess came to America with the express purpose of opening a dialogue with African-American lodges but he did so. From the 1850s in Brooklyn and then after his departure for Germany after the Civil War, he repeatedly wrote on the issue of the legitimacy of African-American freemasonry.

The articles appeared in the German-American newspaper *Triangel* as well as the preeminent German masonic newspaper *Bauhütte* edited by J. G. Findel, the noted masonic historian. Together the two men were instrumental in getting the German and many of the other European grand lodges to recognize Prince Hall freemasonry officially.[26]

In gratitude for their efforts to promote the legitimacy of Prince Hall Freemasonry, Lewis Hayden, Grandmaster of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, made both Barthelmess and Findel honorary grandmasters. To date little or no research has been done on the consequences of this act or its background. How did the African-Americans communicate with their European brothers? Did they exchange visitors? How did the German-American freemasons in this country react to their homeland's stance on the race question? Finally, what factors led to the withdrawal of this recognition early in the twentieth century? Visitors to Bayreuth's *Freimaurermuseum* can view what remains of the gifts given to Barthelmess and Findel but the background of their relationship to African-American freemasonry is unknown to today's German freemasons.

A final area for the study of Afro-German relations in a specific Pennsylvania context is folk medicine. Powwowing is an integral part of the folklife of South Central Pennsylvania. The origins of the practice are shrouded in history but Don Yoder has suggested that the practice originated in the border area between Maryland and Pennsylvania where the healing traditions of Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans converge.[27] Relatively undocumented is the involvement of African-Americans in this Pennsylvania German healing tradition.

In at least two counties (Lancaster and Lebanon) we find African-American powwowers. In Lancaster County Harriet Sweeney (ca. 1813-86) achieved a reputation that lived on in the memories of Conestoga Township's oldest residents. Her exploits occurred primarily after the Civil War. Prior to that date there is no evidence that she had any healing skills. Talking to residents one learns that she had cured area cattle from a curse placed on them by a nearby evil witch—possibly an African-American woman who lived there in Tucquan Hollow. Also she reportedly had cast a spell on her property that would immobilize trespassers that would only release them when they decided to retreat.

Acquisition of property and the philanthropic use of it were probably her greatest achievements from the period of her activity as a powwow doctor. She donated the property on which a refurbished A.M.E. Church was built and also rented several properties to African-Americans living in Conestoga (then known as Conestoga Centre). In that capacity she came into contact with the family of my mother. The powwowing tradition dictates that only a man can teach a woman or vice-versa. My mother's great uncle, Jacob B. Warner, son of John and Susan Seachrist Warner, two of the founders of the Conestoga A.M.E. Church in 1837, resided with Harriet Sweeney both in Conestoga and in Lancaster City. She not only taught him powwowing but also bequeathed to him in her will the traditional "a room and a bed" in her house. Warner later married Bathesheba Fisher and allegedly taught her the art also.

Perhaps another disciple of Harriet Sweeney was my grandfather, Edward H. Peaco (1867-1937). He married Jacob B. Warner's niece (Elnora Stumpf) in 1890 and rented a home that formerly belonged to Harriet Sweeney in Conestoga where his wife bore him thirteen children. Only eight lived to adulthood and in 1913 when

the thirteenth child, my mother (Mary Ella Peaco Hopkins) was just over a year of age, the entire Peaco clan moved into Lancaster City. Although my grandfather died five years before my birth, I recall my mother telling me how he could still blood and how she placed his copy of Hohmann's *The Long Lost Friend* in his vest pocket when he was buried.

An interesting aspect of Harriet Sweeney's life is her conflict with the local medical establishment. In 1880 the Lancaster County Medical Association filed suit against her and a certain John Campbell, a "worm doctor," for practicing medicine without formal training or licensure. A true bill was not found against Harriet Sweeney but Campbell was brought to trial. His exoneration by the jury led local newspapers to crow with *Schadenfreude* that the Medical Association had gotten a case of worms–the Association had to assume court costs.

What was the source of Harriet Sweeney's powwowing skills? Living along the eastern bank of the Susquehanna River, what sort of interactions did she have? Native Americans had lived there and among the early settlers there were many Germans. What knowledge or skills did those groups share with her? How did African-Americans perceive her healing arts? These are just a few questions requiring further study. A similar situation can be found in Lebanon County.

In the Lebanon County Historical Society one finds the article "Stories of old Stumptown" in which two African-American residents of Fredericksburg (the modern designation for Stumptown) are introduced. The first is Billy Downey who is described as being in the service of Levi Bickel, a merchant near the east end of Stumptown and who "worked in John Light's tannery and made himself useful to farmers."[28] In "the service of" can perhaps be interpreted as an indication that Downey was an indentured servant as were many Black Pennsylvanians before 1830. In the 1840 federal census a "William Downey" was a resident of Swatara Township. It is unclear, however, whether he is the same William Downey recalled by the author in Stumptown. That Downey was known for his healing skills.

In explaining Downey's healing expertise, the author echoes superstitions about Africans that held wide currency during the Colonial Period:[29]

> As Sampson's strength lay in his long hair, so Billy's occult powers were supposed to be inherent in the blackness of his African complexion. There was no surer cure for the whooping cough than Bill Downey's kiss implanted full on the mouth of the little sufferer.

The belief that Africans because of their skin color were immune to fever and disease was a factor in the decision to seek the aid of Black Philadelphians in the Yellow Fever epidemic that swept that city in the 1790s. What other cures or treatments Downey mastered are not related but a humorous anecdote about his religiosity gives some insight into Afro-German relations in Lebanon County.

Downey's piety was characterized as being of "the emotional variety and he was very fond of making loud and long prayers of an evening in the religious gatherings of the time."[30] To underscore Downey's loquacity we find a semi-humorous confrontation between Downey and Adam Petry, a resident also known for being long-winded when praying. Downey was praying and seeing that his own chance for

public display was dwindling, Petry took his son by the hand and announced loudly: "Kom on, George, un lass der shwartz Downey die gans nacht blobbera."[31]

This anecdote raises questions about the interaction of Africans and Germans in Lebanon County. The church service alluded to was obviously interracial—but what extent? One can only speculate if Downey understood Petry's German but Africans and Germans clearly had some church services together. Also the Pennsylvania Dutch country, and beyond, is replete with anecdotal evidence of African-Americans who had acquired a more than passing proficiency in both German and Pennsylvania German. Assessing the extent to which African-Americans became proficient in German is a huge but not impossible task. It is only necessary to move beyond the mere anecdotal and collect biographical information on African-Americans who have interacted with Germans in areas as disparate as Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Canada, etc.

Another interesting figure from Lebanon County is Henry Dollum who is described as a self-made veterinary surgeon. In assessing Dollum's career the narrator displays a good deal of cant:[32]

> What he [Dollum] pretended to know of therapeutics and of the occult was quite considerable; and what with pow-wowing for equine ailments, "stilling the blood" in hemorrhages of wounded bovines, and prescribing "laud'num and sweet nitre" for all patients, irrespective of the nature of their condition, he, for some years had quite a practice as a horse and cattle doctor.

Dollum's skills may have been a matter of pretense but one cannot argue with customer satisfaction. If he had not delivered a service, then Dollum would most probably not have had any longevity in his chosen profession. More important, however, is how did he acquire those skills and what did his clients think of him, besides the fact that they obviously used him repeatedly?

This essay was not intended as an overview or a comprehensive list of what is a very complex and multi-faceted topic. Germans and Africans have and continue to interact in the New World, Africa, and Europe. While focusing primarily on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and addressing Afro-German interaction in a geographically restricted area, it is hoped that this essay will not only suggest topics but also encourage research into those topics. By moving beyond an analysis of German attitudes towards Africans in the context of slavery and abolition to the exploration of other social, economic, and cultural contexts in which Afro-German contact occurred, it is possible to gain new perspectives on the current interplay of ethnicity and race and perhaps develop better strategies for coexisting in an increasingly multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-racial world.

Millersville University
Millersville, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] Heinz Kloss, *Research Possibilities in the German-American Field*, ed. with introduction and bibliography by LaVern J. Rippley (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1980), 222f.

[2] Cf. Christian Degn, *Die Schimmelmanns im Atlantischen Dreieckshandel: Gewinn und Gewissen* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1984).

[3] Cf. George Fenwick Jones, "The Black Hessians: Negroes Recruited by the Hessians in South Carolina and other Colonies," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (October 1982): 287-302.

[4] Cf. Rainer Pommerin, *Die Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbastarde: Das Schicksal einer farbigen Minderheit 1918-1937* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1979).

[5] Cf. May Opitz, Katharaina Oguntoye, and Dagmar Schultz, eds., *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out*, trans. Anne V. Adams (U. Massachusetts, 1992).

[6] Louis M. Waddell, ed., *Unity from Diversity: Extracts from Selected Pennsylvania Colonial Document, 1681 to 1780, in Commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Commonwealth* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1982), 37.

[7] Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans., *Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg in Three Volumes* (Philadelphia: Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States and the Muhlenberg Press, 1942), 1:58.

[8] Ibid., 2:362.

[9] Cf. Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 2005).

[10] Cf. open letter by Friderich van Watteviville,"Declaration vor die Mährischen Brüder, die sich auf dieser Insul befinden...," in Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Ergänzungsbände zu den Hauptschriften*, vol. 8, *Büdingsche Sammlung*, 2:196-215.

[11] Kenneth G. Hamilton, trans., ed., *The Bethlehem Diary*, vol. 1, 1742-44 (Bethlehem: The Archives of the Moravian Church, 1971), 105f.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Cf. also my article "The Darker Brother: African and Pennsylvania German Interaction in Colonial Pennsylvania" in *U.S.A. Beiträge zur Landeskunde*, ed. Gerhard Bergmann, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge 1991/12 (A 126) (Halle [Saale]), 1991), 80-100.

[14] Katharine Faull Eze, "Self-Encounters: Two Eighteenth Century African Memoirs from Moravian Bethlehem," in *Crosscurrents: African-Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Aisha Blackshire-Belay, eds. (Camden House, 1998), 29-52.

[15] Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock, *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian*

(Southern Illinois University Press, Feffer & Simmons, Inc., and Arcturus Books, April 1968), 30.

[16] See Maria Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines: Ottilie Assing & Frederick Douglass* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999).

[17] See *Douglass' Monthly*, August 1859.

[18] See *Men of Standing.*

[19] in "Neue Partheyische Lancastersche Zeitung," November 26, 1788.

[20] H. A. Rockafield, ed., *Das Manheimer Trauerspiel: Das Leben und Verhör, Bekenntniß und Hinrichtung Anderson und Richards, Gehängt zu Lancaster, PA, April 9, 1858* (Druckerei des Volkfreunds und Beobachters, 1858), 13.

[21] Karl F. Hoffmann, "Richard Barthelmess, M.D., Freemason and Critic of Freemasonry," *Transactions: The American Lodge of Research. Free and Accepted Masons* 11, 2 (January 29, 1970 – December 28, 1970): 281-86.

[22] Ibid., 286.

[23] Ibid., 283.

[24] Ibid., 286.

[25] Membership Roster of St. George's Lodge No. 6, F & AM at Schenectady, New York. Warranted September 14, 1774. 175th Anniversary (1774-1949). Membership Roster Committee. Listed are Richard P. G. Wright and Theodore S. Wright as members in 1844.

[26] Official recognition entailed appointing a representative at each grand lodge who would represent the interests of the other grand lodge, e.g., Justin Holland, an African-American freemason of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ohio, represented the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. It is unclear whether these representatives visited the German grand lodge. Barthelmess hints at such visits in one of his articles.

[27] Don Yoder.

[28] Dr. E. Grumbine, "Stories from Stumptown," *Lebanon County Historical Society Publications* 5 (1910): 251.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., 252.

[32] Ibid.

Helmut Protze

Die Zipser im sprachgeographischen und sprachhistorischen Vergleich zu den Siebenbürger Sachsen

Dem verehrten Jubilar und lieben Freund gute Wünsche fürderhin. Unvergessen bleibt mir die Begegnung mit ihm und seiner geschätzten Ehefrau Dorothy am 31.Juli 1995 in Millersville/ Pennsylvanien, als ich vor meiner Teilnahme als Referent am 9.Weltkongress der Germanisten in Vancouver mit meinem Sohn Wolfram eine USA- und Kananda-Rundreise unternahm.

Wenn Jacob Grimm (1868) "die Regel der Sprache ... vollständig und überall auf die Geschichte" gestützt darstellen und – umgekehrt – das "Bett der Geschichte" von dem vermeintlich "unschuldigeren Standpunkt der Sprache" aus stärker aufschlüsseln[1] wollte, so gilt das und ebenso der Satz des Leiters des Deutschen Sprachatlas (Marburg), Ferdinand Wredes, "die Geschichte der Sprache folgt den Geschicken der Sprecher" ganz besonders im Sprachinselraum, also für unser Thema.

Bleiben wir im Bilde: Siebenbürgen und die Zips gehören bei sprachgeographischer und sprachgeschichtlicher Betrachtung zusammen, auch weil sie den Endpunkt der großen mittelalterlichen Siedlungs- und Sprachbewegung im Osten und Norden des weiten Karpatenbogens darstellen, der das pannonische Becken mit Donau und Theiss umfasst.

Der planmäßige Ausbau des ungarischen Staatsorganismus erfolgte nach westlich-feudalem deutschem Muster, und nachdem der erste Ungarnkönig, Stephan I., "der Heilige," sich mit der bayerischen Königstochter Gisela vermählt hatte, kamen zur ersten Jahrtausendwende deutsche Adelige, Ritter, Beamte, aber auch Soldaten, Bürger und Handwerker ins Land. Stephan der Heilige ließ sogar einen Schreiber von Otto III. nach Ungarn kommen, "um hier die Methoden der kaiserlichen Kanzlei einzuführen."[2]

Die erste planmäßig organisierte Siedlungstätigkeit erfolgte schon unter König Geysa II. (1141-62) und um die Wende vom 12. zum 13. Jahrhundert, von deutscher und ungarischer Seite gleichermaßen gewollt. Geysa II. förderte vor allem den Zuzug deutscher Handwerker und Bauern. Es entstanden geschlossene deutsche Siedlungsgebiete im südlichen Siebenbürgen und im Nösnerland sowie eine lockere Kette an den Südabhängen der Karpaten, von der Zips angefangen, die ihre ersten Siedler aus Mitteldeutschland bezog. Die Zipser Martinspropstei wird um 1180-96 als bestehend erschlossen. Die Zipser Burg wird 1209 erstmalig urkundlich erwähnt; ebenso Eisdorf/Zakovce als erster Zipser Ort.

Erst nach dem Mongoleneinfall 1241 erfolgte die Hauptansiedlung der Zipser Deutschen aufgrund wirtschaftlicher Privilegien durch Ungarnkönig Bela IV. (1235-70). Es kam früh zu einem "Zipser Bund" (Comunitas Saxonum de Cips), und schon

zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts (1202) wird der Graf der Zipser "Sachsen," Thomas, als politisches Oberhaupt der Zips erwähnt. Käsmark wird 1251 als *villa Saxonum* angeführt. Leutschau erhielt 1271 Stadtrecht und wurde zum Sitz der Gerichtsbarkeit und Verwaltung für die Zips und für mehrere Jahrhunderte auch zu ihrem kulturellen Zentrum. Von 1370 stammt das Rechtsbuch der Zipser, die "Zipser Willkür"; in Siebenbürgen haben wir das "Eigenlandrecht" erst aus dem Jahre 1583. Obwohl die Zipser im 13. Jahrhundert noch vorwiegend als ein Bauernvolk bezeichnet werden, hat sich der Handel auch als Folge verkehrsgünstiger Lage an wichtigen West-Ost- und Nord-Süd-Verbindungen entwickelt und neben ihm das Städtewesen. Das 1312 von König Karl Robert (1307-42) herausgegebene *Freythumb*, das die Privilegien von König Stephan V. von 1271 bestätigt, spricht bereits von Städten, die dem Zipser Bund angehören und meist eine mehrsprachige Bevölkerung haben (Deutsche, Slawen, Ungarn). Ein nicht unerheblicher Teil der deutschen Siedlungen in der Zips und angrenzender Gebiete ist ziemlich früh slowakisiert worden. Mit ihrer reichen städtischen Kultur war im 14. Jahrhundert die Slowakei "das am meisten entwickelte und wohlhabendste Gebiet des Ungarischen Königreiches."[3]

Im südlichen Siebenbürgen erfolgte die deutsche Einwanderung im Laufe des 12. Jahrhunderts, wobei die *priores Flandrenses* und die später eingewanderten "Sachsen" ab 1206 (*Saxones)* zu unterscheiden sind. Im Osten Südsiebenbürgens liegt das Burzenland, während das westliche Gebiet die sächsischen Gaue Altland, Unterwald und Königsboden zusammenfasst. Das Burzenland wurde erst unter König Andreas II. (1205-35) besiedelt, und zwar als Tochterkolonie vom Nösnischen und südsiebenbürgischen Altland aus. Stets ist der methodische Grundsatz zu berücksichtigen, zuerst die Mutterkolonie zu ermitteln, bevor die binnendeutsche Ausgangsmundart ins Auge gefasst wird.[4]

Obwohl der Andreanische Freibrief, auch Andreanum genannt, die seit Geysa II. gewährten Privilegien der Siebenbürger Sachsen im Jahre 1224 bestätigt, was nicht unabhängig von der Vertreibung des Deutschen Ritterordens der gleichen Zeit zu sehen ist, und die deutschen Orte um Hermannstadt schon im beginnenden 14. Jahrhundert in sogenannte "Stühle" gegliedert wurden, sind alle sächsischen Siedlungen erst im 15. Jahrhundert (1486) in einer "Nationsuniversität" vereinigt worden.

Das Zipser und vor allem das Siebenbürger Deutschtum stand im Mittelpunt des wissenschaftlichen Interesses der Gelehrten des Mittelalters bzw. des Humanismus und der Reformation. Der Leutschauer Gymnasialrektor, später Ratsherr und Stadtrichter Kaspar Hain (1632-87) äußerte in seiner Zipserischen oder Leutschauerischen Chronica im 13. Kapitel des Ungarischen oder Dacianischen Simplicissimus (1683): "die Zipser Stättlein seynd Evangelischer Religion zugethan und wird Meißnerisch Deutsch in solchen geredet."[5]

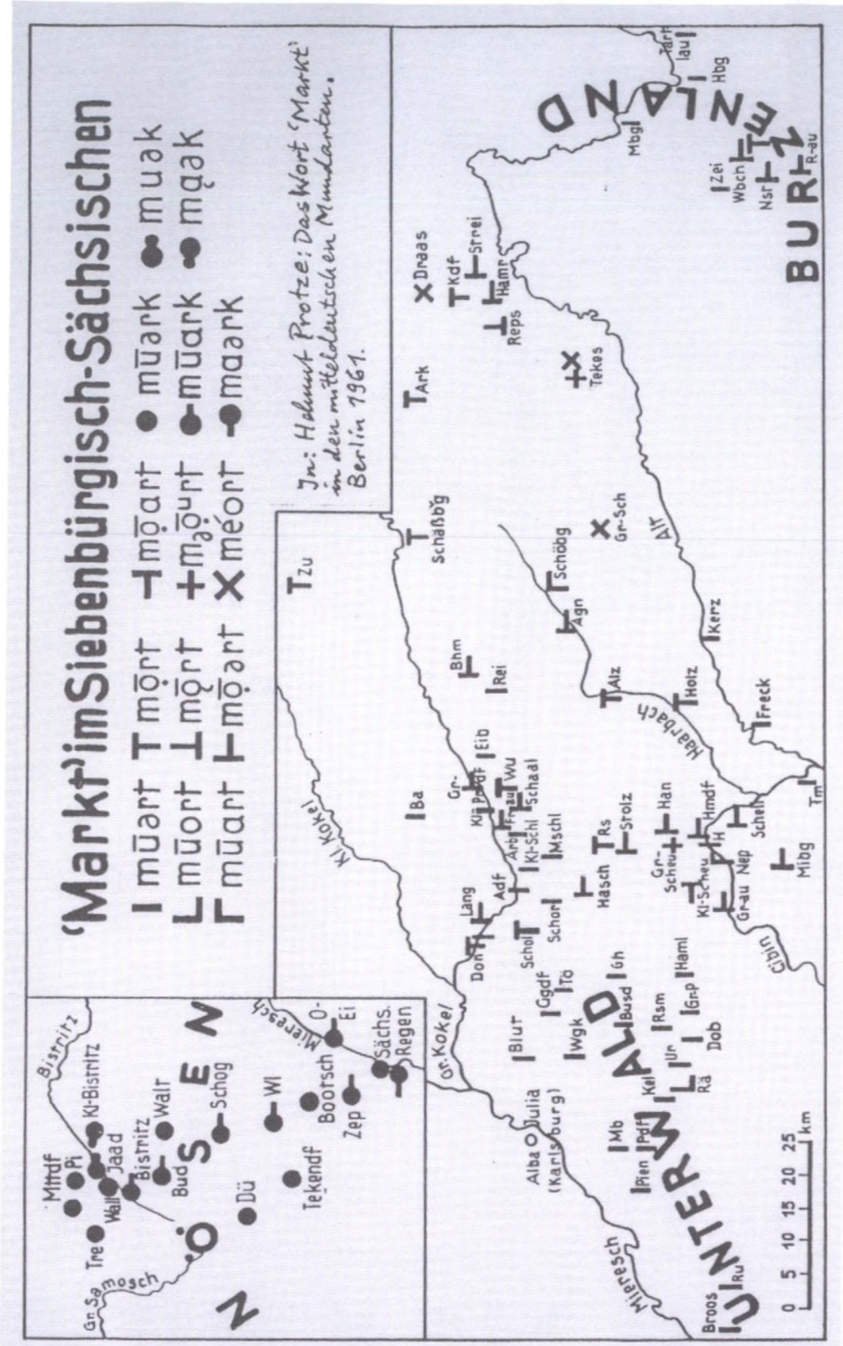
Die Heimatbestimmung einer alten Sprachinsel, d.h. die Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen sprachgeographischen Zustandes, also der Mundartkarte der Siedlungszeit, gelingt, so eigenartig es klingen mag, wie Ernst Schwarz[6] richtig festgestellt hat, besser und sicherer als die einer jungen, neuzeitlichen, etwa im 18. oder 19. Jahrhundert entstandenen, da bei der alten Sprachinsel nur der zwischenmundartliche Ausgleich zu berücksichtigen ist, während bei der jungen Inselmundart die Hochsprache als mundartverändernder Faktor hinzukommt.

Zur Zeit der Siebenbürger und Zipser Ansiedlung hat es diese danebenstehende Hochsprache noch nicht gegeben.

Andererseits kann aus dem erörterten günstigen Sachverhalt der Heimatbestimmung von Mundart und Siedlern einer alten Sprachinsel nicht gefolgert werden, dass das heutige sprachgeographische Bild der alten Sprachinsel, also das von Siebenbürgen und der Zips, nur mit seiner etwaigen Entsprechung im Binnendeutschen zu vergleichen sei, dass somit ein geradliniger Weg von der Gegenwart ins hohe Mittelalter zu verfolgen wäre, wie es z.B. noch die fleißige siebenbürgisch-sächsische "Urheimatforschung" um 1900 getan hat. Wir wissen heute vor allem dank der Forschungen von Ferdinand Wrede und seiner Marburger Schüler am Sprachatlas (Hermann Teuchert, Theodor Frings, Karl Bischoff u.a.), aber auch aufgrund der Untersuchungen von E. Schwarz von Prag und Erlangen aus, dass die heutige Mundartenkarte sich nicht *a priori* ins Mittelalter zurückprojizieren lässt. Sprachmischung, Sprachwandel, besonders aber Sprachausgleich in den dazwischenliegenden Jahrhunderten sind vorhanden, und zwar im Heimatland wie in den Sprachinseln, und haben die Mundarten mehr oder weniger verändert, so auch die äußeren Konturen mancher Laut- und Wortgrenze verwischt und sie neu im Raume fixiert. Wir wissen dank der Forschungen von Frings, dass besonders das Rheinland geneuert und an den Rändern, z.B. in Luxemburg, sich altes Sprachgut erhalten hat, wie die Karte 'Zwiebel' zeigt: Kontamination *öllich* aus *önn* (lat. *unio* + *look*) nhd. 'Lauch.'

Schon bei meinen ersten siebenbürgischen Mundartaufnahmen 1956-57 und dem Blick in das sprachhistorisch ausgerichtete Material des Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Wörterbuchs (SSWB) in Hermannstadt konnte ich feststellen, dass es einen mitunter starken innersiebenbürgisch-sächsischen Sprachausgleich gegeben hat. Ihn konnte ich 1961 nachweisen mit der Veröffentlichung "Das Wort 'Markt' in den mitteldeutschen Mundarten. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen und unter Einbeziehung des Indogermanischen"[7] (vgl. die beigegebene Karte 'Markt.') Die Ausgleichsprozesse werden verdeutlicht. Die Karte 'Markt' zeigt auf den ersten Blick – die eingetragenen Orte habe ich fast alle aufgesucht – dass die spätmittelalterliche Sprachkarte ganz anders aussieht, da nämlich beide primären Leitformen *Mark* und *Mart* (jeweils mit Konsonantenerleichterung) sowohl im Südsiebenbürgisch-Sächsischen wie im Nösnischen noch ganz und gar nebeneinander vorkommen. Die heutigen Sprachkarten sind das Ergebnis eines jahrhundertelangen Sprachkampfes beider Formen miteinander. Die beiden innersiebenbürgischen Sprachräume nösnisch und südsiebenbürgisch-sächsisch haben entgegengesetzt, also "gegenräumlich" ausgeglichen. Von den vielen überlieferten schriftlichen Varianten des ausgehenden Mittelalters bei 'Markt' weisen nur sechs Konsonantenerleichterung zugunsten von *-t* aus, d.h. außerordentlich wenig, dagegen haben über siebzig auslautendes *-k*, von denen nur fünf aus dem Nösnischen stammen. Günstig erwies sich, dass wegen der sachlichen Bedeutung des Marktes in mittelalterlichen Quellen das Wort häufig vorkommmt. Die heutigen *-t* sind also nicht direkt auf die "Urheimat," d.h. auf das Gebiet, wo im Mittelfränkischen *-t* vorkommt, zurückzuverfolgen, sondern sie sind in ihrer jetzigen Verbreitung im Südsiebenbürgisch-Sächsischen höchstens zwei bis drei Jahrhunderte alt.

Sprachliche Dynamik veranschaulicht auch die Karte "Wirkung der Stadtsprachen in Siebenbürgen" (in *Kleine Enzyklopädie "Die deutsche Sprache"*


'Markt' im Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen
In: Helmut Protze: Das Wort 'Markt' in den mitteldeutschen Mundarten. Berlin 1961.
NÖSEN
UNTERWALD
BURZENLAND
Gr. Kokel
Kl. Kokel
Mieresch
Gr. Samosch
Bistritz
Harbach
Alt
Cibin
0 5 10 15 20 25 km

[1969], 1:344), die ich Mitte der sechziger Jahre nach eigenen Belegen und Belegen des Siebenbürgisch-Deutschen Sprachatlas (SDSA) erarbeiten konnte. Sie zeigt drei Hauptrichtungen der sächsischen Umgangssprache Siebenbürgens, von Hermannstadt, Kronstadt und Bistritz ausgehend. Der Präteritalausgleich *war* 3.Sg. hat älteres *was* zurückgedrängt, ebenso *reeden, rieden* älteres *keesen, kiesen, kaisen, kuise,* und beim Reflexivpronomen *sich* liegen die ältesten Formen *ser (sir)* weit abseits des Hermannstädter Strahlungszentrums.

Lautliche Erscheinungen der Zipser und der Siebenbürger Sachsen, verglichen mit dem Rheinischen (Mittelfränkischen) und anderen binnendeutschen Räumen: Die rheinische Gutturalisierung, z.B. *löckt* 'Leute' fehlt in der Oberzips. Doch ist der Wandel *nd* zu *ng* nach *ü, u* bekannt gewesen, wofür die Reliktformen *tseng* 'zünden,' *ontsenger* 'Anzünder' sprechen. Wie in Bistritz ist *nd* normalerweise zu *n* assimiliert, z.B. *schen* 'schinden,' *gefon* 'gefunden,' wie es im Moselfränkischen üblich ist. Gutturalisierte Formen wie *Gyrkel* 'Gürtel,' (vgl. Lumtzer[8]) führen ebenfalls ins Rheinland; auch *Gyrkel* im Nösnischen wie *Mankel* 'Mantel,' *Berkel* 'Börtel' und Südsiebenb.-Sächsisch *Kengt* 'Kind,' *Hangt* 'Hund,' (vgl. Karte 23 SDSA).

Der Schwund eines *ch* vor *t* wie im Rheinland (*gebrat* 'gebracht') ist der Zips wie im Siebenbürgisch- Sächsischen unbekannt. Auch gibt es nur wenige Belege für die Entwicklung *ft* zu *cht*. Doch J. Lux [9] weist auf gründlerisch (grdl.) *Lochter* 'Klafter,' Längenmaß von 2 m; besonders im Bergbau, das zu nösn. *Lofter* zu stellen ist, vgl. hess. *Lachter* (Hess.- Nass. WB 2,5) und für das Binnendeutsche Protze in: *Kleine Enzyklopädie "Die deutsche Sprache"* 1:219 mit Karte 'Luft,' dazu mhd. *Niftel* 'Nichte,' mhd. *êhaft* 'gesetzlich,' 'echt' oder *sanft/sachte.* Insofern kommt dem nösnischen Beleg *-f-* in *Lofter* Bedeutung bei. Weitere Restformen *cht* sind im Nösnischen *Schuacht* 'Stiefelschaft,' *Schuachtert,* grdl. *Schachert* 'Melkeimer.'

In beiden Sprachinselmundarten gibt es in Restformen die Entwicklung *hs* zu *ss*, so in *dresseln* 'drechseln,' *Taisl* 'Deichsel,' vgl. aber auch omdt. und schlesisch *Taistl.* Das hohe Alter wird u.a. belegt durch den Fam. Namen *Dressler* 'Dreßler, Drechsler' 1383 bei Weinelt.[10] Alle siebenbürg.-sächsischen Mundarten sprechen *s* statt *chs,* z.B. in *Flues, Fleos, Flos* 'Flachs.' In der gesamten Oberzips wird *-v-* zu *-b-*, vgl. Leibitz *fembe* 'fünf,' *ubr* 'Ufer,' und *-v-* zu *-p-*, vgl. ebda *heup* 'Hof,' was ins südliche Moselfränkische führt und auch im Nösnischen *obm* 'Ofen,' *schtibel* 'Stiefel' anzutreffen ist. Anlautendes *s* ist seit alters in beiden Sprachinseln stimmhaft gewesen, wie heute noch im Siebenbürg.-Sächsischen. Alte Lehnwörter beweisen es.

Im Siebenbürg.-Sächs. hat sich auch unverschobenes *t-* im Anlaut erhalten, vgl. *teschen* 'zwischen,' dafür grdl. *kveschen.* Die Imperativform für 'sei' lautet im Rheinischen nördlich *bis*, südlich *sei*, dazu in Luxemburg *seif.* Alle drei Varianten finden sich im Siebenbürg.-Sächs, nämlich *seif* um Bistritz und östlich von Reps und Draas, weithin *si*, im Osten westlich von Schäßburg bis Großschenk dazu *bes.*

Der im Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen deutlich erkennbare moselfränkische Lautverschiebungsstand ist in der Oberzips nicht erkennbar, aber es gibt Restformen.

Wörter mit intervokalischem *-g-* wie 'gesagt,' 'getragen,' 'Regen,' 'geflogen,' 'Hain/Hagen' sind in der Oberzips nicht kontrahiert worden, sondern sie lauten *gesogt, getrogen, Regen, gefleugen, Hogen,* wohl *Odaks, Madchen* 'Eidechse,' 'Mädchen.' Für das grdl. Dobschau gilt für mhd. *-ige-* Kontraktion in *laet* 'liegt,' ebenso für *-age-*

schlon 'schlagen.' Im nösn. Bistritz ist Kontraktion belegt, und im Burzenland steht Vokalisierung neben Erhaltung.

Im Vokalismus ist für beide Sprachinselmundarten der Umlaut typisch, z.B. *kefm* 'kaufen' Dobschau,[11] ebenso Bistritz *kifen* Hermannstadt (SSWB 5,78). Die oberzipser Mundart wird im allgemeinen als Diphthongierungsmundart bezeichnet, weil nhd. Monophthonge als Diphthonge erscheinen: *geup* 'Gabe,' *neut* 'Not.' Die Gründler Mundart ist dagegen eine Monophthongierungsmundart, weil mhd. Diphthonge als Monophthonge erscheinen: *fleesch, flaasch* 'Fleisch,' *poom, paam* 'Baum.'

Für das Siebenbürg.-Sächsische ist die außerordentliche Vielfalt des Vokalismus typisch, die weniger groß im südwestlichen Siebenbürgen, im Unterwald ist aufgrund jüngeren Ausgleichs durch die Stadtsprache von Hermannstadt. In den Lauttafeln des *Siebenbürg.-Sächs. Wörterbuchs* Bd.1 weist das Beispiel 'Gans' als Extremfall von den belegten 51 Orten 34 verschiedene Lautungen auf, z.B. *Guis, Goas, Goes, Guus, Gaas, Gäus, Gois, Gous, Ganges, Gems, Jeas, Jois, Jaus, Djuus,* während andere Wörter, wie z.B. 'Wiese' nur eine Form, nämlich die alte mhd. Kürze *Wis* zeigt. Das vokalische Ortsmundartenmosaik im Siebenbürg.-Sächs. ist vor allem eine Folge der ungünstigen Verkehrsverhältnisse seit ältester Zeit auf dem Lande, wodurch die ohnehin schon große Selbständigkeit der Bauerndörfer noch größer zu veranschlagen ist. Bei meinen umfangreichen Mundartaufnahmen der Jahre 1956-58, 1961 in 75 Gemeinden, d.h. in einem Drittel aller Orte mit sächsischem Bevölkerungsanteil, habe ich oft Gewährsleute gehabt, besonders Frauen, die ihr Leben lang nicht auch nur einen Nachbarort aus eigener Anschauung kannten. Erst in der jüngeren Vergangenheit vor 1990 ist es vielerorts nicht mehr Brauch wie früher gewesen, dass der Mann die Frau nur aus der eigenen Gemeinde auswählt. Bei solcher Betonung des Eigenlebens der Kommunen ist es nur allzu logisch, dass man um den Wert und die Lautung der eigenen Mundart gut Bescheid weiß und sich von der Nachbargemeinde abwendet, nicht selten mit spöttischen Bemerkungen (Ortsneckereien). Es spricht deshalb vieles dafür, dass auch der siebenbürg.-sächsische Vokalismus im allgemeinen alt ist.

Das Moselfränkische bietet im Vokalismus ebenso ein buntscheckiges Bild. Doch sollten daraus keine siedlungsgeschichtlichen Schlüsse im einzelnen gezogen werden, etwa vom Einzelort der Sprachinsel zum Einzelort im Moselfränkischen.

Eine grundlegende, weite Räume außerhalb des Rheinischen, aber beide Sprachinseln einbeziehende Lauterscheinung, verdanken wir dem Bairischen. Es handelt sich um die alte Entwicklung von anlaut. *w-* zu *b-*, weshalb z.B. die Gründler von den Oberzipsern verspottet werden (*Bulener)*, z.B. auf Grund des gründlerischen Satzes: *bier Baeber boln baesa Beesch beschn, ben boarmes Bosr bear* 'wir Weiber wollen weiße Wäsche waschen, wenn warmes Wasser wäre.' In einzelnen gründlerischen Mundarten wird auch inlaut. *-w-* in gedeckter Silbe als *-b-* ausgesprochen, z.B. *tsbaa* 'zwei,' *schbats* 'schwarz,' *Schbants* 'Schwanz.' Diese Lauterscheinung stimmt mit dem typischen Burzenländer Mundartsatz, der auch im benachbarten Schirkanyen gilt, überein: *spenentspintsich schpuarts Schpentcher mät spenentspintsich schpuartsn Schpintsker* '22 schwarze Schweinchen mit 22 schwarzen Schwänzchen.' In der Oberzips gilt dieses durchschlagende bairische Lautmerkmal nicht; ebenso ist es nicht im übrigen Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen, außer im nösnischen Tekendorf anzutreffen. Die alte bairische Lautentwicklung *w-* zu *b-* ist weithin auch im Binnendeutschen vorhanden, hat aber dennoch nicht Eingang in der nhd. Schriftsprache gefunden.

Diese bairische Lautentwicklung ist auch in den Außensiedlungen des Bairischen im Mittelalter vorhanden, vgl. E. Schwarz, *PBB* (1934)58: 323ff. und meinen Beitrag in der Schwarz-Festschrift 1960, in dem ich auch den Nachweis erbringe (S. 341ff.), dass das Burzenland eine Tochterkolonie vom Nordsiebenbürgisch-Sächsischen und Altland ist.[12]

Wie erwähnt, haben alle bairischen Sprachinseln *b-* statt *w-*, so die sieben und dreizehn Gemeinden, Zarz, Gottschee (*Tsbingle* 'Zwilling,' *Batter* 'Wetter,' die Brünner, Wischauer und Budweiser Insel, Zipser Gründe, Kremnitzer und Probener, Deutsch-Brodeker Insel, Nebotein und Olmützer und der Norden der Iglauer Insel, sowie das ungarländische Deutsch-Pilsen. Im *Ofener Stadtrecht des 15. Jahrhunderts* (hrsg. Von Karl Mollay 1959) finden sich ebenso viele Belege *b-* für *w-*.

Den vergleichenden Wortschatz zwischen dem Rheinischen und den beiden Sprachinseln heranzuziehen, ist sicher aufschlussreich. Doch aus Umfangsgründen müssen wir darauf verzichten. Außerdem erschwert das Fehlen des Zipser Wörterbuchs den Vergleich. Beim Einmarsch der Roten Armee in Aszód/Nordostungarn war das jahrzehntelang von Julius Grĕb gesammelte umfangreiche Material für das Zipser Wörterbuch vernichtet worden und der Verfasser sogleich verstorben.[13]

Grundsätzlich gilt der Satz von E. Schwarz:[14] "Der Zipser Wortschatz ist 'ostmitteldeutscher' als der der Siebenbürger Sachsen, der viel geringere Beeinflussung durch das Ostmd. Zeigt."

Werfen wir einen Blick in die Kanzleisprache der Zips in spätmhd. und frühnhd. Zeit. Wir fragen, wie steht es da um den mitteldeutschen und bairischen Anteil? Der frühverstorbene, verdiente Germanist aus Debrecen, Sandor Gardonyi[15] hat in seiner Arbeit über Schmöllnitz/Unterzips eine Periodisierung der sprachlichen Entwicklung gegeben und stellt (S.35) fest:

> Die Kanzleisprache zeigt bis 1450 – trotz häufigem *p-* für germ. *b-* einen (o)md. Grundcharakter; die seit 1498 wieder fließenden Quellen zeugen von einem starken obd.-bair. Einfluß, der in der ersten Hälfte des 16.Jhs. seinen Höhepunkt erreicht, dann aber allmählich zurückgedrängt wird, ohne völlig zu schwinden. Als Unterströmung spielt die bair. Schreibtradition auch im Stadtwissbuch (seit 1594) eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle, so besonders zwischen 1594 und 1625 und etwa 1690-1725. Die herrschende Stellung des Omd. und später Nhd. wird durch die bair.-obd. Schreibsprache weder in der älteren (vor 1577) noch in der neueren Periode (1594-1730) gefährdet.

Zu ganz ähnlichen Ergebnissen kam ich in meiner Ausgabe des ältesten Stadtbuches von Göllnitz.

Gardonyi vertritt den Standpunkt, dass trotz der starken mundartlichen Färbung der von der Mundart losgelösten Schreibsprache eine nhd. Norm sich ausbreiten konnte. Selbst für den Schreibduktus einer kleinen Kanzlei wie Schmöllnitz ist in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts und noch mehr im 17. Jahrhundert die auf Sprachinselboden überraschend schnelle Verbreitung der nhd. Norm charakteristisch. Ähnliche Schlüsse zog ich 1966 und in den siebziger Jahren bei Durchsicht von Archivmaterial aus dem zweiten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts im Stadtarchiv von Leutschau.[16] Ich stellte dort die geringere Abhängigkeit der Kanzleisprache von den

umgebenden Mundarten als im Binnendeutschen fest; d.h. die z.B. in den Archiven von Leutschau, Bartfeld, Kremnitz, Hermannstadt heute noch nachlesbare alte Geschäftssprache ist weithin dialektfreier als die des gleichen Zeitraumes beispielsweise von Zwickau, Dresden, Zeitz oder Erfurt.

Ganz richtig fragt Gardonyi, wer die Träger und die bewegenden Kräfte des bairischen Einflusses sind: "man hat manchmal den Eindruck, als ob der bis 1420 freie unmittelbare Zugang zu den Bergstädten von Schlesien, Böhmen, Mähren her durch gewaltige historische Kräfte verriegelt worden wäre ('Hussitenbarriere?')."

Interessant ist aber dann, dass der "bairische Durchbruch" in der Kanzleisprache im letzten Viertel und besonders im letzten Jahrzehnt des 15. Jahrhunderts der Wahl des habsburgischen Erzherzogs Ferdinand zum ungarischen König nach dem Tod des Ungarnkönigs Ludwig II. in der Schlacht bei Mohács gegen die Türken 1526 fast um ein halbes Jahrhundert vorausgegangen war. Nach dem Übergang der Bergstädte an das Haus Habsburg 1546 verstärkt sich dann entscheidend der bairische Einfluss.

Betrachten wir wieder die sprachlichen Merkmale, wie sie das älteste Göllnitzer Stadtbuch liefert, wobei zu beachten ist, dass Mundart und Kanzleisprache nicht gleichzusetzen sind, die gesprochene Mundart jedoch sich noch meist in der Schriftform dokumentiert, oder mit Frings-Schmitt:[17] "Schreibsprache und Sprechsprache führen jede ein Eigenleben, sind aber doch vielfach abhängig voneinander und miteinander verknüpft." Nach Auskunft des ältesten Stadtbuches von Göllnitz war die Mundart der Unterzips im Mittelalter mehr oberzipserisch, d.h. mitteldeutsch geprägt als dieses heute der Fall ist. So galt die mitteldeutsche Senkung *i-* zu *e-*, *u-* zu *o-*: *pete* 'Bitte' 1432, *brengen* 'bringen' 1432, *brengsbyr* FamN 1480, *czwoschen* 'zwischen' 1483, *wedersproch* 'Widerspruch' 1484, *nocz* 'Nutzen' 1432. Heute wird jedoch *u* gesprochen. Auch *tph*-Schreibungen für mhd.*ph* sind typisch: *tpherden* 'Pferden' 1472, *tpharrer* 'Pfarrer' 1496, *eyn Tphyngstfeyrtagen* 'Pfingstfeiertag' 1492; selbst die Pers.N. belegen *tph-: Werner Valten tphannen Schmid* 'Pfannenschmied' 1490, *Tfriderich* 'Friedrich' 1500. Dieser *tph*-Anlaut gilt übrigens auch im Oberwischauer Zipser Dialekt (Viseu de sus) in Nordrumänien.

Vertreten sind auch solche mitteldeutsche Merkmale wie *off* 'auf' ab 1432 bis um 1500 23 mal. Dagegen erscheint *auf(f)* um ein Vielfaches, schon seit Beginn der Stadtbucheintragung 1432. Hier hat sich die Entwicklung zur hochdeutschen Form und ihre überlandschaftliche Geltung relativ schnell vollzogen; *her* 'er' kommt seit 1481 bis 1544 insgesamt 106 mal vor. Die häufigsten Belege von *her* liegen bis 1500 (73 mal); nach 1544 gilt allgemein *er*, dessen erster Beleg 1485 erscheint. Die Form *her* kommt sporadisch auch im Ostfränkischen vor.[18] Man vergleiche auch Frings[19] für den omd. Raum und Z. Masarik,[20] der in den südmährischen Kanzleien *er* und in den nordmährischen *her* gefunden hat.

Mitteldeutsches *an(e)* 'ohne' ist nur wenig belegt, nämlich 1472 *an alle vorteyl*, 1487 *ane begir der thediger*, und weitere zwei Belege.

Schon 1484 steht *on*: *auß zcupestellen on Hinderniß aber sewmniß; ap(p), ab* 'ob': Die mitteldeutsche Variante mit *a-* kommt in 15 Belegen vor, von 1432 an *vnd ab got holfe* 1472, Belege bis 1509. Demgegenüber erscheint *ob* seltener, aber auch verhältnismäßig früh (1480). Die Belege *gewest/gewesen* sind stark durchschichtet. Die mit dem Hochdeutschen übereinstimmende Form *gewesen* in Göllnitz ist kein

bairisches oder ostfränkisches Kriterium, da beide Formen auch in Obersachsen und im Erzgebirge anzutreffen sind.

Die md. Variante *a* statt *o* erscheint als *sal* (31 mal) 'soll', vor allem Frühformen *sal* (36 mal), *sall* (5 mal), *ſal* (viermal), zusammen 76 Belege. Sechs Belege zeigen Übernahme der Singularform in den Plural (*sallen)*. Die oberdeutschen (nhd.) Formen sind als *zol* (einmal), *ſoll* (10), *ſol* (6), *sol* (78), *soll* (95) belegt. Von allen 272 Belegen entfallen 82 auf *sal*(1), *zal,ſal*, einschließlich *sallen* und 190auf *sol*(1), *zol,ſol*(1). Das mitteldeutsche Merkmal ist fast nur bis 1500 vertreten, nämlich 77 mal ,während die oberdeutsche Variante in diesem Zeitraum nur 47 mal erscheint, und zwar nur in den letzten einundeinhalb Jahrzehnten des 15. Jahrhunderts.

Mit Recht stellt H. Weinelt[21] die im Stadtbuch von Zipser Neudorf vorkommenden *ader, adir* und *aber* für 'oder' in nördliche, oberzipser Zusammenhänge, d.h. mitteldeutsche, ebenso Gardonyi[22] als mitteldeutsche. Auch Auszählen entsprechenden Materials des Göllnitzer Stadtbuches nach den verschiedenen Merkmalen lohnt sich. Die Belege ergeben 27 mal *adir*, 58 *ader,* 21 *adder*, zusammen 106, davon vier Fünftel, nämlich 85 Belege im Zeitraum bis 1500, nämlich alle Belege *adir* und *adder* und 37 *ader.* Ferner ist *abir* zweimal und *aber* 13 mal belegt, zusammen 15 Belege, von denen sieben bis 1500 liegen. Es findet sich 130 mal *oder*, wobei nur 7 Belege aus den Jahren 1498 bis 1500 stammen. Wir haben also ein ähnliches kanzleisprachliches Erscheinungsbild wie bei den anderen Beispielen.

Bei 'trocken' erscheint durchweg die mitteldeutsche Lautung mhd. *iu,* die im Zuge der nhd. Diphthongierung zu *eu* geworden ist. Das Ostmittel- wie das Westmitteldeutsche weisen in großen Gebieten dieses *-eu-* (*dreuge, dreuche)* aus, das Frings[23] mit Recht "den rheinischen Kolonisten des 12. Jhs." zuschreibt, die es über die Zips bis Siebenbürgen mitgenommen haben. Es ist in der Ober- und Unterzips wie überhaupt auch schon in der frühnhd. Geschäftssprache der Slowakei vertreten. Das älteste Stadtbuch von Göllnitz enthält die Belege *trewgen* 1490, *treugen* 1498, *trewget* 1499, *getrewgt* 1502. Das *o* in *gedrocket* 1480 geht auf *u* zurück, vgl. oben Senkung. Göllnitz kannte früher auch Oberzipser Verzwielautungen von mdh. *â* zu *au*: *gestraufi* 'gestraft' 1458, *rauth* 'Rat' 1516.

Auffällig sind späte Schreibungen, die jedoch für 'soll' 3.Sg. fehlen, das auf ostfränkisch-bairischen Einfluss weisen würde. Weinelt meldet von Zipser Neudorf 1393 *schullyn* 'sollen' und nennt *sch-* "einen, wenn auch versprengten bayrischen Einschlag." Als einzige frühe Form steht im Göllnitzer Stadtbuch 1492 (S.92) *sch-* im Anlaut 'solcher':...*mit schulcher vnderscheyd...,* häufig später im Inlaut *perschonlich* 1568 (S.288).

Der bairische Wandel mhd. anlaut. *w-* zu *b-* wird heute noch in den Gründen gesprochen (z.B. *Bogendrüssel* 'Wagendrüssel,' und die Duale *ös, enk)*, nicht jedoch in der Oberzips. Die Frage ist wichtig, ob und wie sich diese bairische Lautentwicklung im ältesten Göllnitzer Stadtbuch widerspiegelt. Wenn Weinelt schreibt: "Bemerkenswert ist, dass aus Göllnitz bislang keine mittelalterlichen Belege für *b-* aus *w-* erbracht werden konnten," so ist das falsch. Wir belegen den Wandel *w-* zu *b-* 14 mal, z.B. *Bergberg* 'Bergwerk' 1498, *gebalth* 'Gewalt,' *bochen* 'Wochen' 1504, *bebeglichenn* 'beweglichen' 1521. Es sind wenig Belege, auch die Duale fehlen, was unterstreicht, dass die Gründe und Göllnitz im Spätmittelalter sprachlich stark von der Oberzips beeinflusst worden sind. Zipser Neudorf fungierte im Mittelalter gleichsam als Brücke zum damals noch wesentlich stärker oberzipserisch geprägten Hauptort der

Gründe, zu Göllnitz. Erst im letzten Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts setzte der Prozess der bairischen Überlagerung der mitteldeutschen Sprachformen in den Gründen stärker ein, als der Bergbau dort immer mehr Arbeitskräfte erforderte. Interessant ist, dass der stärkere mitteldeutsche Einschlag reichlich ein halbes Jahrhundert vor der Reformation vorhanden ist, die bekanntlich in der Zips eine große Rolle gespielt und deren herausragende Persönlichkeiten und Magistrate von Städten in Kontakt zu Luther und Melanchthon gebracht hat.[24]

Von den Siebenbürger Sachsen hat als einer der ersten 1887 Georg Keintzel (Gymnasialprogramm Bistritz, S.41ff.) von alten Verbindungen zur Zips gewusst, wie er in seinem Aufsatz "Über das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis der Deutschen in der Zips und der Sachsen in Siebenbürgen" mitteilt, ohne dass man damals sich in Siebenbürgen weiter damit beschäftigt hat. Seit der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts sind, von Bayrischen Vorläufern in Nösen abgesehen, die Siebenbürger Sachsen im Lande, d.h. früher als die Deutschen nach Schlesien oder in die Sudetenländer gekommen sind. Noch August Meitzen hat in seinem Beitrag "Zur Agrargeschichte Ungarns und Siebenbürgens"[25] mit einem schlesischen Aufenthalt der Einwanderer gerechnet. Aber Siebenbürgen besitzt hinsichtlich der Einwanderung einen Vorsprung von etwa einem halben Jahrhundert.

Schullerus und Scheiner haben beide das Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische mit dem Ostmitteldeutschen verglichen.[26] Die Heimatfrage hat die Forscher immer wieder bewegt. Der mittelfränkische Grundcharakter des Siebenbürg.-Sächsischen ist unbezweifelbar, und Ernst Schwarz[27] weist richtig darauf hin, dass andernfalls die Herkunft der romanischen Lehnwörter im Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen, die das Rumänische und andere Gebiete Deutschlands nicht kennen, unerklärbar sei.

Auch meine Arbeit über den Sachsennamen[28] ist hierher zu stellen, mit der, wie Schwarz (*Südostdt. Arch.* 8 [1965]: 21) sagt, "das Thema als gelöst betrachtet werden kann."

Leipzig, Germany

Anmerkungen

[1] *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, 3.Aufl. 1868, S.11f. Dieser Beitrag ist eine Kurzfassung eines auf der Jahrestagung der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission als ordentliches Mitglied am 24. September 1998 in Leutschau/Levoča gehaltenen umfassenden Vortrages. Meinem Enkel Markus Protze (12. Klasse des Thomasgymnasiums Leipzig) danke ich für die Erstellung des Computer-Manuskriptes.

[2] Vgl. C. J. Hutterer, *Geschichte der ungarndeutschen Mundartforschung* (Berlin 1960), 8.

[3] Maria Papsonova, "Ergebnisse, Probleme und Aufgaben bei der Erforschung des Frühneuhochdeutschen in der Slowakei," *Zeischrift für Germanistik* 2(1987): 198-209, hier 199f.

[4] Vgl. G. Dinges, *Teuthonista* 1(1924/25): 299-313, der die Frage Mutter-Tochterkolonie zuerst erörtert hat.

[5] So die Ausgabe im Seeverlag (Konstanz, 1923),136.

[6] E. Schwarz, *Die Herkunft der Siebenbürger und Zipser Sachsen* (München, 1957), 205.

[7] In *Berichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Philol.-hist. Kl. Bd.106, H.2 (Berlin, 1961), 76 S. mit 3 Ktn.

[8] V. Lumtzer, "Die Leibitzer Mundart," *PBB* 19: 274ff.; 21: 499ff., hier 316, 318.

[9] J. Lux, *Wörterbuch der Mundart von Dobschau (Zips)*, DDG 52 (Marburg, 1961), 132.

[10] H. Weinelt, *Die mittelalterliche deutsche Kanzleisprache in der Slowakei* (Brünn-Leipzig, 1938), 188.

[11] J. Lux, *Dobschau,* 121.

[12] H. Protze, "Zum bairischen und ostfränkischen Anteil am Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 1(1960): 325-44.

[13] Unter dem Titel "Südostdeutsche Germanistenbriefe" hat K. K. Klein im *Südostdeutschen Archiv* 5 (1962): 58ff., über den Briefwechsel zwischen Julius Grĕb und Friedrich Krauß (33 Briefe zwischen 1932 und 5.7.1944) berichtet, in den ihm Krauß Einblick gewährte, wobei die Antwortschreiben von Krauß an Grĕb aber in Aszód leider vernichtet worden sind.

[14] Schwarz, "Sudetendeutsche Sprachräume" (SSR), 370.

[15] Gardonyi, "Das Stadtbuch von Schmöllnitz: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kanzleisprache in der Slowakei," *Arbeiten zur deutschen Philologie* 2 (1966): 109-38; ders., "Das Stadtwißbuch von Schmöllnitz (1594-1730)," *Arbeiten zur deutschen Philologie* 3 (1968): 5-38; Helmut Protze, *Das älteste Stadtbuch der Königlich freien Bergstadt Göllnitz/Gelnica in der Unterzips und seine Sprache* (Lang, 2002).

[16] Vgl. *Kleine Enzyklopädie "Die deutsche Sprache,"* hrsg. von Erhard Agricola, Wolfgang Fleischer, Helmut Protze, 2 Bde. (Leipzig, 1969-70), 1:298.

[17] Theodor Frings, Ludwig Erich Schmitt, "Der Weg zur deutschen Hochsprache," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Sprache* 2 (1944): 67-121, bes. 67-81, hier 70.

[18] Vgl. Alfons Huther, "Die Würzburger Kanzleisprache im XIV. Jahrhundert. 1. Teil: Die Lautverhältnisse" (Diss., Würzburg, 1913), 78.

[19] Theodor Frings, *Sprache und Geschichte III*, mit Beiträgen von Käthe Gleißner, Rudolf Große, Helmut Protze, Mitteldeutsche Studien 18 (Halle/Salle, 1956), 59, Kte. 26.

[20] Zdenek Masarik, *Die mittelalterliche deutsche Kanzleisprache Süd-und Mittelmährens* (Brno, 1966), 95, 113.

[21] H. Weinelt, *Das Stadtbuch von Zipser Neudorf und seine Sprache* (München, 1940), 59.

[22] S. Gardonyi, "Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kanzlei-und Bergmannssprache von Schemnitz und Kremnitz im 14.-16. Jahrhundert" (Diss., Debrecen, 1964), 103.

[23] Vgl. Frings, a.a.o., 34ff., Ktn. 11, 13; 233, 235; vgl. Schwarz, *Herkunft*, 162ff.

[24] Vgl. Protze, *Beiträge zur Erforschung der deutschen Sprache* 6 (1986): 189.

[25] In *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 19 (1896):

130ff., 135.

[26] Adolf Schullerus, "Über Flandrenses, Saxones," *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 24 (1901): 17ff.; Andreas Scheiner, "Zur siebenbürgischen Mundartgeographie," *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 32 (1909): 1ff., vgl. auch 33 (1910): 125ff.

[27] Schwarz, "Probleme der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Fernsiedlung," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 8 (1965): 1-25, hier 20.

[28] Protze, "Der Volksname der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 12 (1961): 293-307; 13 (1962): 1-19, bes. 18-19.

Abkürzungen

PBB = *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, begründet von Hermann Paul und Wilhelm Braune.

SDSA = *Siebenbürgisch-deutscher Sprachatlas*, hrsg. von Karl Kurt Klein und Ludwig Erich Schmitt. Aufgrund der Vorarbeiten von Richard Huß und Robert Czallner bearbeitet von Kurt Rein, 1961 ff.

SSWB = Siebenbürgisch-Sächsisches Wörterbuch.

grdl. = gründlerisch (Unterzips).

Contributors

Simon J. Bronner is distinguished university professor of American Studies and folklore, and director of the Center for Pennsylvania Culture Studies, at the Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg. He serves as editor of the Pennsylvania German History and Culture series for the Pennsylvania German Society and the Pennsylvania State University Press, and received the Society's award of merit to the field of Pennsylvania German studies. He is the author or editor of over twenty books, including the *Encyclopedia of American Folklife* in 4 volumes, *Popularizing Pennsylvania*, *Following Tradition: Folklore in the Discourse of American Culture*, and *Folk Nation: Folklore in the Creation of American Tradition.*

Joshua R. Brown is a graduate student in German and Linguistics at the Pennsylvania State University. He attended Millersville University, where he received a Bachelor's degree in German, minoring in Slavic and Classical Languages. During his years at Millersville, he worked at the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies under the direction of C. Richard Beam and was co-editor of the Center's quarterly journal. From 2002-2004, he attended the Philipps-Universität in Marburg, Germany. In Marburg, he taught various levels of German language courses and completed an internship for the Hessen-Nassau Dictionary project at the Forschungsinstitut für die deutsche Sprache–Deutscher Sprachatlas.

Leroy T. Hopkins, Jr., is a graduate of Millersville College (1966) with a B.A. in German and Russian. Professor Beam was his faculty adviser and classroom instructor. At Professor Beam's insistence he participated in the first year of Millersville's Junior Year in Marburg Program (1963-64). Following graduate study at Harvard University from 1966-69 and a travel fellowship (*Dankstipendium*) from the DAAD for research on his doctoral dissertation, his Ph.D. was awarded in 1974. Afterwards he had various professional experiences: German instructor for the Army Language School (Ft. Devens, MA) during summer 1969; German instructor at Northeastern University (1971-72), three years teaching English and German in Frankfurt/Main (1973-76); Associate Director for Planning and Program and then Acting Executive Director of the Urban League of Lancaster County (PA). Since 1979 he has been at Millersville and since 1991 professor of German at Millersville University.

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner is an associate professor and chair of the Department of Anthropology at SUNY Potsdam, where she teaches courses in linguistic anthropology. She holds a Ph.D. in linguistics from McGill University and has

been studying patterns of language use in Amish and Mennonite communities for over 20 years. Her research has been supported by a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities and grants from NEH, the Spencer Foundation and the SUNY Potsdam Research and Creative Endeavors Program. Her manuscript *Train up a Child: Old Order Amish and Mennonite Schools* is in press with The Johns Hopkins University Press (expected publication is fall 2006). Currently Dr. Johnson-Weiner is working with Dr. Donald B. Kraybill (Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies, Elizabethtown College) and Dr. Steven Nolt (Department of History, Goshen College) on a three-year study of the Amish in the twentieth century, which has been funded with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, with additional support from the NEH We the People Initiative.

William D. Keel, professor of German at the University of Kansas since 1978, has focused on documenting and analyzing the German settlement dialects of Kansas and neighboring states. He earned an M.A. in both German and linguistics (1974, 1975) as well as a Ph.D. in Germanic linguistics (1977) from Indiana University. He established the Linguistic Atlas of Kansas German Dialects at the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at the university. He has also served as associate editor and editor of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* since 1981 and has been a member of the Executive Committee of the Society for German-American Studies since 1986.

Achim Kopp was born and raised in the Palatinate in southwestern Germany. He studied English and Latin at the University of Heidelberg. As an exchange student at Bucknell University in central Pennsylvania in 1985-86, he first became interested in Pennsylvania German culture and language. Having earned his Ph.D. in English linguistics at Heidelberg, he returned to Pennsylvania to teach at Susquehanna University from 1994 to 1997. A revised version of his dissertation entitled *The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift* was published by Susquehanna University Press in 1999. In August 1997 Dr. Kopp joined the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures of Mercer University in Macon, Georgia, where he is currently an associate professor of Latin and German. He served as department chair from 2002 to 2004.

David W. Kriebel received his M.A. and Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania and his M.F.A. in creative writing from the University of Maryland, where he now teaches. He is currently working on a book on powwowing for publication by Penn State Press as part of its Pennsylvania German Society series. He delivered the 2003 J. William Frey Memorial Lecture at Frankin and Marshall College, a series endowed by Professor and Mrs. Beam. He was also Scholar-in-Residence at the Landis Valley Museum for 2000-2001. He has taught at various colleges in the Baltimore area, worked as an analyst for the federal government, and served as a reserve naval officer. He enjoys writing, acting, and singing.

Mark L. Louden is professor of German and co-director of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin- Madison. He received his Ph.D. in Germanic linguistics from Cornell University in 1988, with a dissertation

on the topic of "Bilingualism and Syntactic Change in Pennsylvania German." He taught at the University of Texas at Austin from 1988 to 2000, at which point he joined the faculty of the UW-Madison. Most of his published research has dealt with Pennsylvania Dutch and Yiddish, with a special focus on syntactic phenomena from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. In 2004 he was a DAAD Guest Professor at the Philipps-Universität Marburg, and currently serves on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Germanic Linguistics*, the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, and the *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik*. He is also a member of the International Advisory Board of the Institut für Deutsche Sprache in Mannheim.

Helmut Protze was born in 1927 in Altendorf near Bad Schandau, Germany, and now lives in Leipzig. He is a professor emeritus of German and specialist in medieval studies and was a student of Theodor Frings and Ludwig Erich Schmitt. He studied from 1947-52 at the University of Leipzig (Ph.D. 1955, magna cum laude), where he taught historical grammar, language history, dialectology as well as courses in medieval German literature beginning in 1954. His extensive publications in language and history include eight books, forty-five essays and 200 reviews. His text edition of the complete works of Walther von der Vogelweide (1963, 1982, 1989), his word atlas of the urban colloquial language of 297 cities in East Germany (1997), the edition of the oldest city chronicle of the royal free mining city of Göllnitz/Gelnica in the Unterzips, and his book *Sprache* (2002) deserve special mention. His research on southeastern European speech islands was initially supported by the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, and later by the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leipzig. Since 1992, he has been a regular member of the Südostdeutsche Historische Kommission.

Walter Sauer was born in 1942 and until his retirement in 2005 taught English Linguistics and Medieval Studies at the University of Heidelberg for over thirty years. In addition to works on Chaucer, Middle English Romances, medieval religious literature and linguistics, he has published widely on children's literature, has written and edited numerous works in German dialects and has a keen interest in the language and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans. He is a board member of the German-Pennsylvanian Association.

Michael Werner was born in 1965 in Frankenthal (Palatinate, Germany). He received a Ph.D. from the Universität Mainz. He works as a publisher and business manager in a publishing company in Mainz. Since 1993 he has owned and maintained the Private Archive of Pennsylvania German Literature. He is editor of the Pennsylvania German newspaper *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* (since 1997) and the website hiwwe-wie-driwwe.de (since 2002). Currently he serves as president of the "Deutsch-Pennsylvanischer Arbeitskreis e.V." (German-Pennsylvanian Association).