YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Supplemental Issue

Volume 3

The Language and Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans: A Festschrift for Earl C. Haag

Edited by William D. Keel
and C. Richard Beam

2010

The Society for German-American Studies

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William D. Keel, Editor

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The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in North America. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe. Members of the Society include representatives from various academic disciplines and others who share a common interest in German-American studies.

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editor welcomes contributions in English, preferably, or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the author's name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, four copies of the manuscript prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to William D. Keel, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 1445 Jayhawk Blvd., University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-7594. Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Lorie A. Vanchena at the same address. The *Newsletter* appears four times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057.

The SGAS annual membership dues, which include subscription to the *Yearbook* and the *Newsletter*, are $30.00 for regular members. Membership applications to the Society for German-American Studies should be made to J. Gregory Redding, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, IN 47933. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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From the Editor

The Society of German-American Studies is very pleased to publish this collection of essays on Pennsylvania German language and culture honoring the distinguished career of Earl C. Haag, professor emeritus of German and English at Pennsylvania State University, Schuylkyll Campus. We are especially happy that we are collaborating on this volume with our dear friend and colleague, C. Richard "Dick" Beam, director of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies at Millersville University of Pennsylvania. The Executive Committee of the Society readily agreed to Dick Beam's suggestion to publish this *Festschrift* as a supplemental issue of the Society's *Yearbook of German-American Studies* as well as to subsidize the publication with a grant from the Society's Karl J. R. Arndt Publication Fund. The Society would also like to express its appreciation to the contributors to the *Festschrift* representing scholars in a variety of disciplines in the United States, Germany and Hungary.

The essays in this volume focus on linguistic aspects of Pennsylvania German, teaching and preaching in Pennsylvania German, poetry and song in Pennsylvania German, religion and literature among the Pennsylvania Germans as well as other aspects of Pennsylvania German culture. Other contributions touch on speakers of minority languages and also the African-American presence among the Pennsylvania Germans. We would also like to note in particular the special Fraktur tribute in color on the following page created for this volume by Peter Fritsch. In this small way, we are able to complement the many contributions of Earl C. Haag to our understanding of the language, literature and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans. It is our wish that he derive much pleasure and insight from the essays presented to him in this volume.

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
The University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
April 2010


Prof. Earl Haag
Department of German
Penn State University
Dialect Columnist
"Pennsylvania German Anthology"
en hoch Gelobt un guter Winsch zu dihr!
2009
P.V. FRITSCH

C. Richard Beam

A Tribute to a Friend and Fellow Scholar

This *Festschrift* honors Professor Earl C. Haag, one of the leading scholars in the field of Pennsylvania German Studies. Professor Haag has not only authored his definitive *Pennsylvania German Anthology* but has also in his eightieth year completed twenty-five years of weekly dialect columns for The Call Newspapers, Inc., published in Schuylkill Haven, Pine Grove and Tower City, Pennsylvania. In 1990 The Call Newspapers, Inc. published Haag's *A Pennsylvania Dutch Year*, containing "poems and stories, both serious and comical, about the seasons, months and holidays, so beloved by the Pennsylvania Germans." Professor Haag signed his weekly columns in The Call Newspapers as "Der Alt Professer." Professor Haag has already completed twenty-six years of columns, which he entitled "Es Neinuhr Schtick."

Earl C. Haag graduated from the University of Connecticut in 1952 and attended the University of Heidelberg, Germany, in 1952 and 1953. He earned a Master's Degree in German Philology from Pennsylvania State University in 1956. From 1958 until his retirement, he taught at the Schuylkill Campus of Pennsylvania State University where he was an Associate Professor of German and English Composition. He taught courses in German, Pennsylvania German and German and English Composition.

Without any doubt, Professor Haag has been one of the most diligent workers in the Pennsylvania Dutch vineyard. He has produced a Pennsylvania German grammar and reader, as well as "The First 100 Years: An Index of Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society [1891–1990] including the Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society [1936–66]." Following "En Pennsylfaanisch Deitsch Yaahr [1900]" in the near future The Pennsylvania German Society will publish Earl C. Haag's "The Pennsylvania Germans." Earl C. Haag is now retired after having taught English and German for forty-one years at the Pennsylvania State University. During the last eighteen years of his tenure, he developed and taught classes in Pennsylvania German grammar and literature. His very popular courses in Pennsylvania

German history and culture resulted in two publications: *A Pennsylvania German Grammar and Reader* (1988) and *The Pennsylvania German Anthology* (1988).

The second volume of "Es Neinuhr Schtick" pieces will contain 106 columns including the history and culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch. The information concerning the history and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans contained in Haag's volume on the Pennsylvania Germans is based primarily on Pennsylvania German literature. In his second volume of newspaper columns, Haag answers the questions: "Who were/are the Pennsylvania Germans/Dutch? When did they come over to America/Pennsylvania? Why did they come over to America/Pennsylvania? How did they get here? Where did they settle? What were their customs once they settled in Pennsylvania?" Thus Haag enables the reader to become familiar with a large part of the literature in Pennsylvania German. As in "En Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch Yaahr," the dialect material in Haag's second volume, based on his newspaper columns, will be called "Die Pennsilfaanisch Deitsche" (The Pennsylvania Germans). The orthography has been normalized to conform more closely to poet John Birmelin's (1873–1950) ideas for the spelling of the dialect.

Haag's magnificent panorama of the Pennsylvania Germans begins with "Die aarme Pelzer" (The Poor Palatines), passes through dialect chapters such as "Es Land watt gebutzt" (The Land is Cleared), "Der Schpeicher" (The Attic/Garret), "Der Butzemann" (The Scarecrow), "Fense" (Fences), "Schule" (Schools), "Schlachde" (Butchering), and "Baueregebeier" (Farm Buildings).

We honor you, Earl, at the culmination of your achievements as a scholar and as a teacher. You have taught us to fully appreciate and honor the writings of our forebearers.

Director of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies
Millersville University of Pennsylvania
Millersville, Pennsylvania

C. Richard Beam

Ernest Waldo Bechtel (1923–88): The Leading Pennsylvania German Poet of His Generation

In his splendid *Pennsylvania German Anthology,* published in 1988, Professor Earl C. Haag includes two of Ernest Waldo Bechtel's Pennsylvania German weekly newspaper columns which appeared in the *Ephrata Review* on 4 December 1975 ("Em Buschgnibbel sei Zeit," an autobiographical piece) and on 3 June 1982 ("Uff em Barig," a humorous piece about Tscheck Yokel) and two of his very best poems "Die gross Ladann" (The Great Lantern, 1951) and his masterpiece "Der Mensch" (Man).

Ernie Bechtel, "Der Buschgnibbel," lived his entire life in the same house in Reinholds, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was educated in Reinholds (grade school), in Ephrata (high school) and in Philadelphia (The Philadelphia Institute of Barbering). The only time he left Reinholds was for his period of service in World War II. Bechtel's literary output consisted of approximately sixty-seven Pennsylvania German poems, twelve dialect plays and the eighteen years of weekly Pennsylvania German columns in the *Ephrata Review.*

* * *

To honor our friend and colleague in his eightieth year we have chosen a brief selection of Emie's poems. In "Die Dichder" (The Poets) he writes as a poet on poets. Bechtel writes typically: "Er waard bis die Wadde kumme mit Mehning un Licht,/Noh un yuscht noh, hen mir en Gedicht." (The poet waits until the words come with meaning and light,/Then, only then, do we have a poem.)

Die Dichder

Was sin Dichder? Aus was sin sie gmacht?
Iwwer die Froget hawwich oftmols schunt glacht.
Sie schreiwe ihr Gedichder, duhne sie noh uff Babier,
Schreiwe vun Mensche, die Landschaft un Gedier.

Sin die Dichder dann en baddiche Leit,
Umringt mit Lieb un ganz frei vun Schpeit?
Odder gschickt mit Wadde, Sume fer Gedicht,
Un en Gschenknis as gaar net weist uff em Gsicht?

Ya, ich muss lache, fer ich wees wie sie sin—
Sin net zufridde haus odder drin,
Drowwe odder hunne, driwwer odder draus,
Im Land, uff em See, im Barig odder Haus!

Umruhich wie die Welle uff em wilde See
Sin die rechde Dichder, gross odder glee.
Sie sin gschpuckt mit Wadde as raus misse heit,
Odder gehne verlore fer en ganz Ewichkeit.

Die Wadde kumme hell un scharef un schnell
In Mehning so glaar wie es Gling vun re Bell.
En Dichder is reddi un fangt yeder Watt,
Macht nix aus sin sie leicht odder hatt.

So widder muss ich lache, iwwer die Gschicht.
Ich laaf net im Dunkle, fer ich schteh do im Licht.
Der Wadde annehocke mit Gedanke un Gwalt
Macht die Gedichder so schtump un so kalt.

So en Dichder is net immer epper as schreibt:
In Gedanke is er ruhich, is schtolz un er bleibt.
Er waard bis Wadde kumme mit Mehning un Licht.
Noh un yuscht noh, hen mir en Gedicht.

The Poets

What are poets? Of what are they made?
About this question I have often laughed.
They write their poems, put them on paper,
Write of people, countryside and animals.

Are poets a special sort,
Surrounded by love and quite free of spite?
Or quick with words, seeds for poems,
Or a gift that makes no trace on the face?

Yes, I must laugh, for I know how they are—
Are not satisfied out or in,
Up above or down below, over there or out,
On land, on sea, on hill or in the house!

Restless as the waves on the wild sea
Are the real poets, great or small.

They are haunted by words that have to emerge today,
Or be lost for an entire eternity.

The words come bright and shard and quick
In meaning so clear and the sound of a bell.
A poet is ready and catches every word,
Makes no difference are they easy or hard.

So again I must laugh, all over the face.
I walk not in darkness, for I stand here in the light.
To place words with thought and force
Makes the poems so dull and so cold.

Such a poet is not always one who writes:
In thought he is still, peaceful and he remains so.
He waits until the words come with meaning and light.
Then, only then, do we have a poem.

* * *

"Amerikaa, Wie Gross un Schee" (1976) clearly expresses Ernest Waldo Bechtel's love of his country, which he served faithfully in the Second World War in Germany and came forth as a survivor of the infamous Malmedy Massacre. Even though Bechtel was critical of his fellow Americans (especially politicians and preachers), "Amerikaa is bescht."

Amerikaa, Wie Gross un Schee

AMERIKAA, wie gross un schee!
Du bischt uns aagenehmt
Un immer welle mir bei dir schteh:
Die Welt rum un deheem.

Do wuhne mir alle Sadde Leit
Mit alle Sadde Schprooch
Un unser Draam is Eenichkeit:
Mir hewe des so hoch!

Mir hen die Weezefelder gehl:
Die Felder grie mit Graas.
Die hoche Bariye un die Schtedt
Mit Holz un Schtee un Glaas.

Ya, unser Land find uns gedrei
Un yeders dutt sei Gflicht.
Mir hewe hoch mit yeder Hand
Des deier Freiheitslicht!

Chorus
Ya, in die Nort un in die Saut,
Im Oscht un aa draus West,
In alle Schteet vun See zu See.
AMERIKAA is bescht!

America, How Great and Beautiful

AMERICA, how great and beautiful!
You are our beloved land
And always we want to stand by you:
All around the world and at home.

Here all kinds of people live
With all kinds of languages.
And our dream is unity:
We lift it so high!

We have the wheat fields yellow:
The fields green with grass.
The high mountains and the cities
With wood and stone and glass.

Yes, our land finds us faithful
And each does his duty.
We lift on high with every hand
This dear torch of freedom!

O AMERICA, how great you are!
No one can really understand it.
Yet we are happy to live here
In the land of the light of freedom!

Chorus
Yes, in the north and in the south,
In the east and also out west,
In all states from sea to sea.
AMERICA is best!

* * *

"Deemiedichkeit" (humility) is surely a singular Pennsylvania German virtue. It is best exemplified by the lifestyle of our Old Order Mennonites and Amish. Bechtel's prayer is "Un fer en ganze Ewichkeit/ Geb mir yuscht Deemiedichkeit" (And for all eternity grant me only humility.)

Deemiedichkeit

Was is Deemiedichkeit, wu schtammt des bei?
Soll des Gottlich, geishtlich, adder menschlich sei?
Deweil as ich hock un denk do driwwer,
Kumme Gedanke imme Gschtiwwer.

Deemiedichkeit is en Watt as schteht
Fer eppes as mer net oft seht.
Sis net schwatz un sis net weiss—
Net hees wie Feier adder kalt wie Eis.

Ich seh in Gedanke en baddicher Mann,
Frei von Hass, net gschwindt im Zann—
Gschwindt fer helfe unne Bralle;
Sei Schtimm is sacht un dutt net schalle.

Er gebt sei Lieb net yuscht zu Freind—
Des gebt er as zu all sei Feind.
Lost sei Maerrick uff em Sand von Zeit—
En Aageschpiel zu all die Leit.

Was hot der Mann as ich net hab?
Er is net schtolz un laaft net schtrack.
Er rennt sich net die Hannshall ei
In die weltlich Huddlerei!

Yetz glaawich as ich nau verschteh
Un darich der Umglaab Newwel seh—
Die Mehning von Deemiedichkeit
Des schtammt von Gott sei Owwerichkeit.

Wann du, Gott, mich schtrofe musscht,
Dann nemm eweck der Hochmut Gluscht!
Un fer en ganze Ewichkeit
Geb mir yuscht Deemiedichkeit.

Humility

What is humility, where does it come from?
Should it be godly, spiritually or human?
As I sit here and think about it,
The thoughts come to me in a flurry.

Humility is a word that stands
For something that one often does not see.
It is not black and it is not white—
Not hot like fire or cold like ice.

I see in my thoughts a special man,
Free of hate, not quick in anger—
Quick to help without bragging;
His voice is soft and does not echo.

He gives his love not just to friends—
This he gives to all his enemies.
Leaves his mark on the sands of time—
A spectacle for all the people.

What does this man have that I do not have?
He is not proud and does not walk straight.
He does not crush his skull
In the worldly confusion.

Now I believe I understand
And through the fog of disbelief I see—
The meaning of humility
That comes from God's higher power.

When you, God, have to punish me,
Then take away the desires of pride!
And for an entire eternity
Just give me humility.

* * *

"Yuscht Gedanke" ("Just Some Thoughts"), introduces "Buschgnibbel" physically and makes mention of his wife, "die glee Minnie Maus" and their partner, Dick Beam. Bechtel expresses the hope that "die Alde Kummeraade" will be heard regularly on the radio.

Yuscht Gedanke

Wie guckt der Buschgnibbel? Hot er Haar uff em Kopp?
Is er dinn wie en Riggel odder rund wie en Gnobb?
Hot er grosse Ohre un wie sin sei Beh?
Is sei Gsicht arig runzelich odder is er noch schee?

Sei Ohre sin gross un sei Bauch is dick.
Er is schtump im Kopp un schwach im Rick.
Sei Beh sin haarich—graad wie en Hund,
Awwer schunscht is der Buschgnippel ordlich gsund.

An Alt Schaefferschteddel hen die Leit ihn gsehne
Un der Buschgnippel wett as Dael alsnoch datt schtehne.
Der Verschtaunt waar zu gross, der Buschgnippel hot Haar
Un glaabt's odder net, hot sie net kaaft im Schtor.

Der Buschgnippel is bekannt gmacht warre bei die Minnie Maus
Zu zwee gude Weibsleit un die Waahret waar haus.
Des is der Buschgnippel im Fleesch un Blut—
Net ganz schlecht un net ganz gut.

Die Weibsleit hen gschwetzt un alles waar schee.
Sie hen der Buschgnippel beguckt von Kopp zu Beh,
Hab gwisst was sie denke in eens, zwee, drei.
Kann des fer en Waahret unser Buschgnippel sei?

No guckt en Fraa mich graad in's Aag-
Fer en Minutt hab ich gmehnt: glei fliegt der Schtaab.
Saagt sie: "Was mer eibild von re Schprooch is oft net waahr.
Uff die Luft saagt deine, du hoscht ken Haar"

Mer bild sich ei wie en Mensch gucke kennt,
Wann sei Schprooch als darich die Luftwelle rennt.
Awwer oft is mer recht un mehner letz—
Sis gut as mer nanner seht als an die Bletz.

Yetz hab ich Dael von eich dann gsehne un bin so arig froh,
Das dir Abharicher seid zu unserm deitsche Schow.
Es Bischli-Gnippli, die glee Minnie Maus,
Un der Alt Buschgnippel von Dummheide Haus.

Babier is geduldich: es weisst yuscht was mer schreibt.
Was mer denkt kummt immer raus in Dinger as mer dreibt.
Unser Lieb fer eich kummt raus in die allezwee.
Mir winsche un mir bede das mir sehne eich noch meh.

Just Some Thoughts

How does the "clodhopper" look? Does he have hair on his head?
Is he thin as a rail or round like a dumpling?
Does he have big ears and how are his legs?
Is his face rather wrinkly or is it still lovely?

His ears are big and his stomach is fat.
He is dull in the head and weak in the back.
His legs are hairy—just like a dog,
But other than that the "clodhopper" is rather healthy.

At Old Schaefferstown the people saw him
And the "clodhopper" believes that some are still standing there.
The astonishment was too great, the "clodhopper" has hair
And believe it or not, it was not bought in a store.

The "clodhopper" was made known with "Minnie Mouse"
To two good women and the truth was out.

This is the "clodhopper" in flesh and blood—
Not too bad and not very good.

The women talked and everything was lovely.
They looked at the "clodhopper" from head to toe,
They knew what they were thinking in one, two three.
Can this really be our "clodhopper"?

Then a woman looked me right in the eye—
For a minute I thought: soon the dust will fly.
She said: "What one imagines from the voice is often not true.
And on the air, your wife said you don't have any hair."

One imagines what a person could look like,
When his voice is heard over the air.
But often one is right and more wrong—
It is good that one sees each other at a place.

Now I have seen some of you and am very happy,
That you are listeners of our Pennsylvania German show.
The "little clodhopper," the "little Minnie Mouse,"
And the old "clodhopper" of the house of troubles.

Paper is patient: it shows just was one writes.
What one thinks always comes out in things that one drives.
Our love for you comes out in both.
We wish and we hope that we will see you more.

* * *

"Der Grosse Rund Balle" (The Great Round Ball), poses the question: "Schtoppe mir glei rolle, odder rolle mir noch weit/Odder rolle mir un rolle mir, fer en faensi Ewichkeit? (Will we soon stop rolling or will we roll far/Or will we roll for all eternity?) In this poem Bechtel asks: How far will we (the earth) roll? He makes no reference to his Christian beliefs. Bechtel always asks the hard questions, the questions that engulf the universe. The survivor of the Malmedy Massacre had reasons to do so.

Der Grosse Rund Balle

Die Welt is en grosser Balle, gross Wasser macht der See.
Der Himmel bloh is unser Dach ganz drowwe in de Heh.
Die Blumme in de Felder sin gemacht fer Scheenichkeit.
Es Sach as waxt fer Esse, gebt Grefde zu de Leit.

Es macht em wennich denke, wann mer heert in dare Welt,
As dael Leit nanner madde, fer yuscht wennich mehner Geld—

As Brieder nanner scheisse, macht em denke alsemol
Uff unserm grosser Balle is net immer alles wohl.

Dael Leit sin weiss, un dael sin schwatz, un dael sin gwidde-gehl;
Sie schnaufe all die saeme Luft un yeders hot en Seel.
Zu Gott is alli Mann en Mensch, un alli Mensch is gleich—
Die Gscheide un die Dumme, der Aarem un der Reich.

Oh, grosser runder Balle, wu nemmscht uns endlich hie?
All von uns minanner, die Mensche un es Vieh.
Schtoppe mir glei rolle, odder rolle mir noch weit
Odder rolle mir un rolle mir, fer en faensie Ewichkeit?

The world is a great ball, the sea is made up of great waters.
The blue heavens form our roof way up above.
The flowers of the fields are there for beauty.
Foodstuffs grow—feed our nourishment, give energy to the populace.

It causes us to think a bit, when we hear in this world
That many murder for just a handful of money—
That brothers cheat one another, forces one to believe sometimes
On our great round ball all is not always well.

Some folks are white and some black, and some yellow as quince;
All breathe the same air and each has a soul.
To God all humans are equal and all humans alike—
Those clever and those stupid, the poor and the rich.

Oh, great round ball, whither are you finally taking us?
All of us together, men and animals,
Will we stop rolling or roll we onward.
Or do we roll and continue to roll, for a glorious eternity?

* * *

"Wadde" (Words), reminds readers that "Wadde sin's Gscharr vun der Menner vum Duch!" (Words are the tools of men of the cloth); the group that deals with words is very large (Die Drupp as schaffe mit WADDE is arig gross)—and not all words smell like roses. Buschgnibbel cries "Hoch Ehr" to those who compile dictionaries (Sie schaffe un denke un dowe sich ab! (They work and reflect and plague themselves.) Bechtel wishes that everyone would see the value of a dictionary. In conclusion he declares:

"Ox mol Ox, saage dael is Blaar—
Die Schprooch un WADDE vumme unglannde Narr!
Awwer scheene WADDE am rechde Blatz,
Zoppe immer un ewich amme Mensch seim Hatz!"

"Ox times ox, some say is bleating.
"The speech and words of an unlearned fool.
But lovely words at the right place,
Tug eternally and forever at man's heart."

Wadde

Dael WADDE sin bees un dael sin kalt!
Dael sin nei un annere alt!
Dael sin lang un dael sin katz!
Dael zoppe an der Bendel vumme Mensch sei Hatz!

Mer findt die WADDE in alle Schprooch!
In alle Land nidder un hoch!
Gedruckt uff Babier, yo alle Satt!
Doch viel geht's lese gewiss arig hatt!

WADDE sin's Gscharr vun der Menner vum Duch!
Sie lese un schwetze aus em Gut Buch!
Fer annere en Gscharr fer fluche un mache,
Weil annere ihr WADDE sin harrlich un lache!

Wu schtamme die Wadde im erschde Blatz bei?
Gewiss do muss ariyets en Antwatt sei!
Fer des frone is hatt un gebt Wranglerei—
Uneenichkeit findt mer do dabei!

In sell dief Wasser: "Wu schtammt des bei?"
Bleiwe mir eweck un heese des fei!
Dankbaar sin mir mit der gross Wissenschaft,
Das immer epper ariyets an der WADDE rumschafft!

Die Drupp as schaffe mit WADDE is arig gross,
Awwer net all vun der WADDE sin schee wie en Ros!
Deel sin dreckich un glee un gross im Gebrall!
Mer findt bessere WADDE in mer ganz annerer Schtall!

Hoch Ehr zu denne, as sie Waddebicher schreiwe;
Sie schaffe un denke un dowe sich ab!
Des wunnert mich nau naegscht do am End,
Is ihr Schwetzes, ihr Denkes un Schaffes wohl gschpendt?

Des is mei Hoffning, des mei Gebet!
Das alli-epper es Waert vumme Waddebuch seht!
Des gebt uns die Gwalt fer in Schprooch weider geh!
Un dutt unser Gedanke verleicht in die Heh!

Ox mol Ox, saage dael is Blaar—
Die Schprooch un WADDE vumme unglannde Narr!
Awwer scheene WADDE am rechde Blatz,
Zoppe immer un ewich amme Mensch seim Hatz!

Words

Some words are hot and some are cold.
Some are new and others old.
Some are long and some are short.
Some tug at the heartstrings.

One finds words in all languages.
In all lands low and high.
Printed on paper, yes, all kinds.
Yet many read with difficulty.

Words are the tools of men of the cloth.
They read and speak from the Good Book.
For others tools for swearing and such.
While others' words are lovely and laugh.

Where do words come from in the first place?
Certainly there must be an answer somewhere.
This is hard to find and results in disputes.
Disagreement is to be found here.

In that deep water: "Where does this come from?"
We'll stay away and be satisfied.
Thankful we are for the great knowledge.
That someone somewhere is always working with words.

The crowd that's occupied with words is very big.
But not all words are lovely as a rose.
Some are dirty and small and great in bragging.
One finds better words in another stable.

Praises for those who write dictionaries.
They work and think and plague themselves.
This amazes me here near the end.
Is their sweat, thinking, and work well spent?

This is my hope, this is my prayer.
That everyone sees the value of a dictionary.
This gives us the strength to continue in the language.
And perhaps elevates our thoughts.

Ox time ox, some say is bleating.
The speech and words of an unlearned fool.
But lovely words at the right place,
Tug eternally and forever at man's heart.

• • •

We dedicate these six poems from the pen of the late Ernest Waldo Bechtel in honor of Earl C. Haag's eightieth birthday, who in addition to his stellar achievements in teaching us to appreciate literature in Pennsylvania German, has completed twenty-five years as the Pennsylvania German scribe in the Call newspapers.

Center for Pennsylvania German Studies
Millersville, Pennsylvania

William W. Donner

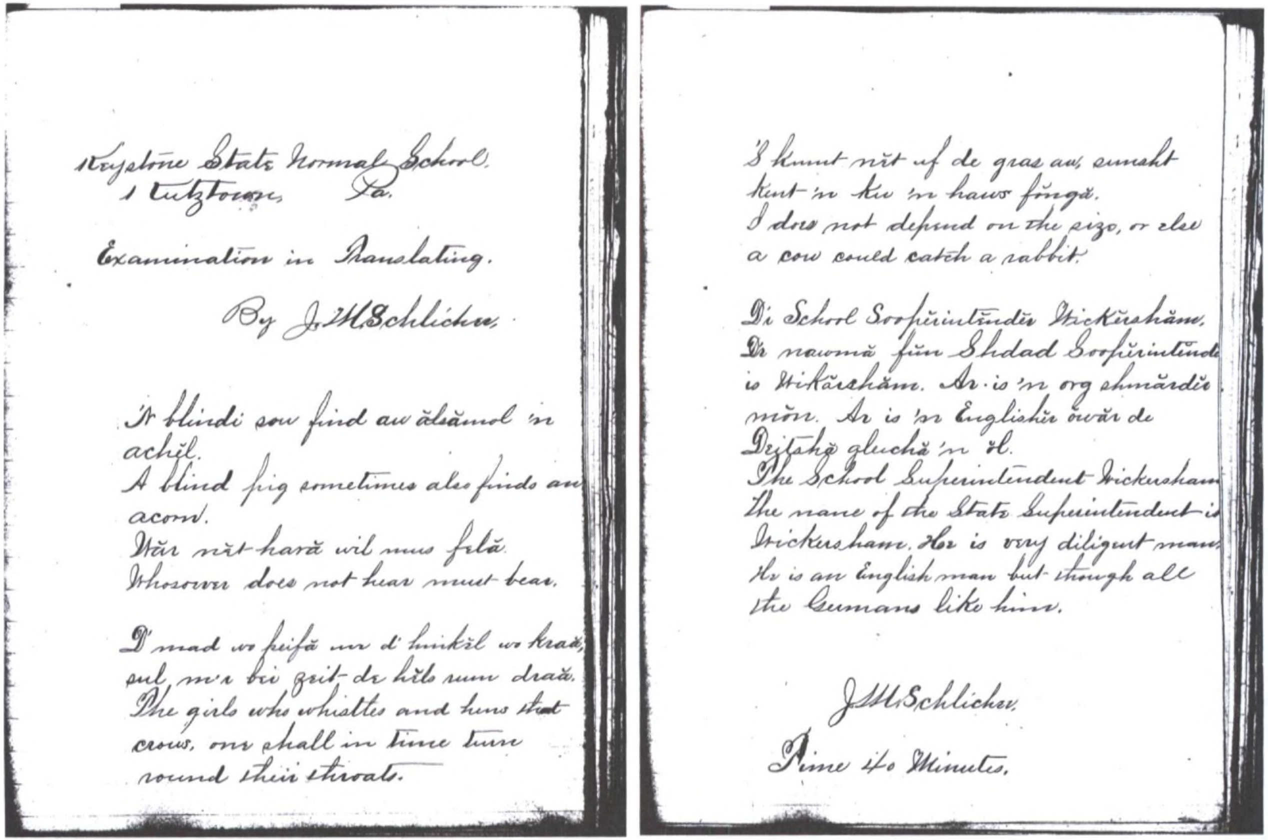
The First College Course in Pennsylvania German

Earl Haag has devoted much time and energy to teaching and developing teaching materials for the Pennsylvania German language. In this essay, I want to pay tribute to Earl's work by describing what must have been the earliest example of teaching Pennsylvania German.

In 1876, twenty-three students from Keystone State Normal School (now Kutztown University) took an examination in Pennsylvania German. Their answers, written in long hand, can be found in a musty old copybook in the archives at Rohrbach Library at Kutztown University. This copybook must surely be the earliest example of Pennsylvania German being taught as a subject in a college and probably in any school at any level.[1]

The copybook included the answers of the twenty-three students to the same five statements. Each student wrote each statement (presumably dictated to them), first in Pennsylvania German and then translated each statement into English. The spellings in Pennsylvania German are similar, but Pennsylvania German never had a standardized orthography and different students used slightly different spellings; sometimes the same student spelled the same Pennsylvania German term in two different ways in the same answer. The English translations are also very similar, usually direct translations from the Pennsylvania German into English that seem a bit awkward. Some students did not finish all five statements. Each student wrote their name at the beginning of the exercise and also at the end. After the name at the end was a statement about the time taken to complete the examination, usually forty to forty-five minutes. The first four statements are proverbs. The fifth refers to the then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, James Pyle Wickersham and his relationship with Pennsylvania Germans.

> *'N blindi sow find aw ölsămol 'n achĕl.*
> A blind hog also finds an acorn, sometimes.


Keystone State Normal School,
Kutztown, Pa.

Examination in Translating.

By J. H. Schlicher,

'N blindi sow find aw ăläămol 'n achĕl.
A blind pig sometimes also finds an acorn.
Wăr nĭt hară wil mus fĭlă.
Whosoever does not hear must bear.

D' mad wo peifă un d' hinkĕl wo kraă, sul m'n bei zeit de hĭls rum draă.
The girls who whistles and hens that crow, one shall in time turn round their throats.

'S kumt nĭt uf de gras aw, sunsht kent 'n ku 'n haws fongă.
It does not depend on the size, or else a cow could catch a rabbit.

Di School Soopĕrintĕndĕr Wickĕrshăm.
Dr nawmă fun Shdad Soopĕrintĕndĕ is Wikărshăm. Ar is 'n org shmărdĭr mŏn. Ar is 'n Englishĕr ovăr de Deitshă gleichă 'n ol.
The School Superintendent Wickersham.
The name of the State Superintendent is Wickersham. He is very diligent man. He is an English man but though all the Germans like him.

J. H. Schlicher.

Time 40 Minutes.

One student's answers from the 1876 copybook.

Wär nět hară, will mus felă.
Who desires not to hear, must suffer.

D'mad wo peifă un d'hinkel wo kraă
Sŏl m'r bei zeit do hĕls rum draă.
The girls that whistle and the chickens that crow,
should, in time, have their thoats turned around (twisted).

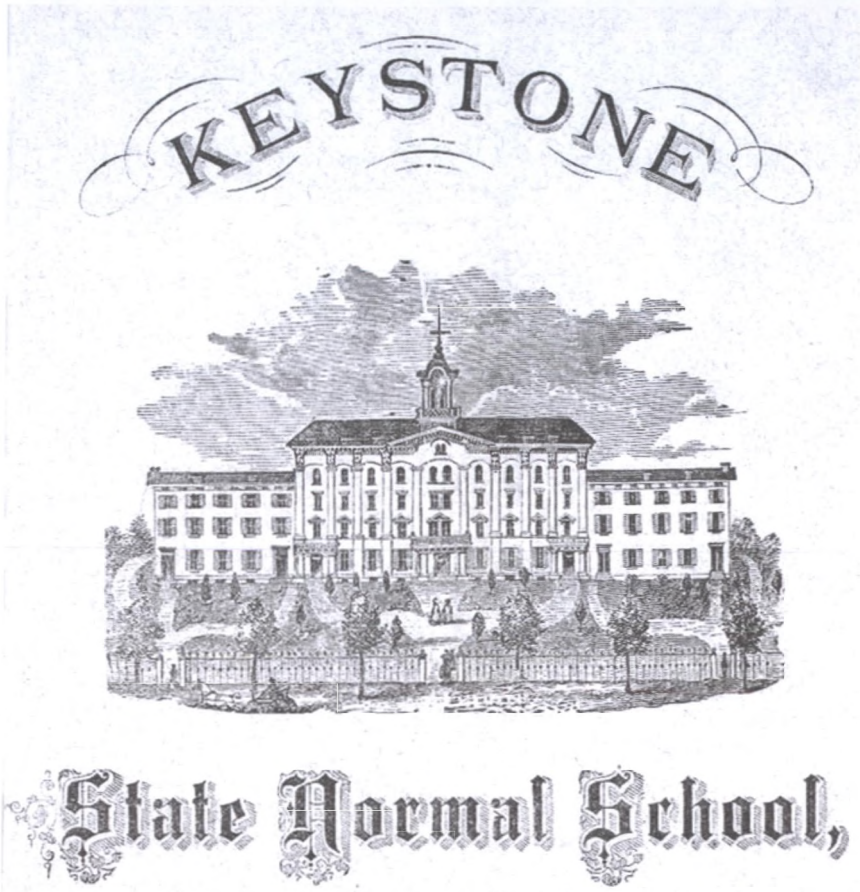
'S kumt nět uf de gras aw, sunsht kĕnt 'n ku 'n haws fŏngă.
It does not depend on size, or else a cow could catch a rabbit.

D'r Shool Soopĕrintĕndĕnder Wickĕrshăm.
D'r nawmă fŭm Shdad Soopĕrintĕndĕnder is Wickĕrshăm.
Ar is 'n ŏrg shmărdĕr mŏn.
Ar is 'n Englishĕr, ŏwăr de Deitshă gleichă.
The School Superintendent Wickersham.
The name of the state superintendent is Wickersham.
He is a very smart man.
He is English, but the Germans like him.

Keystone was established as a state normal school in 1866. Pennsylvania had established a common school law in 1834 and the state recognized the need to find qualified teachers for these common schools. Keystone was recognized by state officials as the school that most clearly represented the interests and addressed the problems of the state's Pennsylvania German population. The first principal of Keystone was John Ermentrout, who was also the superintendent of Berks County schools. Ermentrout was an early advocate of bilingual education for Pennsylvania Germans.[2] He believed that Pennsylvania German students should be taught by teachers who were sensitive to their background and knowledge of the Pennsylvania German language. The early catalogues of Keystone included a section outlining the importance of learning the German language. The catalogues from this time period stated:

> Especial attention will be bestowed on the study of the German language. It is hardly possible to overate the importance of knowledge of the German to the student who expects to teach in any county in Pennsylvania in which this noble language is spoken; for it is now an admitted fact that in order to instruct successfully, in the English, children whose mother tongue is German, the teacher ought to be master of both. Moreover, to the man of business such knowledge is beyond the price, while to the scholar it reveals treasures of science and literature of which he should not willingly be ignorant. To students shall be afforded every opportunity to acquire not only a theoretic, but also practical knowledge of it.[3]

In 1872, Keystone's Board of Trustees hired Abraham Reeser Horne to be principal. He is almost certainly the teacher who administered the exams



Nineteenth-century view of Keystone State Normal School.

in the copybook. Like Ermentrout, Horne was a Pennsylvania German who advocated bilingual instruction and strongly supported the interests and heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans. Horne was born in 1834 in Bucks County. He graduated from Pennsylvania College (now Gettsyburg College), opened his own school in 1858 and became an ordained Lutheran pastor in 1860. From 1868–72 he was superintendent of public schools in Williamsport. In 1872 he was hired to teach at Keystone State Normal School. By this time he was one of the leading educators of Pennsylvania Germans. Horne was also the editor of an educational journal, the *National Educator*, that he published monthly and sometimes more frequently from 1860 until his death in 1902.[4]

Horne had some surprisingly liberal views of education. He was influenced by Johann Pestalozzi, a nineteenth-century Swiss educator who was inspired by the writings of Rousseau. Horne advocated a child-centered

Abraham Reeser Horne, from the *Pennsylvania German Manual* (1875).

approach to education that built upon the child's natural curiosity. Physical punishment should be minimal; instruction should try to direct the child's natural curiosity to constructive learning. Lessons should be based upon practical and ordinary tasks: botany and astronomy taught through field trips; arithmetic by measuring areas around the school; geography by making maps of the schoolyard. He opposed the common practice of recitation, which he disparagingly referred to by using the Pennsylvania German term, "*ufswaga.*" He also was surprisingly liberal in his approach to school government and discipline, describing his management style as derived from Thomas Jefferson's maxim, "That is best governed which is least governed."[5]

A problem that confronted Pennsylvania German students, including those at Keystone who were training to become teachers, was that they often

had trouble speaking English; after all Pennsylvania German was their first language. Horne's first language was not English and he was especially sensitive to this issue. Horne thought that Pennsylvania Germans should learn English and insisted that they speak English without an accent. But during the 1870s he argued that language instruction in primary schools should be bilingual. Teachers themselves should be bilingual and preferably of Pennsylvania German background so that they could both communicate with the children and relate to their background. Horne was also a leader in a developing movement to build pride in Pennsylvania German identity. He was very sensitive to the arrogance and prejudices of other Americans to the Pennsylvania Germans, including people he labeled as "English" (English-speaking people in Pennsylvania, especially those with English ancestry), and especially those whom he labeled as "Yankees" (people from New England and New York). Although these ethnic groups may not seem relevant today, they were seen as distinct and sometimes oppressive ethnic groups by Horne and many of his Pennsylvania German contemporaries.[6] Horne wanted to build a sense of Pennsylvania German pride in their heritage and language, but he also wanted Pennsylvania Germans to learn English and fully participate in the national society.[7]

In 1875, while he was at Keystone, Horne published the *Pennsylvania German Manual*.[8] The book was written to help teachers educate Pennsylvania German students. True to his educational philosophy of starting with the knowledge and background of students, Horne included several sections written in the Pennsylvania German language that were to be used as the basis for learning to read. In the preface to the *Manual*, Horne explained his reasons for writing the book. He wrote that for Pennsylvania Germans, "that the system of education generally pursued among this people admits of very great improvement, as far as it pertains to language exercises." Both English and standard or "High" German were foreign to these speakers of Pennsylvania German, and for these reasons they lagged in schools, although Horne argued that they were equal or better than their English and German peers in mathematics, where language was less important. For these people, Horne developed the *Manual*, written in Pennsylvania German, to help them to learn to read in Pennsylvania German and then to learn English. The book included guides to pronunciation and exercises that were designed to help a Pennsylvania German speak English without an accent. The sections written in Pennsylvania German included short histories of important Pennsylvania German leaders and examples of Pennsylvania German cultural practices. The *Manual* also included the first dictionary of the Pennsylvania German language. Horne's *Manual* was innovative in providing teachers with a textbook that allowed Pennsylvania Germans to read in their own language, and,

perhaps even more innovatively, the reading content itself developed knowledge of and pride in Pennsylvania German culture and history. Many leading Pennsylvania German educators of the time were advocates of bilingual education and teaching Pennsylvania German students how to read by having them translate back and forth between English and Pennsylvania German. In his *Manual*, Horne was trying to provide a textbook that would serve this purpose and build pride in an ethnic heritage and identity. Horne's *Manual* and educational philosophy lay behind the examination found in this copybook. At a faculty meeting on 7 January1876, the Keystone faculty approved using Horne's *Manual* as a textbook.

In 1876 very little had been written in the Pennsylvania German language. Literate Pennsylvania Germans wrote in standard (or High) German, or, increasingly as the nineteenth century progressed, in English. But by 1875, a movement was beginning that wanted to develop Pennsylvania German into a written literary language. There was a long history beginning in the early nineteenth century of short dialect letters appearing in newspapers, often with a folksy or humorous theme. In 1861, a Reformed pastor, Henry Harbaugh began publishing some poems in Pennsylvania German in a religious journal that he edited, *The Guardian*. A newspaper publisher, Edward Rauch, published several editions of a short-lived journal, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, starting in 1873 with sections that were in Pennsylvania German and Rauch translated "Rip Van Winkle" into Pennsylvania German (Horne contributed to Rauch's journal). Pennsylvania German was also receiving some academic attention. In 1872, S. S. Haldeman wrote a study of the grammar of the language. In 1869 Phebe Gibbons wrote down some observations of the Pennsylvania Germans (or "Dutch" as she referred to them) for *Atlantic Monthly* that were later turned into a book.[9] Horne was an important part of a successful movement to make Pennsylvania German into an accepted literary language. By 1900, a vibrant literature had developed using the Pennsylvania German language. There were short stories, poems, newspaper columns, songs and plays, all in the dialect.[10]

The lack of a standardized orthography posed a problem for anyone trying to write in Pennsylvania German, and remains a very contentious issue among many Pennsylvania German writers in the present. Some dialect writers, for example Harbaugh, used orthographies that were based upon High German. Other dialect writers, most notably and self-righteously Edward Rauch, used orthographies that were based upon English pronunciation. Horne was comfortable in standard or High German, and he eventually wrote a book in it.[11] But he did not use that language as the basis for the orthography in his *Manual*; instead, he developed a phonological orthography with diacritical marks, which was largely based upon English conventions. Horne's

orthography never gained much popularity among Pennsylvania Germans, although it was used in all the printings of his *Manual* (1875–76, 1895, 1905, and 1910). Horne's orthography, including the diacritic marks, is found in the examination book from 1876.

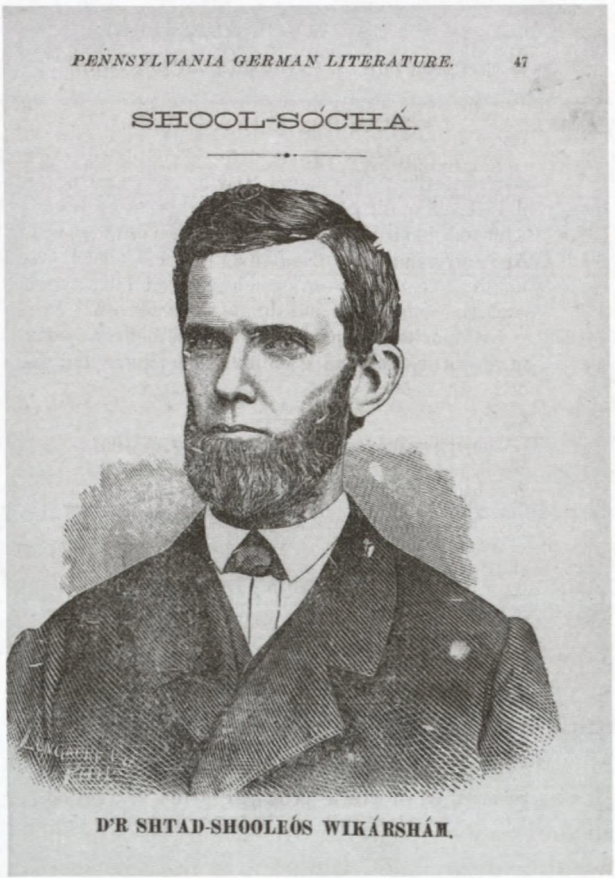
The examination questions in the copybook also reflect Horne's interests. Four of the five statements in the exam were Pennsylvania German proverbs. Horne had a special interest in Pennsylvania German proverbs and eventually published an article about them in the second annual *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society.*[12] The fifth statement refers to the state's Superintendent of Public Instruction, James Pyle Wickersham. Two of Wickersham's books, *School Economy* and *Method of Instruction,* were being used as textbooks during Horne's time at Keystone. Wickersham was, indeed, generally supportive of Pennsylvania Germans, as the examination statement suggests. After a speech about the problems of educating Pennsylvania Germans by Samuel Baer, who was superintendent of the Berks county schools at the time, at a teacher's convention in 1876, Wickersham commented about the Pennsylvania Germans:

> I know these people, and can endorse every word that has been said in their favor. They are our brother Pennsylvanians, and have done much for the commonwealth as any other class of her citizens; no other has a better stock of common sense, or is more capable of accomplishing the great work before them; they build upon a good foundation. It is true that they have not made rapid intellectual advancement, because their attention has not been turned in that direction; but when their representative men do come into our schools and colleges, we find them standing high in their classes.[13]

And during most of his time at Keystone, Horne seems to have supported Wickersham, who, as state superintendent, was in many respects Horne's supervisor and had the power to appoint several members of Keystone's board of trustees. In fact, in the first edition of his *Pennsylvania German Manual,* Horne included a likeness of Wickersham and on the next page the following statement:

SHOOLBÓS WIKÁRSHÁM

> Dĕs bild uf d'r ŏn'ră seid fŭn dĕm blawd is d'r soop'rintĕnd'r Wikărshăm. Dăr mŏn is d'r bŏs fŭn ŏl d' shoolă in d'r gŏnsă shtad. 'Ar is 'n ŏrg feindlich'r un shmărdăr mŏn un meind sei bisnĕs good. 'Ar is an'r fŭn dĕnă 'Englishă. woo m'r gleicht zu hŏwă in Pĕnsilfawni—woo sich nĕt 'eibildă se wară shmărt'r ŏs anich ĕb'r sunsht. 'Ar sawgt aw sĕlw'r ăr war 'n deitsher, yusht sei forĕltĕră hĕt'n 'n pawr hun'rt yor in 'Englŏnd g'shdŭbt, nŭchdĕm se Deitshlŏnd f'rlŭsă hĕtă.



PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN LITERATURE. 47

SHOOL-SÓCHÁ.

D'R SHTAD-SHOOLEÓS WIKÁRSHÁM.

From Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*, 1875.

SHOOLBÓS WIKÁRSHÁM.

Dĕs bild uf d'r ŏn'ră seid fŭn dĕm blawd is d'r soop'rintĕnd'r Wikărshăm. Dăr mŏn is d'r bŏs fŭn ŏl d' shoolă in d'r gŏnsă shtad. 'Ar is 'n ŏrg freindlich'r un shmărdăr mŏn un meind sei bisnĕs good. 'Ar is an'r fŭn dĕnă 'Englishă. woo m'r gleicht zu hŏwă in Pĕnsilfawni—woo sich nĕt 'eibildă se warĕ shmărt'r ŏs anich ĕb'r sunsht. 'Ar sawgt aw sĕlw'r ăr war 'n deitsher, yusht sei forĕltĕrĕ hĕt'n 'n pawr hun'rt yor in 'Englŏnd g'shdŭbt, nŭchdĕm se Deitshlŏnd f'rlŭsă hĕtă.

From Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual*, 1875.

SCHOOL BOSS WICKERSHAM.

> The picture from the other side of the page is of Superintendent Wickersham. This man is the head of all the schools in all the state. He is a very friendly and smart man and minds his business well. He is another of the English which we like to have in Pennsylvania—who does not fancy himself as smarter than anyone else. He also says that he himself was a German; it is just that his ancestors stopped for a few hundred years in England, after they had left Germany [translation by author].

Despite these laudatory comments, after Horne left Keystone, he became bitterly opposed to Wickersham and his policies as superintendent. Horne wrote several nasty editorials in his journal, the *National Educator*, criticizing Wickersham as state superintendent.[14] Horne's conflicts with Wickersham can be traced to several origins. Although a well-liked teacher, Horne had management problems at Keystone, including managing the behavior of some members of his own family that eventually led to his departure in 1877. Perhaps Horne came to resent Wickersham because he felt that Wickersham had influenced the events leading to his removal from Keystone. Moreover, Horne chafed under what he considered to be the demeaning and arrogant attitude of many of the "English," of which he considered Wickersham to be one, despite the nice words that he had for Wickersham in 1875.

Horne was as a leading regional educator, probably the most important Pennsylvania German in public education in the 1870s. But he was also strongly shaped by national processes, including the development of a public school system and the industrialization of the late nineteenth century. His career was based upon recent technological innovations coupled with the development of education as a profession. Printing presses and improved transportation systems allowed him to print and distribute his journal. Horne was also an educational entrepreneur. He was not only interested in educating the public, especially Pennsylvania Germans, but he was also trying to make a living by doing it. He earned money from his positions as an educator and he also had to sell both space to advertisers and subscriptions to the journal. The *Pennsylvania German Manual* was not only an educational tool, but was also a product to be marketed. At Keystone, Horne was not only developing an innovative bilingual program, he was also trying to keep his job as principal, sell his book, maybe even subscriptions to his journal, and help other Pennsylvania Germans get jobs as teachers.

The old copybook must also be understood for what did not happen. Although the overwhelming majority of the approximately 500 students enrolled at Keystone in 1876 were Pennsylvania German, only twenty-three of them took the examination in Pennsylvania German. There is no evidence

that another examination was ever given again in Pennsylvania German. Horne's *Manual* went through four editions and achieved some popularity as a repository of information about Pennsylvania Germans, but, apparently, it was rarely used by teachers in their classrooms.[15]

Pennsylvania German intellectuals continued to be concerned about the prejudices of Yankees and English. They founded the Pennsylvania German Society in 1891 in order to build pride in their heritage (Horne was one of the founding members). And a dialect literature did develop which came to include newspaper columns, commentaries, poems, and plays, often with folksy, historical and humorous themes. But Pennsylvania German educators and intellectuals, including Horne, came to advocate the use of English as the national language and as the primary language of instruction in their schools. After about 1880, Pennsylvania German was not taken seriously as a language of instruction in schools, even by those who advocated its preservation in the homes, newspapers and a literature. By 1900, most Pennsylvania German educators, including Horne himself, were advocating that teachers not use any Pennsylvania German in the classroom, and immerse students in English-only instruction, as the best method for teaching Pennsylvania German children.[16]

The copybook was part of a short-lived nineteenth-century experiment in bilingual education that was abandoned. Nevertheless it reflects the long and continuing history of tensions between diversity and assimilation in American education and society. Many years later in the late twentieth century, when this nineteenth-century movement for bilingual education among Pennsylvania Germans was long forgotten, there were new efforts to start multilingual educational programs and to develop curricula that accommodated culturally diverse groups. Like Horne over one hundred years earlier, modern advocates of bilingual education and cultural diversity emphasize not only language use but also pride in a person's unique cultural heritage. And we all continue to struggle with the tensions between integration into a national society while still recognizing the wealth of our diversity, both in the past and perhaps in the future.

Today, as we celebrate Earl Haag's scholarship, the overwhelming majority of people with Pennsylvania Germans ancestors speak English with little or no knowledge of the language of their ancestors.[17] Professor Haag has dedicated his life to calling attention to the richness of the Pennsylvania German language and its expression. Perhaps, we can find new ways to express and preserve our ethnicity, while still participating in a rapidly changing national society. Certainly, Professor Haag has given us materials for doing so.

Kutztown University of Pennsylvania
Kutztown, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] I want to thank Darlene Moyer and the late Bill Yurvati for calling my attention to this old copybook.

[2] J. S. Ermentrout, "How to Teach German Children the English Language," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 12, no. 3 (September 1863): 80–84.

[3] See Lee Graver, "Beacon on the Hill: The Centennial History of Kutztown State College," *The Kutztown Bulletin* 99, no.1, Rohrbach Library, Kutztown University; see also *Centennial Catalogue and Circular of the Keystone State Normal School, 1875–76* (Urick and Gehring's Steam Job Press, 1876), 21–22.

[4] Horne's journal underwent several name changes during the forty-two years that he published it. Throughout, I will refer to it as the *National Educator*, which was its last and best known name. A fairly complete set can be found at the Schwenkfelder Library in Pennsburg, PA.

[5] For information about Horne, see William W. Donner, "'We Are What We Make of Ourselves': Abraham Reeser Horne and the Education of Pennsylvania Germans," *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History* 124, no. 4 (2000): 521–46; and "Abraham Reeser Horne: To the Manor Born," *Der Reggeboge* (Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society) 33, no. 1–2 (1999): 3–17.

[6] A contemporaneous discussion of the pejorative way in which the term "Yankee" was used by Pennsylvania Germans can be found in Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays*, reprinted with a new introduction by Don Yoder (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001, originally published in 1872, 1874, 1882), 11, 394.

[7] See Donner 1999 and 2000.

[8] A. R. Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual, for Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English* (Kutztown, 1875); later editions were published in Allentown in 1896, 1905, 1910.

[9] Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch*. In an introduction to Stackpole's new edition, Don Yoder makes the point that Gibbons should be considered a forerunner of the twentieth-century ethnographer.

[10] See Harry Hess Reichard, *Pennsylvania-German Dialect Writings and their Writers*, Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society 26 (Lancaster: New Era Printing Company, 1918); Earl F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683–1942* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

[11] A. R. Horne, *Memoirs of Rev. Joshua Yeager, 1802–1882/ Das Leben und Wirken von Pater Josua Jager, Evangelische-Lutherischdem Prediger* (Allentown, 1889).

[12] "Proverbs and Sayings of the Pennsylvania Germans," in *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings* 2 (Lancaster, 1894): 47–54.

[13] *Pennsylvania School Journal* 26 (September 1877): 114. For a discussion of Wickersham's role in Pennsylvania education, see Paul K. Adams, "James P. Wickersham on Education and Crime in Nineteenth-Century Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History* 104, no. 4 (October 1980): 411–33.

[14] See, for example, editorial in the *National Educator* 18, no. 7 (April 1879): 104, and *National Educator* 18, no. 5 (February 1879): 78.

[15] See Reichard, *Pennsylvania-German Dialect Writings*, 127.

[16] See Donner 1999 and 2000.

[17] Some of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites still speak Pennsylvania German. But the language is rarely spoken by people in the "fancier" church groups (Lutherans and German Reformed), who are the overwhelming majority of Pennsylvania Germans.

K. A. "Butch" Reigart

Reverend Howard J. Frey's Pennsylvania German Service at Swamps Community Chapel in Kleinfeltersville, Pennsylvania, Saturday, 29 September 1984

Introduction and Dedication

Professor Haag most likely would have been acquainted with Reverend Howard J. Frey (1921–93) and most certainly would have appreciated Reverend Frey's wonderful ability to preach in the Pennsylvania German dialect, which he did on many occasions and for many decades prior to his passing.

Reverend Frey's last congregational charge, an old-fashioned Evangelical Methodist church, was at the village of Richfield in a quite, rural stretch of southern Snyder County west of the Susquehanna. But his roots—judging from the sound and variety of his dialect speech—lay to the east of the Susquehanna, quite possibly in Professor Haag's home area along the Blue Mountain of northern Berks and Schuylkill counties.

Reverend Frey's Pennsylvania German dialect—oh, how wonderful and expressive it was, as you will see (and "hear") in the following transcript of one of his most beloved sermons. The text has been transcribed from an original sound recording made on location by Alvin G. Dubs—"der Deitsch Al"—of Bair, York County, Pennsylvania. Among the many masterful aspects of his dialect usage as evidenced here in this sermon, note the purposeful, instructive inclusion of the dialect names of many birds, trees, and wild plants. Like Professor Haag, Reverend Frey truly loved his Pennsylvania German dialect, did his utmost to keep it alive and well, and took every opportunity to share it with his fellow Pennsylvanian Germans.

Professor Haag, we dedicate the transcription and translation of this wonderful sermon in the Pennsylvania German dialect to you, in appreciation of your many years of untiring work on behalf of the dear "Mudderschprooch."

Pennsylvania German Service
Swamps Community Chapel in Kleinfeltersville, Pennsylvania
Saturday, 29 September 1984

Reverend Howard J. Frey

(Richfield Evangelical Methodist Church, Richfield, Snyder County, Pennsylvania)

Ich bin froh bei eich zu sei den Samschdaag Owed in *die* deitsch Versammling. Die deitsche Versammlinge sin ganz zu raar. Un ich bin aah froh fer der Parre Ethan Levengood zu sehne, datt hinnich em Offe, datt 'ss wu er gut waarm halde kann. Un 's iss gut aah fer zwee vun unser Leit do hawwe denowed, der Lester un die Grace. Mer sin froh as sie es mache hen kenne, . . . un as yeders vun eich, un die gude Singer vun Beint Schteddel beikumme. Mir sin froh fer sie aazuheere un sie aazudreffe. Un ich hoff, wann eier langi Mietin aafangt mariye, ihr hett en iwweraus gudi. Un mer hoffe das viel Seele bekehrt warre darich die Daage un Owede. Un as der Breddicher der Heilich Geischt . . . , well, yuscht der Heilich Geischt loss ihn fiehre alle Weg darich 's ganz Mietin as ihr hen. Ich will hoffe, ihr hen en wunderbaari Zeit.

• • •

Ich daed gleiche denowed zu lese vum Efangelium Yohannes, der neint Kabiddel, vum aerschde Vaerscht bis darich em fimf-un-zwansichschde Vaerscht [see translator's note at end of text ref. underlined words]:

Yesus iss emol verbeigange un hot en Mann gsehne as blind gebore iss. Sei Yinger hen ihn gfrogt: Meeschder, wer iss es as do eppes letz geduh hot, seller Mann odder sei Eldre as er blind gebore iss? Yesus hot geandwatt: Daer hot nix letz geduh un aah sei Eldre net. An ihm soll mer sehne wie die Gnaad Gottes ausgfiehrt watt. Ich muss fer den schaffe as mich haergschickt hot dieweil es noch Daageslicht gebt. Glei kummt die Nacht wu 's ken Schaffes meh gebt. Dieweil ich in der Welt bin, bin ich es Licht vun der Welt. Noochdem as er des gsaat hot, hot er uff der Grund gschpauzt un hot en Brei draus gemacht un em blinde Mann uff die Aage gelegt un hot ihm gsaat: Geh hie zum Wasserdeich Shiloh un wesch dich. Der iss hiegange, hot sich gewesche un hot sehne kenne.

Die Nochbere, die was ihn varderhand gsehne hen wie er en Beddler waar, hen gsaat: Iss des net der Mann as do ghockt hot un gebeddelt? Deel hen gsaat: Der iss es. Awwer annere hen gsaat: Nee, er guckt yuscht so. Awwer der Mann hot selwert gsaat: Ich bin ihn. Un sie hen ihn gfrogt: Wie sin dei Aage uffgemacht warre? Er hot geandwatt: Der Mann as Yesus heesst hot en Brei gemacht un uff mei Aage gelegt un hot gsaat: Geh hie zum Wasserdeich vun Shiloh un wesch dich. Ich bin datt hiegange, hab mich gwesche un hab sehne kenne. Druff hen sie ihn gfrogt: Wu iss er? Er hot gsaat: Ich weess net.

Pennsylvania German Service
Swamps Community Chapel in Kleinfeltersville, Pennsylvania
Saturday, 29 September 1984

Reverend Howard J. Frey

(Word for word translation into English)

I am glad to be with you-all this Saturday evening in this Pennsylvania German gathering. The Pennsyvania German/Dutch gatherings are entirely too rare/seldom. And I am also glad to see Reverend Ethan Levengood, there behind the stove, there [is] where he can keep nice and warm. And it is also good to have two of our people here this evening, Lester and Grace. We are glad that they could make it, . . . and that each of you-all [could], and [that] the good singers from Pine Town [Pine Grove] [could] come. We are also glad to listen to them and to meet them. And I hope [that] when your long meeting/service starts tomorrow, you ['ll] have an exceedingly good one. And we hope that many souls [will] get saved during the days and evenings. And that the preacher [will be led by . . .] the Holy Spirit . . . , well, just let the Holy Spirit lead him in every way during the entire meeting that you-all [will] have. I [want to] hope you have a wonderful time.

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I would like this evening to read from the Gospel of John, the ninth chapter, from the first verse through the twenty-fifth verse:

Jesus passed by and saw a man who was born blind. His disciples asked him: "Master, who was it here that did something wrong [sinned], that man or his parents, that he was born blind?" Jesus answered, "He did nothing wrong and neither his parents. In him shall we see how the grace of God shall be carried out/made manifest. I must work [the works] of Him who sent me while it is still [the light of] day. Soon will come the night when there will be no more work[ing]. As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world." After he said this, he spat on the ground and made a [clay] paste from it and placed it on the blind man's eyes and said to him, go to the pool of Siloam and wash [yourself]. He went there, washed, and was able to see.

The neighbors who had seen him before when he was a beggar, said, "Is this not man who sat here and begged?" Some said, "It is he." But others said, "No, he just looks so/[like him]." But the man himself said, "It is me." And they asked him, "How were your eyes opened?" He answered, "The man who is called Jesus made a paste and placed it on my eyes and said, 'Go to the pool of Siloam and wash.' I went there, washed, and could see." Then they asked him, "Were is he?" He said, "I do not know." Then they took the man who earlier was blind to the Pharisees. But it was on the Sabbath when Jesus made

Noh hen sie der Mann as devor blind gewest waar zu de Phariseer gebrocht. Awwer es waar am Sabbat wie Yesus der Brei gemacht hot un em Mann sei Aagesicht gewwe hot. Sie hen ihn noch emol gfrogt, aah die Phariseer hen 's geduh, wie des kumme waer as er nau hot sehne kenne. Un er hot ihne gsaat: Er hot en Brei uff mei Aage gelegt, ich hab mei Aage gewesche, un nau kann ich sehne. Noh hen Deel vun die Phariseer gsaat: Seller Mann iss net vun Gott weil er der Sabbat net halt. Awwer die annere hen gsaat: Wie kann en sindicher Mensch so eppes duh? Un so sin sie driwwer uneenich warre. Sie hen der blind Mann noch eemol gfrogt: Was denkscht du vun ihm, weil er dei Aage uffgemacht hot? Er hot gsaat: Er iss en Brofeet.

Die Yudde hen ihm 's net geglaabt as er varderhand blind gewest iss un nau hot sehne kenne. Un sie hen sei Eldre beigholt un sie gfrogt: Iss des eier Bu as ihr vun ihm saage, er waar blind gebore? Wie kummt 's as er nau sehne kann? Die Eldre hen 'ne geandwatt: Mir wisse gut as des unser Bu iss, un as er blind gebore iss. Awwer wie 's kummt as er nau sehne kann, wisse mir net, aah net, wer ihm die Aage uffgemacht hot. Er iss uff Eldt. Frogt ihn un losst ihn selwert schwetze.

Noh hen sie der Mann nochemol beigerufe as varderhand blind gewest waar un hen ihm gsaat: Vergess net as es en Gott gebt. Mir wisse as seller Mann en Sinder iss. Er hot ihne geandwatt: Eb er en Sinder iss odder net, des weess ich net. Awwer eens weess ich, ich waar blind un yetzt kann ich sehne.

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[Gebet] Liewer Gott, mer sin dankbaar denowed as mer beikumme kenne in daere Versammling. Mer bede das du dei Watt nemmscht un helfscht yederm as do iss. Mer bidde das du helfscht das dei Watt Blatz findt in all vun unser Hatze. Mir sin dankbaar das mer wisse kann vum Heilich Geischt, das mer iwwer-gebore iss, das mer vun neiem gemacht iss. Mer sin so dankbaar fer alles as du uns gewwe hoscht. Un du hoscht alles so freigewwich zu uns gewwe. Mer sin dankbaar fer alles as du duscht. Segne *die* Leit. Segne die was vorgehne duhn, un hen all der Druwwel un all die Arrewet fer zu noochgucke. Mer bede das du helfscht in die lange Mieting as kummt. Mer bede das du helfscht yederm. Un noh, schteh bei uns un helf uns das mer dich immer uffhewe. All des froge mer in Yesus Naame. Amen.

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Ich daed gleiche denowed, liewe Leit, fer den Text bekannt zu mache. Un des iss gfunne im fimf-un-zwansichschde Vaerscht vun dem neinde Kabiddel das mer gelese hen. Un ich daed gleiche saage as die Lektsiyon, das mer gelese hen, verzaehlt vun en Mann das unbehilflich un hoffnunglos waar. Er hot sei Druwwel all uffgeegent. Er hot 's bekennt. Er hot gsaat, "Ich waar blind." Un er hot aah ge'eegent, er hot gsaat, "Ich sehn." Un noh, uff kors, hot er aah zuverdraut, "Ich weess!" Un der ganz Kabiddel do iss uffgenumme mit me blinde Mann.

the paste and gave the man his sight. They asked him once again, the Pharisees also asked him, how it came to be that he now could see. And he said to them, "He put a paste on my eyes, I washed my eyes, and now I can see." Then some of the Pharisees said, "That man is not of God because he does not keep the Sabbath." But the others said, "How can a sinner/[sinful man] do such a thing?" And so they disagreed about this. They asked the blind man once more, "What do you think of him since he has opened your eyes?" He said, "He is a prophet."

The Jews did not believe him that he was blind beforehand and now could see. And they called/fetched his parents and asked them, "Is this your son of whom you say he was born blind? How has it happened that he now can see?" The parents answered them, "We know well that this is our son and that he was born blind. But how it has happened that he now can see, we know not, also not who opened his eyes." "He is of age; ask him and let him speak for himself."

Then they called the man once again who beforehand had been blind and said to him, "Forget not that there is a God [and give Him praise]. We know that man is a sinner." He answered them, "Whether he is a sinner or not, I do not know. But one thing I know: I was blind, and now I can see."

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[Prayer] Dear God, we are thankful this evening that we can come here in this gathering. We pray that Thou [will] take Thy Word and [will] help each [person] /everyone who is here. We ask that Thou [would] help so that Thy Word finds a place in all of our hearts. We are thankful that one/[we] can know/learn about the Holy Spirit, that one is/[we are] born again, that one is/[we are] made anew. We are so thankful for everything that Thou hast given us. And Thou hath given everything so graciously to us. We are thankful for everything that Thou doest. Bless these people. Bless those who go-ahead/[are in charge] and have all the trouble/ worries and all the work to look after/take care of. We pray that Thou [would] help in the long meeting/service that will come/follow. We pray that Thou [would] help every one. And then, stand by us and help us so that we always lift Thee up [in praise]. All this we ask in Jesus' name. Amen.

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This evening I would like, dear people, to make this text known. And this is found in the 25th verse of the 9th chapter that we have read. And I would like to say that the [scripture] reading that we have read tells of a man who was helpless and without hope. He owned-up/admitted to all his trouble. He confessed it. He said, "I was blind." And he also [then] confessed . . . , he said, "I [can] see." And then, of course, he also entrusted/confessed, "I know!" And this entire chapter here is taken-up/deals with a blind man.

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Und es sin vier "eens" im Neie Testament as mer wennich begucke will, eb mer zu weit gehne. Im Mark findt mer des, "Eins [eens] fehlt dir." Sell waar gsaat zum reiche yunge Mann. Un noh im Lukas, "Eens iss awwer notwennich." Des hot Yesus gsaat zu de Maria, wie er am ihre verzaehle waar, was notwennich waar. Un im Philippaer lese mer, "Eens duhn ich: Ich vergess was hinnich mer iss, un schtreck mich zu dem as var mer iss." Un noh, unser Tekscht—*die* Wadde: "Eens weess ich, eens weess ich." 'S iss wunderbaar fer eppes zu wisse, das mer druff schteh kann, das mer saage kann: Ich weess, ich weess! Wann mer datt waar, dann hot mer 's eigenumme; dann hot mer die Erfaahring ghat.

Nau, denke an em yunger Mann sei Druwwel, aerscht. "Sei Druwwel?" segscht de [du]. Grosser Druwwel hot er ghat; er waar blind gebore! Der aerscht Vaerscht verzaehlt uns as er blind gebore waar. Was waar die Ursach? Wer waar schuldich? Vun wu iss die Blindichkeet beikumme? Sell waar net 's allerbeschde, so weit as der Heiland aagange iss. Er hot net viel datt drum gewwe fer all die . . . , well, die Froge was sie als gebrocht hen. Awwer er waar meh. . . , er waar meh ge'indresst in was er duh hett kenne fer den blinde Mann.

Weescht du, mir sin ewwe all blind gebore. All vun uns waare sell. Wie mer in *die* Welt kumme sin, waare mer gebore in unsere Sinde. Un noh iss Yesus kumme fer uns sindelos mache. Un er hot 's geduh. Es iss en iwwel Ding fer blind zu sei, glaaw ich. Ich will hoffe as ich seilewe net blind warr. Wann ich die Zeit iwwer mich hett, wann ich daerft un daed auslese was ich liewer hett: liewer mei Ohre—net heere, as wie mei Aage—net sehne. Ich will hoffe, ich kann immer mei Aage halde, as ich lese kann un as ich sehne kann. Oh, des iss arrick wann en Mensch mol blind iss—blind, ya, zu alles as gut iss, blind zu alles as uffrichdich iss.

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Awwer daer Bu, daer hot net gewisst wie en Gsicht gut. Daer hot seilewe net sei Maemm ihre Gsicht gsehne. Daer hot nix gewisst eb sei Maemm annerschder geguckt hot vun annere Leit ihre Maemm. Daer hot seilewe ken schee Beewi-Gsicht sehne kenne. Daer hot viel verfehlt in sei Lebzeit. Un daer Bu, daer hot viel verfehlt. Er hot seilewe ken scheener bloher Himmel un scheene Wolke gsehne in sei Zeit. Er waar blind! Un er hot seilewe ken griener Waasem gsehne. Er hot ken scheener Schwamm gsehne. Er waar blind!

Un er hot seilewe ken Veggel gsehne flieye: ken Amschel, ken Schpottvoggel, ken Schpatz, un, uff kors, aah ken Boddriesli, un ken Blohvoggel, un ken Zohschlipper. So hot er seilewe net gsehne. Er waar blind! Und do waare die Blumme als gwest, Yaahre noch Yaahr': un die Drechderblumme, un

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And there are four "ones" in the New Testament that we want to look at [for] a little [while] before we go too far. In Mark one finds this/[these words]: "You lack one [thing]." That was said to the rich young man. And then in Luke: "But one [thing] is necessary/needed." Jesus said this to Mary when he was telling her what was necessary/ needed. And in [the letter to the] Philippians we read: "I [shall] do one [thing]. I [shall] forget what is behind me and strive/[stretch myself] to that which is before me." And then [in] our text [are] these words: "I know one [thing], I know one [thing]." It is wonderful to know something that one/[we] can rely/depend upon, where one/[we] can say: "I know, I know!" If one was/[you were] there, then one/[you] witnessed it, then one/[you] had the experience.

Now, thinking of the young man's trouble, first [of all]: "His trouble?" you say. He had big/a lot of trouble. He was born blind! The first verse tells us that he was born blind. What was the reason/cause? Who was responsible? From where did the blindness come? That was not the best/main [issue], as far as the Savior was concerned. He was not much concerned about that, about all the[se] . . . , well, these questions that they usually brought [to him]. Rather he was more . . . , he was more interested in what he could do for the blind man.

Do you know, we simply were all born blind. All of us were. When we came into this world we were born into our sins. And then Jesus came to make us free of sin. And he did that! It is an awful thing to be blind, I believe. I [want to] hope that I never become blind. If I [had] the time/chance over myself, if I were allowed and would/could choose what I'd rather have: rather my ears and not [be able to] hear, or my eyes and not see. I [want to] hope I can always keep my eyes so that I can read and that I can see. Oh, it is bad/awful when a person is blind. Yes, blind to everything that is good, blind to everything that is right/righteous.

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But this boy, he did not know what a [human] face looked like. He had never seen his mother's face. He did not know anything about whether his mother looked different than other people's mothers. He never was able to see a pretty baby's face. He missed a lot in his lifetime. [And] this boy, he missed a lot. He never saw a pretty blue sky and pretty clouds in his time. He was blind! And he never saw a green lawn/grassy surface. He hadn't seen a beautiful meadow. He was blind!

And he never saw any birds flying: no robin, no mockingbird, no sparrow, and of course also no bobwhite, and no bluebird, and no wren. Such [things] he had never seen. He was blind! And there were always the flowers, year after year: the petunias ["funnel flowers"], the violets ["March flowers"], and the

die Matzblumme, un die Holzrose, un die Schwaertlicher, un die Pingschtblumme. All die sin kumme un widder verbeigange. Un er waar blind!

Un do sin die Beem gewest: scheene Weidebeem, Eechebeem, Beintbeem, ya, Zeedre, un Obschtbeem. Er hot seilewe ken Baam gsehne. Er hot sei Hand uff en Baam . . . , wedder en Baam leye kenne. Awwer er waar blind! Un er hot aah seilewe ken Bisch gsehne, ken Pisch vun eenich eppes. Wann sie gsaat hen, "Nau gehn' mer fer Hollerbeere roppe"; er hot net gewisst was en Hollerbeereschtock guckt. Er hot net gewisst wie en Kannsdrauweschtock guckt. Er hot nix gewisst vun Hockelbeereschteck. Er hot nix gewisst vun Grusselbeereschteck. Oh, er hot gheert as sie als gsaat hen: "Nau gehn mer des roppe un sell roppe."—Ich weess net eb du eppes weescht vun so eppes zu roppe odder net: Hockelbeere roppe, odder Kannsdrauwe roppe, odder Grusselbeere roppe. Awwer ich weess noch, mir hen sie als ghadde im Gaarde wie ich deheem waar . . .

Un er waar blind! Un er hot seilewe ken Ungraut gsehne; ken Ungraut, nee. Wann die Mammi wennich nidder waar im Schunkefleesch un Seideschpeck, un wann sie wennich Seibatzel genumme hot un hot 's zurecht gemacht fer Esse; wei, er hot seilewe net sehne kenne was Seibatzel rielli guckt. Awwer sie hot gsaat, "Des iss Seibatzel."—So weit hawwich seilewe ken Seibatzel esse breiche; awwer ich weess deel Leit as schunn hen!—Er hot nix gewisst vun Haaseglee. Er hot nix gewisst vun Sauerrombel. Er hot nix gewisst vun Kaesbabble. Er hot nix gewisst vun Seiohrebledder. Un er hot aah nix gewisst vun Schpitzeweddricher. Er hot nix gewisst vun so Sache wie sell. Awwer ich saag dir was: er waar blind, er waar blind! Un er waar en aaremer Dropp gewest, graad darich waar er en aarmer Droppel.

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In unsere Sinde waare mir ewwe aah so blind gewest: blind zum liewe Gott un sein Lieb, un blind zu Yesus un sei Baremharzichkeit, un blind so weit as Freiheit geht. Mir hen nix gewisst vun Freiheit. Mir hen nix gewisst vun Friede. Mir hen nix gewisst vun der Gnade Gottes. Awwer Yesus iss kumme—fer eppes zu duh fer uns verennere.

Un ich bin dankbaar fer selli Leit . . . Oh, sie waare "Baeptischt"-Leit, as die Waahret gebrocht hen zu unserem Blatz. Un sie hen gsunge un gebeet. Un hen vun die Schrift gelese. Un sie hen 's Watt gebrocht. Un des Watt hot gschafft uff mir. Des hot Halt genumme. Des hot mich alsemol wennich gschiddelt—as ich gschnaddert hab! Un 's waar wunderbaar gewest das die Wahrheit zu mer kumme iss. Un ich hab mer schunn oft Gott gedankt fer selli Leit. Sie sin die Mehrheit vunne nau im Graab. Awwer ich hoff das sie en rechdi gudi "reward" hen, wann sie vor Gott schtehne mol ee Daag fer all das sie geduh hen—in die Heilich Schrift mei Weg bringe. Wann 's net so waer, wei, waer ich noch datt hinne—in die alt dod Karich, wu mer seilewe

hollyhocks ["wood roses"], and the irises ["little swords"], and the lilacs ["Pentecost flowers"]. All these came and passed again by. And he was blind!

And there were the trees: pretty willow trees, oak trees, pine trees, yes, [and] cedars, and fruit trees. He had never seen a tree. He could put his hand on a tree . . . , lay [his hand] against a tree. But he was blind! And he also had never seen a bush, no bush of anything/any kind. When they said, "Now we'll go to pick elderberries," he did not know what an elderberry bush looked like. He did not know what a currant bush looked like. He didn't know anything about huckleberry bushes. He didn't know anything about gooseberry bushes. Oh, he heard when they would say, "Now we'll go to pick this and to pick that."—I don't know if you know anything about picking such a thing or not: picking elderberries, or picking currants, or picking gooseberries. But I still know/recall that we used to have them in the garden when I lived at home . . .

And he was blind! And he had never seen any weeds, no weeds, no. When his mother was a little low/short of ham and bacon, and when she took a little purslane ["pig-weed"] and prepared it for eating, why, he was never able to see what purslane really looked like. But she said, "This is purslane."—So far I have never needed to eat any purslane, but I know some folks who already have!—He didn't know anything about oxalis/yellow wood sorrel ["rabbit-clover"]. He didn't know anything about [sheep] sorrel. He knew nothing about mallow ["cheese wrappers"]. He knew nothing about plantain ["pigs ear leaves"]. And he also knew nothing about ribgrass. He knew nothing about such things as that. But I'll tell you something: He was blind, he was blind! And he was a poor fellow/soul, through and through he was a poor soul.

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[And] in our sins we were also blind like this, you know. Blind to [our] dear God and his love. And blind to Jesus and his mercy. And blind as far as freedom is concerned. We did not know anything about freedom. We knew nothing about peace. We knew nothing about the grace of God. But Jesus came—to do something to change us.

And I am thankful for those folks. Oh, they were Baptists—who brought the Truth to our place/home. And they sang and they prayed. And they read out of Scripture. And they brought the Word. And this Word worked upon me. It took hold. Sometimes it shook me a little, [so much] that I trembled! And it was wonderful that the Truth came to me. And I have often thanked God for those people. The majority of them are now in their graves. But I hope that they have a real good reward, when one day they stand before God for all that they have done—to bring the Holy Scripture my way. If it hadn't been so/that way, why, I would still be back there—in the old dead church

nix ghat hen as wie unser Gleeder, neie Gleeder, scheene Gleeder as mer ghat hen; mer waare in die Karich gewest fer abweise. Awwer so waar alles, alles as zu waar. Es waar seilewe nix fer die Seele. Awwer wie ich mol mit-gegniet hab an selli altfrenkisch Gnaadebank, eppes wie ihr hen graad do—'baut so lang. Awwer meini, was ich gegniet hab, waar noch dunkel aageschtriche gewest. Un so waar'n aah mei Sinde dunkel gewest. Awwer noh wie der Herr runnerkumme iss, un hot all mei Sinde uffgenumme—ab vun meim Hatze, un sie weck gerollt, un "in der See" geduh . . . Seilewe nimmi dut er sie uffbringe, seilewe dutt er mir sie vorhalde. Awwer daer hot gsaat, "Die sin begraawe—fer ewich, fer ewich!"

Wei, Gott sei Dank, sell iss genunk fer eem wennich wusslich mache—wie Samschdaag-Owede . . . , wann mer driwwer denkt was er geduh hot fer uns: as er uns vun neiem gebore hot, un as er en neie Greadur' gemacht hot aus eem. Un ich saag dir, wie seller Geischt kumme iss un hot mer die Zeignis gewwe, un do haww ich saage kenne graad wie daer blind Mann: "Ich weess! Eens weess ich, eens weess ich!" Ich waar datt, ich hab 's erfaahre. Un ich weess graad was geschehe iss. Un wie er kumme iss un hot des geduh. Des waar so wunderbaar gewest. Des haww ich net verlegele kenne; un ich kann 's aah net zu dem Daag. Ich muss saage: Yesus iss gut zu mir, so gut, so gut! Yesus iss gut zu mein're Seele! Wann ich driwwer denk, kann ich net helfe; [ich] waerd alsemol wennich hallich driwwer. Oh, ich saag der was. Ich waar lang genunk blind gewest. Oh ya, lang genunk. Un ich saag der was. Wie ich mich bekehrt hab, do iss alles nei gewest. 'S iss alsnoch nei. Un ich bin dankbaar das ich ihn hab; un as er *mich* hot. Un ich will immer in sei Hend bleiwe.

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Guckt yuscht dem yunge Mann sei Verdrauing aa—in die zwee Veischt, im fimfde un im sexde Vaerscht. Un do iss—die "Reseed." Do iss die Reseed, do iss wie es . . . , des iss graad wie es beikumme iss nau: "Nochdem as er des gsaat hot, hot er uff der Grund gschpauzt, un hot en Brei draus gemacht un em blinde Mann uff die Aage gelegt, un hot ihm gsaat, 'Geh hie zum Wasserdeich Shiloh un wesch dich.' Un daer iss hiegange, hot sich gewesche, un—[hot] sehne kenne."—Iss sell net *wunderbaar*? Brei mit Lehme, mit Schpautz hot er gemacht. Oh, in Englisch daed mer saage—eppes wie en "pab or a pablum," des Brei das er gemacht hot.—Ich weess noch als, wie sie als Brei gemacht hen wie ich en Yunger waar, noh haww ich als mei Graemmemm heere schwetze; un mei Maemm hot als gschwetzt vun dem Brei. Was ich gsehne hab, was ich gschmackt hab vum Brei, well, es iss deel Sache as ich liewer gleich as wie Brei—viele liewer!

Awwer weescht, mir sin all aus Lehme gemacht. Mer sin all aus Lehme gemacht. 'S iss gewiss waahr. So waar daer Blind. Un so waar Lehme gut

where we never had anything except our clothes, new clothes, the nice clothes that we had; we were in church to show off. But everything was that way, everything was "shut." There was never anything for the soul.

But when I knelt down alongside [the others] at that old-fashioned mercy-bench/[sinners' bench], something like [the one] you have right here, about so long. But mine, the one that I knelt at, was still painted [a] dark [color]. And my sins were also dark. But then when the Lord came down and took all my sins off of my heart, and rolled them way and put/cast them into the sea. He never ever brings them up again. He never holds them before me/reproaches me with them. Rather he said, "They are buried—forever, forever!"

Why, praise God, that is enough to make one/[you] a little "lively"/ excited—like on Saturday evenings! . . . , when one/[you] think about what He did for us—that he made us born again and that he made a new creature/ being out of [us]. And I'll tell you, when that Spirit came and gave me the testimony, and I could say there just like the blind man: "I know!" I know one thing, I know one thing. I was there and I experienced it. And I know exactly what happened. [And] how he/it came and did this [to me]. It was so wonderful. I could not deny it. And I cannot [deny it] to this day. I must say, Jesus is good to me, so good, so good! Jesus is good to my soul! When I think about it I cannot help [it]. I sometimes get a little "happy" over/from it. Oh, I'll tell you. I was blind long enough. Oh yes, long enough. And I'll tell you what. When I was converted/[born again], everything was new. It still is new. And I am thankful that I have Him, and that He has me. And I want to remain forever in His hands.

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Just look at this young man's trust—in these two verses, in the fifth and sixth verses. And here is the "recipe." Here is the prescription, here is how it . . . , this now is exactly how it came to pass: "After He said that, He spate upon the ground, and made a paste from it and laid it on the blind man's eyes, and said to him, 'Go to the water pool [in] Shiloh and wash thyself.' And he went there, washed himself, and—could see!" Is that not wonderful/ amazing? He made [a] paste/pab with clay, with spittle. Oh, in English one would say [it was] something like a pab or a pablum, this paste that He made.—I still know/recall how they used to make pab when I was a youngster. I used to hear my grandmother talking, and my mother used to talk about this pab, pablum. [From] what I saw, from what I tasted of that pablum, well, there are some things that I like [to eat] better than pablum, much better!

But you know, we are all made of clay/[earth]. We are all made of clay. It is certainly true. [And] this blind man was too. And so, clay was good for

gewest fer ihn uffzuflicke. Un er hot recht gut sehne kenne, wie . . . der Yesus hot etliche Mol annere gsaat was sie duh sedde; un sie hen 's geduh. Driwwer im Maddaias leest mer wu er gsaat hot, "Schtreck die Hand aus!" Un noh im neinde Kabiddel hot er gsaat, "Schteh uff, nemm dei Bett, un geh heem!" Un zum Naeman driwwe im zwedde Buch Keenich, im fimfde Kabiddel un im zehede Vaerscht, hot er gsaat, "Geh hie un wesch dich siewen Mol im Yadden!" Un daer yung Mann hot Yesus gfolligt wie er ihm gsaat hot, er sott sich geh wesche in dem Wasserdeich am Shiloh. Un eppes iss gschehe: er waar gheelt, wunderbaar gheelt! Un er kann unser Aage alsnoch uffmache. Un er kann 's mache as mer sehne kenne. Awwer ich hab seilewe net sehne kenne was ich sehne hab kenne—sidder as ich vun neiem gebore waar. Oh, des iss wunderbaar, 's iss iwweraus. Wann ich dir yuscht verzaehle kennt, wann ich dich yuscht gut hungerich mache kennt, wann du noch net weescht was ich am schwetze bin devun.

Un ich daed gleiche zu saage: Do waar en yunger Mann sei Erfaahring; do waare wunnerfitziche Nochbere un Freind—im achde bis zwelfde Vaerscht. Un datt waare sie, graad am Blatz gewest, fer "ausfaschle." Un du weescht was "ausfaschle" meent. Un wann mer noh des Watt "ausfaschel" wennich driwwer denkt, gemeenerhand vun die Zeit froge sie, sie froge: "wie," "wann," "wu," un "wer." Selli sin ball die viere das dich druff draue kannscht, ya, wann sie dich mol aafange ausfaschle.

Und des waar eppes schunscht. Do waar'n all die wunnernaessiche Pharisaeer im dreizehde zum siwwezehde Vaerscht. Un die hen iwwerall rumkumme fer die Naas neischtrecke. Un datt waare sie fer en Schtrawutz' zu mache. Un sie hen ken Schule ghat, sie hen ken Bicher ghat fer die Blinde in selli Daage. Gewiss net. Awwer die waare wunderbaar wunnerfitzich: "Wie iss des yuscht beikumme?!" "Wer, was hot ihm die Recht gewwe fer do neigeh, un do eppes . . . —aus Schpautz?!" "Wei, ich daed mer . . . ! Wei, so eppes! Wei, ich daed net erlaawe fer so eppes uff mei Aage geduh sei!" Well, ich saag der was; awwer wann es eem heelt, iss 's es waert. Ya, du segscht, "Well, ferwas hot er dann so eppes duh breiche?" Wei, fer des—so das mer sehne kennt as er unnerschittliche Wege hot fer eem zu helfe. Net yuscht—sei Watt saage. Awwer er hot do eppes geduh mit dem Lehme, un do uff sei Aage geduh—un er hot sehne kenne. Wunderbaar, iwweraus waar 's!

Awwer noh, denk yuscht mol draa—an die undankbaar Eldre. Die waare net dankbaar. Vum achtzehde bis der zwee-un-dreissichde, dee-ch [denk-ich], kann mer finne vun wie sie waare. Sie hen net bei em Bu schteh kenne. Nee, sie hen net. Die waare Hatzkauer gewest. Sie hen net uffgschwetzt fer en. Sie hen yuscht gsaat, "Mir wisse net wie 's beikumme iss! Frog ihn, er iss uff Eldt!" "Frog ihn," weescht. Sie hen schur net *zu* viel Lieb ghat fer 'n. Un ich saag der was, sie waare ganz am Blatz gewest wu sie, glaaw ich, wennich dottlich

mending him, patching him up. And he could see really well. [Just] as Jesus several times had told others what they should do; and they did it. Over in [the gospel of] Matthew one reads where He said, "Stretch out thy hand!" And then in the ninth chapter He said, "Arise, take thy bed, and go home!" And to Naaman over in the second book of Kings, in the fifth chapter and the tenth verse, He said, "Go hither and wash thyself seven times in the Jordan." And this young man obeyed Jesus when He told him he should go and wash himself in the water pool at Shiloh. And something happened. He was healed, wonderfully/ miraculously healed! And He can still open our eyes too! And He can make us able to see. But I was never able to see [before] what I have been able to see since I was born again. Oh, it's wonderful, it's exceedingly [wonderful]! If I just could tell you, if I could just make you good and hungry,—if you still do not know what I am talking about.

And I would like to say: Here was a young man's experience. There were curious neighbors and friends/ relatives—[there] in the 8th to the 12th verses. And there they were, right on the spot, trying to gain information, "interrogating" him. And you know what "interrogating" means. And if one/[you] think a little about this word "interrogating." Usually at the/that time they ask: "How, when, where, and who." Those are pretty much the four [things] that you can rely on, for sure, when they start "interrogating" you.

And there was also something else. There were all the "curious" Pharisees—in the thirteenth to the seventeenth verses. They got around everywhere—to stick their noses into [things]. And they were there to make trouble. They did not have any schools, they didn't have any books for the blind in those days. Certainly not. But they were wonderfully/ amazingly curious: "Just how did this come about?! Who . . . , what gave him the right to get into/get involved in this, and [make] something—from spittle?! Why, I wouldn't . . . ! Why,—such a thing! Why, I would not permit such a thing to be put on my eyes!" Well, I tell you what. If it heals one/[you], it is worth it. Yes, you [might] say, "Well, then why did He need to do such a thing?" Why, for this [very reason]: so that one/[you] could see that He has different ways to help one/[you]. Not just by speaking His Word. Instead, He did something here with this clay, and put it here on his eyes, and he was able to see. Wonderful, it was exceedingly [wonderful]!

But then just think about it, about the ungrateful parents. They were not thankful. From the eighteenth to the thirty-second [verses], I believe, one/[you] can find out how they were. They were not able to stand by the boy. No, they did not. They were cowards. They did not speak up for him. They just said, "We don't know how it came to pass/happened. Ask him, he is of age!" "Ask him," you know. They surely did not have too much love for him. And I tell you what, they were right at the point where they, I believe, were a little

waare. Sie hen net gewisst, velleicht, was die Leit saage daede wann sie *zu* viel uffeegne daede as des ihre Bu waar.

• • •

Awwer Eldre, well, selli sin eppes schunscht, alsemol. Ich glaab as, oh, 's iss velleicht samm Zeit zerick, der Ethan waar in e Mieting wu ich waar—un ich will hoffe, er vergebt mer . . . Awwer an sell're Mieting haww ich verzaehlt vun Leit as, well, sie waare do hiwwe gewuhnt in Baricks Kaundi. Es waar en Bauer. Un daer hot aafange mit wennich Geld. Awwer er un sei Fraa hen hatt gschafft, hen en grossi Familye uffgezohe, un ihre Geld gschpaart, un hen ihre Bauerei abbezahlt. Un hen noh en anneri noch kaaft un bezaahlt. Un iwwer e Weil—noch eeni. Un wie sie zimmlich alt waare, hen sie en glee Haus kaaft in eens vun unser gleene Schteddlicher do, un sin neigezohe. Un hen ihre Kinner uff die Bauerei gelosst.

Mol ee Daag waar die Sally, die eldscht vun ihre Maed, uff de Penn-Schtrooss do hiwwe in Reading. Un sie hot gewaart uff de Bus—graad var em Captain Dill seinre Traewwel-Offis. Un sie guckt in 's Fenschder un sie sehnt die gleene Bicher as datt drin sin. Un sie saage vun unnerschittliche Bletz, weescht, in die Welt. Un noh hot mer aah die Tickets kaafe kenne, graad datt. Un so hot sie paar vun denne Bicher mitgenumme. Un eens waar vun dem "Floridae-Wasser" gewest, wie wunderbaar gut as es iss. Un mir wisse noch all, wie mer in die Schul waare, hen mer gelannt vun dem Ponce Deleon un die "ewich Yuchend"-Schpring as in Floridae sei soll. Well, des Buch secht das sie hedde noch de saem Wasser in Floridae as sie ghat hen datt hinne. Un wann mer 's drinkt un wann mer sich wescht mit, daed mer widder yung warre.

Dann hot sie en Noschen grickt, des waer yuscht der Blatz fer der Paepp un die Maemm mol hiegeh. Un sie hot dann noh die Maemm des all ausgelegt. Un hot gsaat, "Ferwas gehscht du un der Paepp net mol nach Floridae den Winder? Ihr hen immer hatt gschafft. Un ihr sin seilewe net viel rumkumme in daere Welt." Un, well, die Maemm iss eigschtimmt mit. Un noh hot der Paepp mitgeh misse. Un sie sin noh aafange im November, im Vorpaert vom November, noch Floridae geh—noch Miami.

Un glei, uff kors, hot die Maemm de Sally gschriwwe; un gsaat, wie wunderbaar das des Wasser iss. Sie hot gsaat, sie un der Paepp, die daede so, oh, so viel yinger fiehle as sie ghat hen devor. Un dann mol ee Daag schreibt dann die Maemm un saagt zu de Sally,—ferwas sie net, sie un net dann der Tschann, net emol noh runnerkumme nach Floridae daede. Sie hot gsaat zu 're, "Kumm graad noch die Grischdaage, wann 's Butscherei verbei iss, un noh bleiwe do fer paar Woche. Un ihr Kinner kenne Achding gewwe uff die Bauerei." Un die Sally hot die Noschen grickt. Un noh hot der Tschann ewwe aah mitgeh misse; eb er gewollt hot odder net, er iss mitgange.

anxious/fearful. They perhaps didn't know what the people would say if they owned up/admitted too much [and said] that this was their boy/son.

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But parents, well, sometimes they are "something else." I believe that . . . , oh, it was maybe some time ago, [Reverend] Ethan [Levengood] was at a meeting where I was . . . , and I hope that he'll forgive me. But at that meeting I talked about [some] people who . . . , well, they lived over here in Berks County. There was a farmer. And he started out with [very] little money. But he and his wife worked hard, [and] raised a big family, and saved their money, and paid off their farm. And then bought another one and paid for it. And after a while [they bought] yet another one. And when they were pretty old they bought a little house in one of our little towns, and they moved in. And [they] left their children [stay] on the farm.

One day Sally, the oldest of their daughters, was on Penn Street over here in Reading. And she was waiting for the bus, right in front of Captain Dill's travel office. And she looks into the [show] window and she sees the little books/[booklets] that were in there. And they tell about different places in the world, you know. And then one can also buy the tickets right there. And so she took a few of those booklets along. One was about that "Florida water" —how it's so really good. And we all still know/remember when we were in school, we learned about Ponce DeLeon and the fountain of eternal youth that is supposed to be in Florida. Well, this booklet says that they still had the same water in Florida that they had back there/[then]. And if one/[you] drink it, and if one/[you] bathe with it, one/[you] would become young again.

Then she got a notion/idea that this would be just the place for [her] father and mother to go once. And then she explained this all to her mother. And she said, "Why don't you and Dad go once to Florida this winter? You have always worked hard. And you never got around much in this world." And, well, her mother agreed to it. And then her father had to go along. And they started out in November, in the first part of November, to go to Florida, to Miami.

And of course, the mother wrote right away to Sally, and she said how wonderful the water was. She said she and the father, they felt oh so much younger than they did before. And then one day the mother writes to Sally and says/asks why she, she and John, don't come once down to Florida. She said to her, "Come right after the Christmas holidays when the butchering is over and then stay for a few weeks. And your children can watch after the farm." And Sally got the idea. And then John simply had to go along too, whether he wanted to or not, he went along.

Un paar Daag var Neiyaahr sin sie ewwe darich nunner noch Floridae, noch Miami gange. Un wie sie hiekumme sin an die Miami Riggelweg-Staeschen, wei, hen sie eckschpeckt der Paepp un die Maemm zu miede. Awwer es waar nimmand datt gewest wu sie aagelandt hen. Un dann denke sie, well, velleicht hen sie 's letz verschtanne—un sie grieyen en Taxi un sie gehn' nach em Wattshaus wu die Maemm un der Paepp am bleiwe waare. Un wie sie an 's Eck kumme sin vum Staeschen fer der Taxi zu grieye, noh hot en yungi Fraa datt gschtanne. Un wie sie datt gschtanne hot, waar sie mit me Boppel gewest uff ihrem Aarem. Un noh die yung Fraa secht, "Sally!"

Un die Sally guckt mol rum, un saagt: "Wer bischt du? Ich hab *dich* seilewe net gsehne devor."

"Wei," saagt sie, "ich bin dei Maemm. Well, gehn' mer doch."

"Maemm! Was iss mer dann des?!"

"Wei," saagt die Maemm, "es iss des Wasser; zidder as ich es drink un mich alle Daag mit wesch, haww ich selwert . . . , well, ganz annerschde warre. Un des, des haww ich selwert schier net geglaabt. Awwer so iss es."

"Awwer," hot die Sally gsaat, "Maemm, wem sei Bobbel hoscht du datt uff em Aarem?"

"Ach," saagt die Maemm, "des iss ken Bobbel; des iss der Paepp! Du weescht, er hot immer so viel gsoffe!"

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Un *die* waare Eldre gewest, nau, die waare Eldre. Awwer ganz annere Eldre—as wie der blind Buh ghat hot. Eldre—as ganz anneri Verlanging ghat hen. Die hen bei die Sally gschtocke. Un die Sally, uff kors, hot bei ihne gschtocke aah.

Awwer do waar daer aarm Dropp gewest. Un do sodde mer gucke an die Schtreide vun dem yunge Mann—im fimf-un-zwanschschde Vaerscht. Er hot es ausgelegt zu 'ne, was Yesus geduh hot. Un er hot ihne sei Erfaahring gewwe un hot 'ne es alles mit'nanner verzaehlt. Mer muss heit ewwe en waahri Bekehrung hawwe—mit all em Druwwel, un all em Elend un all die Not as in der Welt iss. Un daer Bu waar grefdich gewest, wie er verzaehlt hot. Er hot net schunscht sei kenne. Er hot 's yuscht net helfe kenne. Er waar wunderbaar grefdich. Un er hot en Zeignis ghat vum Geischt. Un er hot "all sei Schparre" ghat; er hot ken vun die Schparre verlore ghat! Alles waar allrecht gewest. Er waar net "rappelkeppich" gewest! Er war net "verkollebiert" gewest! Er waar ken "Glotzkopp" gewest! Er waar sell net et-all. Er waar en iwwergeborener, neier-geborener Bu.

Un heit am . . . , glaaw ich, mache mer velleicht zu. Well, mer sin glee wennich am Blatz wu mer der Weg zu leicht mache, bin ich bang.

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An a few days before New Year's they went down through to Florida, to Miami. And when they got to the Miami train station, why, they expected to meet [her] father and mother. But there was no one there when they arrived. And then they thought, well, maybe they understood/got it wrong, and they['ll] get a taxi and go to the hotel where mother and father were staying. And when they came/got to the corner of the station to get the taxi, a young woman was standing there. And as she stood there she was with/ holding a baby on/in her arm[s]. And then the young woman says, "Sally!"

And Sally looked around and says, "Who are you? I've never seen you before."

"Why," she says, "I'm your mother. Well, let's go."

"Mother! What's going on?!"

"Why," the mother says, "It's this water. Since I've been drinking it and washing/bathing with it every day, I've . . . , well, I've become completely different. And this . . . , I almost couldn't believe it myself. But that's the way it is."

"But," Sally said, "Mother, whose baby do you have there on/in your arm[s]?"

"Oh," the mother says, "This is no baby, this is your father! You know he always drank so much!"

• • •

And they were the parents, now, these were the parents. But entirely other/different parents—than the blind son had. Parents who had entirely different longing/desires. They stuck by Sally. And of course, Sally stuck by them too.

But here was this poor fellow/soul. And here we should look at the disputing/arguments of this young man, [beginning] in the twenty-fifth verse. He explained to them what Jesus had done. And he gave/related his experience to them and told them all everything. Today/nowadays, you know, one/[you] must have [received] a true conversion [to be able to deal] with all the trouble and all the misery and all the need that is in the world. And this boy was strong/powerful in the way he told [his story]. He was not able to be otherwise. He just could not help it. He was wonderfully/amazingly powerful. And he had a witness/testimony from the [Holy] Spirit. And he had "all his rafters"/[all his wits about him]; he hadn't lost any of his rafters/[wits]! Everything was alright/in order. He was hot "rattle-headed"/[silly in the head]. He was not confused/dumbfounded! He was no "block-head." He wasn't that at all. He was a re-born, new-born boy.

And today/now at [this point], I think we['ll] perhaps close. Well, we are a little bit at the point where we are making the way [to salvation seem] too easy, I'm afraid.

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Awwer daer Bu, daer Bu hot en Erfaahring ghat. Un er hot 's aah gsaat. Un mer kann wisse wann mer vun neiem gebore iss. Mer kann 's gewiss. Un ich saag der was. Mer kann alsnoch darichbede. Macht nix aus was Leit saage devun. Mer kann alsnoch darich-bede. Mer kann heere vum Himmel. Was ich gegliche hab vun dem Bu waar wie er des gsaat hot—un er hot des so vollschtennich gsaat. Un des kann ich net vergesse: "Eb er ein Sinder iss odder net, des weess ich net. Awwer eens weess ich. Ich waar blind, un yetzt kann ich sehne!"

Du kannscht aah sehne. Der Herr segen dich.

Translator's Note: This PG version of John 9:1–25 was taken from C. R.Wood's translation of the Gospels, published in 1968 by the Pa. German Society [Vol. 1, 162–63]. Reverend Frey made the following word changes [underlined in text] from the original:

Wood		**Frey**	**Wood**		**Frey**
vollfillt	=>	ausg'fiehrt	'ne	=>	ihne [in sev. places]
der Boddem	=>	der Grund	mich gwesche	=>	mei Aage gwesche
wu	=>	die was	beeser Mann	=>	sindicher Mensch
selwert hot gsaat	=>	hot selwert gsaat	emol	=>	eemol
ich bin 's	=>	ich bin ihn	blind waer	=>	blind waar
en	=>	ihn [in sev. places in text]	blind iss	=>	blind waar
zuvor	=>	devor	Is er rielli en Sinder	=>	eb er en Sinder iss, odder net
es Aagelicht	=>	sei Aage[g]sicht	nau	=>	yetzt

However, this boy, this boy had an experience. And he also told [about] it. And one/[you] can know if one is/[you are] born again. One/[you] surely can. And I'll tell you what. One/[you] can still pray [your way] through [to it]. It doesn't matter what people say about it. One/[you] can still pray [your way] through. One/[you] can hear from Heaven. What I liked about this boy was how he said it. He said it so completely. And I cannot forget this, [what he said to the Pharisees about Jesus]: "Whether He be a sinner or not, I know not. But one thing I know. I was blind, and now I can see!"

[And] you can see too. May the Lord bless you.

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A Letter Defining Old Order Mennonite Worship in the Nineteenth Century

Old Order Mennonite faith has sought to live a quite nonconspicuous life, holding forth the New Testament and Christian discipleship, but at the same time holding the unity of the brotherhood very high. To be in Old Order therefore is a job of seven days a week.

An Old Order public worship service is comprised of hymn singing in unison at the beginning and close of the service. The opening singing is followed by an opening sermon, followed by a silent prayer, a reading of the text by the deacon, then the main sermon followed by testimonies from the other ministry while they are seated. Then an audible prayer and benediction with more singing and announcements and dismissal. The Groffdale Conference and Old Order Amish still follow this pattern, but the Stauffer Mennonites moved their benediction to the very end of the service about 1895, while our Weaverland Conference moved it to the very end about 1946.

Isaac Clarence Kulp (1938–2008) once pointed out that celebrating communion or Eucharist was central throughout the old Catholic worship; but the Reformation, for the Protestants, changed the centrality to the sermon and the preacher. This called for university trained ministers and decorated pulpits high from the floor. With Anabaptists, the sermon was important, but the accent shifted to unity of brotherhood, hence no special training is desirable and all are to be at one and each person present shows his support by their very presence. In fact in all Old Order worship the minister always invites the others to kneel with him for the audible prayer, if they are in unity with him.

Centuries ago in Holland, there were discussions whether the prayers should be silent or audible. It was concluded that silent is the most desirable, but audible is necessary for children to learn to pray. Ever since there is one silent and one audible prayer in Old Order Mennonite worship.

Any Old Order worship would abhor instrumental accompaniment and even four part harmony was considered worldly. Singing the slower tunes in unison was the preferred Old Order singing for worship. Old Order worship is never interspersed with singing, but rather is at the beginning and end of the service. In the old sense, singing was not considered an important part of the service, but was thought of singing 'before' and 'after' the service (which we likely inherited from our Reformed background.) Another family tradition says that we sing before and after the church service so that Paul's admonition is not abused for the sisters to keep silence in the churches.

Swiss Anabaptist worship was very similar the world over, but in the latter part of the twentieth century with the advent of the so called *Great Awakening* or quickening in the Mennonite churches the older forms of worship were greatly threatened. This threat seemed to surface first in Indiana and Old Order-minded church fathers sounded an alarm to the other conservative settlements. The most descriptive document denouncing the new forms of worship was written by John B. Weaver in 1878. He supported Jacob Wisler in an effort to keep the old traditions alive.

The biggest struggle the traditional minded brethren had was Sunday Schools. These schools were modeled after the union Sunday School which had the ecumenicity of bringing all groups together. This tended to introduce a new language (English) and a host of new ideas. While Old Orders held that the marriage blessing be performed by bishops and not ordinary ministers, the modern group begain to conduct weddings even if the bride or groom were not baptized members. This was a very divisive subject. Other practices also appeared such as short devotions replacing the half hour introductory sermon; silent prayer was disposed of; the ministry would arise to give testimony. In the dismissal benediction the minister began to spread their hands over the congregation to bless the people. The dead were brought into the church houses. Also evening meetings were a struggle for traditional minded brethren to understand. All these subtle new changes began in the 1870s, especially after the Old Order Mennonites and Jacob Wisler were expelled on 6 January 1872.

John B. Weaver (1821–1907) was an Old Order supporter with strong Pennsylvania background. He moved to Indiana and discovered that the frontier Mennonites were not as sheltered and were subjected to many new ideas.

An eloquent Gothic writer, Preacher John Weaver (or Johannes Weber) did not change his name as is often said. In his writing it is clear that it is a matter of language. Johannes Weber was German, used on letters; while John Weaver was used on the envelopes for the English postmaster.

John was born in Lancaster County, the son of David and Christiana (Buckwalter) Weaver. He married Mary Zimmerman (1824–1879), daughter of Christian and Mary (Martin) Zimmerman. They had twelve children. John moved with his family to Elkhart County, Indiana, in the year 1868. After retiring from farming he did not sit down and waste away, but did carpenter work. He once made a wooden mosaic chest consisting of 11,800 pieces.

He had been ordained to the office of the ministry at Weaverland by Bishop George Weber in 1856. He was an active defender of the Old Order faith and he with Jacob Wisler could be called the fathers of the Old Order Mennonite faith in Indiana. His influence was also felt in Pennsylvania and Ontario.

Later in life, he tried very hard to avert the 1907 telephone division when he wrote to Bishop John Martin: "We believe that the discord in the church is much more grievous in the sight of the Lord than the phone."

John Weaver wrote many important letters about matters of the church to his cousin Samuel Weber of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. Perhaps the following is the most explicit description extant today, in explaining the radical changes having taken place during the intervening six years. The conservatives were called Old Orders or Wisler Mennonites, while the progressives were often called Funk Mennonites.

Wakarusa, Ind February 9, 1878

Werter Cosend, Bruder, und mitarbeiter in des Herrn Weinberg, und die deinigen, wie auch alle recht glaubige brüder und schwestern in Christo Jesu Gnade und friede von Gott dem Vater, die liebe in Christo Jesu und die Kraft des heiliger und guten geistes derselbig wolle uns alle sammt geleiden und führen durch dieser jammerthal bis zu einem Seeligen ende in Christo Jesum, Amen.

Was uns angeth, haben wir keine ursach zu glagen, und können Gott lob und dank sagen, vier die gesundheit die wier geniesen. Die freund und bekanten sind auch gesund so viel wir wissen, ausgenommen die Elisabeth Huber war eine Zeitlang nicht gesund. der dockter sagt sie hat das neven fieber. die nachberschaft is üeberhaupt gesund. Wir haben deinen brief vom 12ten December in rechter zeit erhalten und sind auch dankbar vier dessen inhalt und wohlwunschen an uns. Du hast etliche fragen an mich gerichtet, Es wunterd dich was vier verscheidenen ordnung und regel sie haben von unsern. Du weist es is gebreichlich, nach dem singen wird eine anred gethan und dan zum gebet angewiesen und also ein stilles gebet getan. Sie aber nach dem singen wird ein Cabittel verlesen, und wird fast gar keine anred gethan, und weisen an zum gebet, und einer von den diener thut das gebet laud dan

wird der text verlesen und verhandeld, und dan wan sie Zeigniss geben steth einer nach dem andern auf um sein zeigness zu geben und im gansen wird ihre versammlung auf eine Parrerartige weise geführet.

Und es ist dem diacon erlaubt wen nur ein diener gegenwärtig ist eine anred zu thun, und am schlüss der versammlung stehen die zuhörer auf und der betreffende diener reckt die hände lieber das volk aus, u spricht den Segen. Das sind jetzt solche sachen die früher nicht gebreichlich waren u[nd] noch nicht beÿ uns gebreichlich sind, und fals wir wieder eine gemeinde sein solten so misten wir nothwendigerweis unter einen sinn kommen, dan der Apostel sagt, Habt einerlei sin unter einander. Es sind auch noch andre sachen, die früher nicht waren nöhmlich die Toden ins versamlungs haus zu tragen, und nach der red, ein Welt gebreichlichen marsch beÿ dem Toden verbeÿ zu machen, und so dient auch die Sontags Schuhl mehr zum verderben, als zum wohl der kinder, und sonderlich so wie sie sie halten, gans nach der Welt mode. Alle andere stehen mit ihnen in Einklang und sie thun nicht nur um tie kinder deutsch zu lernen, sondern es ist Klar zu sehen das es mehr is em der Ehre der Welt halben, Es wird nicht aus dem blatz sein einen vorfall zu bemerken, unsern Diacon David Neukemer und sein weib gingen letzten herbst, zu ihren freund auf besuch und da sie komen waren sie bereid um an die Sontag Schul Consert zu gehen an einen union haus, da gingen Neukumers auch mit hin weil es ganz nahe am versammlung platz war. Da hat es sich heraus gestelld das auch ziemlich vom Funk seinen gemeinde glieder und ihren kinder auch mit theil nahmen. Es ging alles nach der welt mode her, mit spiel werk, und was sonst nach welt gebreichlich ist.

So war es auch niemals gebreichlich noch notwendig erachted in der Menoniten gemeinde so weid mir bekannt is das zweÿ tag erforderlich währen um zusammenkunft zu halten, als wie hier in Indiana. Das ist auch etwas nies und diennt mehr zu einem distpodat, als wie zum vortrag der krundsatzen und ordnung, oder auch zur liebe und frieden der gemeinde. So habe ich auch noch nie gehöret von irgend einer zusammenkunft wo die nachtversammlung verwilliget worden sein. hier werden sie aber gehalten, dass kan ein in der fremde sehr [vor] wan er in unsre versamlung hauser komt und siehet die öl lichter aufgehängt. Sie haben schon mehr mols zur zeit der zusammenkunft Donnerstag Abends, Freytag abends, Samstag abends und Sontag abends im yellow krick versammlungs haus, versammlung gehalten. Wir sind auch berichted von glaubwirdigen quelle dass ein gemeiner diener kobelieren thut inner oder auser der gemeinde.

Du wunterst auch, wer is J. J. Weaver und Jacob H. Wisler. J. J. Weaver ist ein diener und wohnt in Lagrange Counti Indiana. das ist alles was ich von ihm weis. Jacob H. Wisler ist armen Pfleger, ist ein bruders Sohn von Jacob Wisler, und wohnt hier in Elkhart Counti, Er is erst etliche Jahr am dienst

Du begehrst auch bericht von Jacob Hoffert. So viel ich weiss, ist er nach so gesonnen wie er War, er ist aber zurick gestelld von seiner gemeinde, wegen berichten ueber ihn die ich jetzt nicht schreiben will. Jacob Wisler und Christian Bär waren letztes frühjahr hin gefoderd und haben eine untersuchung gethan, so weit sie es untersuchen konten, haben aber die sach so liegen lassen müssen

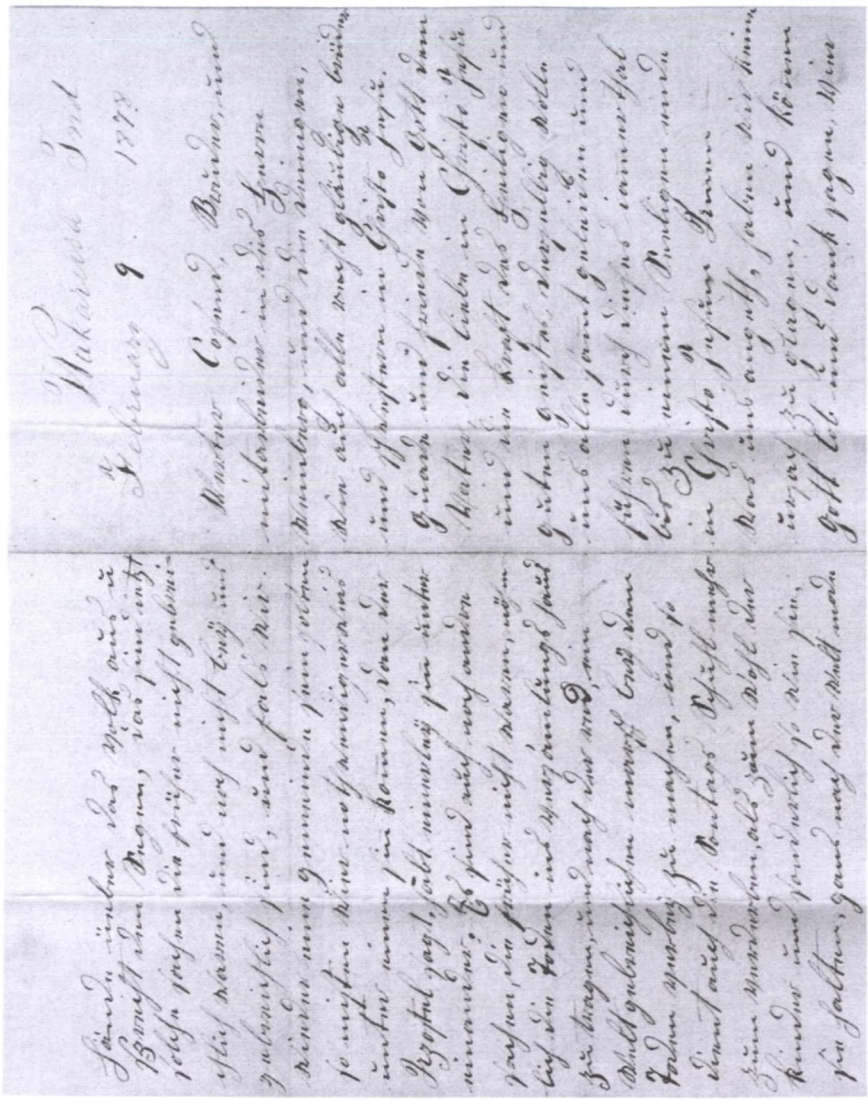
Ich habe kürzlich einen brief hören lessen von Lancaster Counti, Pa. der ein kurzen bericht gibt von einem schreiben, worinnen der alte grund und ortnung der gemeinde vor geschrieben ist, und wer damit einig ist der soll mit sein. Wer aber nicht der soll ab sein, die Bischöff dord habens all unterschrieben und wollens nach Bocks und Montgamare Counti schicken, und wan die Bischöff da auch unterschreiben so soll es nach Canada gesand werden, Ich fürchte wann dieses schreiben uns angeth so bringt es in grose versuchung wan nicht pinktlich die neuen sachen (wo ich in diesem brief beschrieben habe abgeschnieten sein, wo nicht, so thun sie sich all darunder begeben und wier sind gezwungen uns unter ihre ortnung zu geben oder angesehen sein als solche die nicht mit dem alten grund einig sind. wan sie aber komen und geben sich unter die ortnung, so sind sie unsre brüder

Nun habe ich so ein wenig geschrieben was noch zwischen uns und unser gegnern liegt (newig dem schlusch von den 6 Bischoffen gemacht) Wan ich aber zu weit gegangen bin, oder zu Viel von ihnen fodere, so wollest du dirs gefallen lassen und mirs schreiben, ich wills in liebe anehmen. Dieses ist auch in liebe geschrieben, und hoff es wird auch in liebe angenommen werden, Mit diesem will ich schliesen, sonst könted ihr veleicht verdrisslich werden, meinen mannichfaltigen brief zu lessen. Noch einen herzlichen liebes Gruss an euch und an alle die dieses lessen oder hören lesen Seid unser Eingedenkt in eurem gebet. Seid Gott und dem Wort seiner gnade anbefohlen So viel von eurem geringen doch in liebe verbundenen friend u. Wohlwünscher

Johannes u. Maria Weber

an Samuel u. Anna Weber schreib wieder

Weil der Johannes noch weis papier gelasen hat, so will ich auch noch ein wenich schreiben. Vor das erste winsche ich euch ein liebes gruss und Weiter noch ein wenich vom Wetter. Wier hatten eine gelinten Winter. Wier nicht viel schnee, aber viel dreck, den letzten Freitag hat es angefanen zu schneen un der schnee is jetzt angefehr 8 bis 10 zoll tief. Ich denk in Canada hat es guten schlitten Weg das Amos sons sein jetzt in Canada und werden fleisich Am Schlitten faren sein. Dass Johannes Wislers haben eine jünge tochter, sie ist Vier wochen alt. ich will mein krizlen schliesen so viel von Maria Weber an Anna Weber



John Weaver's letter of 1878, pages one (right side) and four.

John Weaver's letter of 1878, pages two and three.

Wakarusa, Ind. Feb 9, 1878

Dear Cousin, Brother and fellow laborer in the Lord's vineyard and your loved ones, as well as all true believing brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus be grace and peace from God the Father, the love in Christ Jesus and the power of the holy and good Spirit, the same to lead and guide us all through the vale of sorrows unto a happy end in Christ Jesus, Amen.

As far as we are concerned, we have no reason to complain and we can praise and thank God for the health we enjoy. Friends and acquaintances are also well, as far as we know, with the exception of Elisabeth Huber was not well for a time. The doctor says she has nervous fever, the neighborhood in general is well.

We received your letter of December 12 in good time and we are thankful for its content and greetings toward us. You directed several questions to me. You inquire about differences they [the Funk people] have in conducting [meetings] versus ours. You know it is customary that following the singing a sermon is given followed by prayer, which is a silent prayer. But they following singing read a chapter, and practically have no sermon, and then call to prayer, and one of the ministers lead in an audible prayer. Then the text is read and expounded, and then they give testimony one after another by arising [to their feet] so that their whole church service is conducted in a seminary trained fashion.

With them it is permitted that the deacon may preach if only one minister is present, and at the closing of the meeting, the audience arises and the main minister spreads his hands over the people and offers the benediction. Now these are such things that were not earlier customary, nor are they customary with us today, and in the event we should again be united into one church, we would have to be of one mind, for the Apostle says, "Be ye of one mind, one toward another."

There are also other items that were not earlier. That is to carry the dead into the meeting house and after the sermon, perform a march past the coffin in world fashion. And also Sunday School is more destructive than helpful to the children, especially the way they perform it entirely after the world fashion.

All the others [Funk church] stand in harmony, and they do not do it to teach children German, because they learn more English than German, but on the contrary, it is clear that it is more for the sake of the world's glory. It is not out of order to note the following incident; Our deacon, David Neukumer and his wife last fall went to their (non-member] friend on a visit, and when they got there, they were ready to visit the Sunday School Concert held at a union house, where several Sunday Schools come together, and the

Neukumers also went along since it was very near where they gathered. It became apparent that also many members of Funk's church also took part. All went by high social fashion with musical instruments and all else that is according to world customs.

Never before was it customary nor considered necessary in the Mennonite churches, as far as I know, that two days were required to hold [minister's] conference, other than here in Indiana. This too is something new, and serves more for a disputation, than for a setting forth of basic rules and ordnung, and love and peace of the church.

Nor have I ever heard of any conference anywhere where the evening meetings were allowed. But here they are held. This seems very strange when visitors come into our meetinghouses and see the oil lamps hanging up. They have held meeting various times at the time of the conference, on Thursday evening, Friday evening, Saturday evening, and Sunday evening in the Yellow Creek meetinghouse. We have been informed from reliable sources that ordinary ministers have been conducting marriages both for members and non-members.

You inquired also, who J. J. Weaver and Jacob H Wisler are. J. J. Weaver is a minister and lives in Lagrange County, Indiana, that is all I know about him. Jacob H. Wisler is a deacon and he lives here in Elkhart County. He is serving for several years now.

You desire also to have a report on Jacob Hoffert. As far as I know he is still minded as he was, but he was expelled from his church about reports against him that I do not want to write about. Jacob Wisler and Christian Bär were called there and investigated it as far as they could, but they had to leave the matter unchanged.

I recently heard a letter read from Lancaster County which gave a brief account of a writing setting forth the old fundamentals and ordnung of the church and whoever is in agreement with the writing shall be with [the church], but anyone opposed to it shall be off of [the church].The Bishops there have signed it and it shall be sent to Bucks and Montgomery Counties and if the bishops there also sign it, it shall be sent to Canada.

When it becomes our turn, I fear this writing will bring a great trial for us, if these new things (I wrote about in this letter) are not punctually forbidden. If not, they will all agree and we are forced to give in to their ordnung, or we will be considered as such who are not on the old order. But if they come and agree to the ordnung, then they are our brethren.

Now I have written a little what is between us and our opponents, in addition to the resolution drafted by those six bishops.[1] But if I have gone too far, or require too much of them, then would you please write it to me and I will accept it in love. This has also been written in love and I hope it will be

accepted in love. I want to close at this point or you may become discouraged in reading my extended letter. Yet another heartfelt greeting of love. Remember us in your prayers. We commend you to God and the Word of his grace.

This all from your unimportant friend, though bound in love

Johannes and Maria Weber

To Samuel and Anna Weber Write again

Since Johannes has left some paper empty, I will also try to write a bit. To begin, I wish you a loving greeting and farther a bit about the weather. We had a mild winter, not much snow, but lots of mud. Then last Friday, it began to snow and the snow is now about 6 to 8 inches deep, and I suppose in Canada there is good sleigh riding roads. Amos (our) son is now in Canada and likely are busy riding sleigh. Johannes Wislers have a young daughter. She is four weeks old. I need to close my scribbling. This being from one, Maria Weber to Anna Weber

Muddy Creek Farm Library
Ephrata, Pennsylvania

Note

[1]This refers to a six man arbitrary committee which took Bishop Jacob Wisler's right to function as a bishop. It is signed by the bishops and dated 17 October 1871. This document is published in its full text in J. C. Wenger, "Jacob Wisler and the Old Order Mennonite Schism of 1872 in Elkhart County, Indiana," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 33 (April 1959): 108–31; (July 1959): 215–40.

David W. Kriebel

New Directions in a Traditional Pennsylvania German Healing Practice: A Twenty-First Century Powwower

Powwowing, or *Braucherei*, in the Pennsylvania German dialect, has long been considered a dying or even extinct art. This was the dominant perception in the scholarly community when I began my investigations into the subject in 1998. Indeed, when I met with my dissertation committee at the University of Pennsylvania, it was decided that if I found and interviewed even one living powwower, that would count as a successful outcome for my research. As it happens, I discovered that powwowing, while not exactly thriving, is far from the relic of the past some have believed it to be (Kriebel 2007). By 2001 it was clear that not only was powwowing still being practiced in southeastern and south-central Pennsylvania, but that there was a great interest in powwowing by most of my non-powwowing consultants.[1] However, while some of the practicing powwowers I met indicated an intention to train a younger person, all of them were in their late fifties or older.[2]

Powwowing in the traditional manner tends to be a somewhat secretive art, a fact that caused me not a little inconvenience in my own work. Clients tend to learn about powwowers through word of mouth. However, when articles about my research, either by myself or local journalists, began to appear, I was contacted by several people seeking powwow treatment. I referred them to a couple of living powwowers who, in my opinion, seemed to practice in the most completely traditional manner and who also seemed most amenable to seeing new clients. They were the couple I refer to under the pseudonym of Julius and Daisy Dietrich (Kriebel 2001, 2007). But in 2004 I was contacted for another reason. Chris Bilardi, a man in his late thirties, whom I identify as Tom Barone in my book, but who has since given permission to use his real name, had seen one of my academic articles, and was interested in becoming a powwower himself.

I referred Chris to Daisy (Julius had passed on by this time), and she agreed to train him. Or rather, to see if he was meant to learn. Her method

of training takes ten weeks and requires prospective powwowers to memorize complex incantations and gestures in English, Pennsylvania German, and High German. If they are able to do this, then, in her view, it is God's will that they learn. She herself learned from her husband, who was taught by Ruth Frey, a well-known powwower in the Lehigh-Berks-Schuylkill County region who passed away before I began my research. Powwowing is traditionally passed from male-to-female, or female-to-male, although there can be exceptions to this rule.

In any case, Chris did learn from Daisy and has gone on to write a book of his own on powwowing, not from a solely scholarly perspective—although it does contain much solid research and socio-historical detail—but from the standpoint of a practitioner. By revealing the features and practices of what is today a very secretive art, Chris has violated what amounts to a taboo, since the general belief among powwowers is that only certain people are meant (by God) to be channels of His healing power. There is also the reaction of the larger Pennsylvania German cultural community, which, since the 1929 York Hex Murder Trial, has tended to be sensitive to charges of superstition and backwardness. Finally, Chris, who has a "day job," has exposed himself to ridicule by those who do not understand the practice and are inclined to dismiss it as, at best, nonsense and at worst, the work of the devil.

Chris was also the subject of a recent article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which prompted mixed reactions from online readers, some of whom descended into personal (and anonymous) attacks. It is noteworthy that this was the first article in the *Inquirer* dealing with powwowing since 1977, when a lengthier article on traditional powwower Maude Kreischer was published in the Today Magazine insert in the Sunday edition (Schreiber 1977). The article on Chris, while shorter, appeared on the front page of the Monday edition (Ecenbarger 2009).

Chris's book, while potentially controversial, is not without precedent. There have been other such books before by practicing powwowers, most notably John George Hohman's classic collection of powwow recipes, *Der Lang Verborgene Schatz und Haus Friend* (*The Long Lost* [really *Hidden*] *Friend*) first published in Reading, Pennsylvania in 1820. Other such "charm books" have been privately published, or, in most cases, remain in the homes of those who practice powwowing on what I have called a "nonprofessional" basis, treating only family and friends. And scholarly books and publications have not shrunk from revealing certain charms and practices. Moreover, in the late 1990s, an influential book by a popular neo-pagan author, Silver RavenWolf, appeared, claiming to reveal the true origins of powwowing in pre-Christian religion, and reinterpreting powwowing in a neo-pagan context.

In the balance of the article, I will describe Chris's life, which has taken a number of twists and turns, how he was led to become a powwower, and how he fits into the evolving practicing of powwowing in the early twenty-first century.

Chris's Background

Chris was born in Scranton and has lived in northeastern Pennsylvania his entire life. His father's family is of northern Italian extraction and his mother's is a mixture of English, Irish, and Welsh. As a young boy he witnessed sickness in his family, wishing from an early age that he had the power to make his family members well, a wish that he believes eventually led him to become a powwower. Growing up, he also had a strong interest in the Amish and Old Order Mennonites, and was aware of powwowing, but did not feel drawn to it at that time. Raised Roman Catholic, he was always very religious, and served as an altar boy. Having attended many youth retreats at St. Pius X Seminary in Dalton, Pennsylvania, Chris seriously contemplated becoming a Catholic priest. His religiosity was paralleled by an interest in the esoteric and occult. For example, as a teenager, he read both Aquinas and the work of Renaissance magician and philosopher Cornelius Agrippa. As an adult, he continued his study of ceremonial magic, reading hundreds of books on the subject.

He attended college from 1987 to 1991, starting at Keystone Junior College and completing his B.A. at Wilkes University. In 1992 he attended graduate school in sociology at Lehigh University. During his college years he became attracted to Buddhism after taking classes with a Quaker/Buddhist religion professor. However, his esoteric and religious interests and reading habits remained eclectic: "I devoured anything I could get my hands on."

From 1992 to 1997 he worked a variety of odd jobs, but in 1997 landed a more stable position as a technical editor. During his twenties and early thirties, Chris met a number of ceremonial magicians, alchemists, astrologers, and Wiccans and other neo-pagans. He became involved with various groups, "and practiced some things," though even today he is hesitant to discuss details of his magical activities. He does note that he was working directly with familiar spirits, but was "putting more in[to the practice] than getting out."

Chris was briefly involved with Santeria, the Afro-Caribbean amalgam of West African (Yoruba) religion and Native American and Roman Catholic practices, and one of his friends was a *Babalawo*, or high priest. While Chris still finds Santeria fascinating, he "just couldn't make a connection with what they call the ancestral current." Chris later attended sweat lodges and pipe ceremonies sponsored by the Bear Tribe, a group founded by writer and actor

Sun Bear (*nee* Vincent LaDuke), ostensibly to promote Native American spirituality among the wider population.[3] However, Chris has now come to the conclusion that "Native American spirituality belongs to them."

Chris attributes his attraction to esoteric practices to "a strong curiosity . . . I was greedy for knowledge and experiences." In his opinion, curiosity and greed are two of the main drivers that lead people into magical activities. As he pursued his studies and became more involved with esoteric groups and practices, he came to believe that much of what he was doing was dangerous. He cites the work of magician and physicist Joseph Lisiewski as having made him aware of the dangers of conjuration: "If you don't know exactly what you're doing, you're going to have terrible problems. In my own life, things got terribly chaotic, and the results, little as they were, weren't worth the effort."

The major difficulty in the use of ceremonial magic was, for Chris, that the magician frequently is unaware of spiritual dangers he or she may face. In his own practice, he found that mobilizing spiritual power had unintended consequences:

> If you open up a doorway, there's more than one thing that comes through. A lot of magicians today use psychological terms—Jungian—like there's no reality. . . . Sometimes we hang around with spirits. They prompt us in ways we are not aware. Some people end up with poltergeist activity and terrible bad luck.

In his shift to powwowing, Chris retains the belief that we are surrounded by spirits, and regards powwowing as spiritual warfare. In his book, he refers to it as "the antidote to evil" (Bilardi 2009).

Shortly after he got married (1999), Chris turned away from ceremonial magic and became attracted to more benign folk magical practices that bear a resemblance to powwowing. These included *curanderismo* (an eclectic Latin American healing practice combining prayer, faith, and herbalism), *benedicaria* (a southern Italian healing practice grounded in a popular form Catholicism), and "cunning work" (a pre-modern English form of white magic). It was also at this time (2000) that Chris changed careers and began working in drug rehabilitation for a social services agency. It appears that his interest in healing united both his choice of livelihood and magical practice. Religiously, he had long ago left the Roman Catholicism of his youth, but had not yet returned to Christianity. "I was a nothing," Chris says of his religious affiliation at this time.

Becoming a Powwower

However, the folk practices "made (him) receptive to the message" that he received one day while browsing a bookstore in Gettysburg in 2003. At that time, Chris found himself drawn to an old family Bible the store had

for sale. As he touched that Bible, he suddenly found himself filled with the conviction—"a Call"—that he had to become a powwower, which also meant returning to the Christian faith. As Chris describes it:

> It wasn't that particular Bible—it was something that happened at a particular moment, and the object just happened to be . . . a conduit, a lightning rod, a touchstone. But that day I knew I needed to do this. When I look at the Bible today [that specific copy], it's just a nineteenth century family Bible—no sign of Brauche charms.

After that, Chris immediately began a process of learning more about powwowing, and found one of my articles on the Internet (Kriebel 2002). After reading the article he tried to track me down, and after doing a good deal of "detective work," managed to obtain my email address at Loyola College, where I was teaching at the time. We traded emails and finally spoke on the phone, where I interviewed him. After he "discovered Brauche," Chris says:

> It complete changed my religious search. It's very specifically Christian work and I had to take that dimension of it seriously. And that took a long time for me to go into. And that brought me back, in some respects, to where I was in high school.

Chris explained that, while he was not of Pennsylvania Dutch descent, he felt a spiritual affinity to the Pennsylvania Dutch. He therefore explored specifically Pennsylvania Dutch sects. At the time of my first interview with him, Chris considered himself a Pietist, a follower of Conrad Beissel's sect that flourished at the Ephrata Cloisters. It was at that time that he asked to be referred to someone who could teach him powwowing.

The next time I spoke with Chris, he had successfully completed his training with Daisy Dietrich. Under the traditional system used by Daisy, this is not an outcome that can be guaranteed at the start, for she believes that not everyone is meant to be a powwower, and God selects only those He deems suitable to practice. About the time he learned to powwow, Chris changed careers again and became an information technology specialist. Traditional powwowers today cannot support themselves on the freewill offerings of their clients, so it is hardly unusual to have a "day job." However, because most of them grew up in a rural or semi-rural milieu, it is unusual to find them practicing such a technical profession.

It was about this time that Chris also began to become interested in traditional Latin Mass of Roman Catholicism and then Eastern Orthodoxy. It is not that he decided not to be a Pietist anymore. Rather, he felt the need to join the mystical impulses that led to his being drawn to Pietism to a more ritualized setting. He joined an Antiochian Orthodox congregation, a

major point of entry to Orthodoxy for Americans who grew up in another Christian tradition. Soon he found himself wanting to serve God in a more official manner, and considered becoming a deacon in the Orthodox church. The problem was that "they kept hounding me that Kelly [his wife, who does not share his Christian faith] had to become Orthodox." Chris was unwilling to ask her to undergo a ritual that would be, at best, meaningless to her. He sought another church "that would give you the option if you wanted to be a minister," without requiring Kelly to join. Eventually, he joined the Lutheran Church, which had no such requirement, and where he currently serves as an assistant pastor.[4] He embraces the traditional doctrines of German Lutheranism, but remains a mystic, inspired by the works of Jacob Boehme, Conrad Beissel, Johann Kelpius, Julian of Norwich, and medieval mystics such as Meister Eckhart and Hildegard of Bingen, along with magician-philosophers Cornelius Agrippa and Paracelsus. Christian mysticism informs and shapes his practice as a powwower.

Today Chris is a practicing powwower. His main clients are family members and friends, but he also treats others on a word of mouth basis. On cases in which he needs assistance, he consults with Daisy. He believes that he has a particular talent in healing pain, and it is not unusual for powwowers to specialize in certain classes of complaints. In an attempt to network with other powwowers, he became acquainted with a unique group of organized practitioners in Berks County. However, for reasons that will become clear below, he has become estranged from this group.

Folklorist Don Yoder has theorized that powwowing represents a remnant of Roman Catholic healing ritual, driven underground in the predominantly Protestant Pennsylvania German culture, and altered in transmission (Yoder 1990, 95). In light of this, the fact that Chris, who was not only raised Catholic, but exposed to Italian folk healing traditions as part of his early life, should have an affinity to powwowing is not surprising. However, it appears that his becoming a powwower triggered earlier impulses toward mysticism and clerical service, and affected the rest of his life. In a sense, powwowing represents an integration of many currents of Chris's spiritual life and career—a boyhood desire to become a healer, service to others, mystical connection to the divine, and esoteric practice—and places it in an overarching, meaning-giving Christian framework. As Chris says, "It all fits together for me."

Chris's Work in Relation to Other Contemporary Powwowers

Chris practices powwowing in the traditional way and considers himself a traditional powwower. Other traditional powwowers regard him that way, as well, and that is also how I have referred to him in this article. However, he differs from other traditional powwowers in some important ways. The

obvious differences are his higher level of formal education than most traditional practitioners and non-Pennsylvania German ethnicity, though he feels a great affinity to Pennsylvania German culture. However, in his use of charm books, even the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses, which many have regarded as a "hex book," and his willingness to accept the term "magic" as a valid way of talking about pow-wow, he is something of a throwback. My research suggests that traditionalists today have by and large divested themselves of the trappings of white magic (use of non-biblical charms and material components) and, while still relying on Christian incantations and gestures, have more in common with spiritual healers outside the tradition than with earlier powwowers who consulted charm books in mobilizing supernatural power.

By contrast, Chris has embraced the tradition as it has existed in the past, as well as today. Moreover, he has stated that Christian powwowing incorporates medieval magical, mystical, and alchemical traditions which may be traced to Jewish Kabbalah, Christian Egypt, and pre-Christian Roman, Slavic, and Celtic practices. No other traditional powwower of whom I am aware, including Chris's teacher would make such a statement, or even be aware of such sources. Therefore, it may be better to think of Chris as a neo-traditionalist powwower. However, Chris is emphatic about the essentially Christian nature of powwowing, and like traditional powwowers, credits its results to the action of God working through him.

In a sense, Chris may be considered a theoretician of powwowing, enlarging his received powwow training with his esoteric and mystical religious background. His book is like Hohman's in that it includes a large number of recipes, but it goes well beyond it. Hohman never elucidated the General Brauche Circuit, as Chris refers to the procedure taught him by Daisy. In itself, this is not a theoretical contribution, but his explanation is. In addition, Chris's work contains a good deal of scholarly material, drawing from a variety of primary and secondary sources. In fact, while his book has been generally well- received, what mild criticisms there have been center on the fact that it includes more scholarly material than some practitioners want.

Why did Chris publish the secrets of powwowing at all, and why did he do so with such an academic bent? The key is to examine who the audience is. It is clearly not other traditional powwowers, though Chris does want to make more connections among this community in order to share knowledge, much as physicians do. Nor is it the population of rural ethnic Pennsylvania Germans. The book is aimed at two audiences, though for very different reasons. The first is the general public. Chris is writing the book for them because he sincerely believes in the healing power of powwowing and wants to share his knowledge "for the good of man and beast," as his subtitle

suggests. The second is a smaller segment of the public that may have heard about powwowing from other sources, and learned—in Chris's view—something that is not true. I am speaking about those who have read or learned about powwowing through what I will call the "New Age" practitioners of the art. I will henceforth refer to those individuals as "neo-powwowers," because, much like neo-pagans, with whom they share much in common, they have reinterpreted a traditional set of beliefs and practices and emerged with a new practice.[5]

In 1997 a book appeared called *HexCraft: Dutch Country Magick*, by popular neo-pagan writer Silver RavenWolf, and a year later was reissued with under the title *American Folk Magick*. In this book, RavenWolf (the Wiccan "Craft name" of Jenine Trayer, who lives in central Pennsylvania) describes powwowing as she learned it from Preston Zerbe, a traditional powwower working in Adams and York Counties. However, RavenWolf reinterprets powwowing as an originally pagan practice that was cloaked in Christian trappings in order to protect its practitioners from being labeled as witches.[6] This is a common narrative among neo-pagans, who emphasize the victimization of supposedly pagan witches by Christians during "the Burning Times."[7] RavenWolf also used the pagan spelling "magick," which has a more specific meaning in neo-paganism than "magic" does in common or academic parlance, to refer to the mobilization of power deriving from the sacred feminine and masculine principles.[8] In the book she also claims, somewhat patronizingly, that her teacher was misguided in believing powwowing to be a Christian practice; rather, a "powwow artist" (her term) may follow any spiritual path, and pagans may substitute the Triple Goddess (Maiden, Mother, and Crone) for the Christian Trinity.

Needless to say, this is not an interpretation shared by traditional Pennsylvania German powwowers. Even neo-pagans have some trouble with it, as this review, by "Randall" at "The Cauldron: A Pagan Forum" (1998) reveals:

> While I consider this one of Ravenwolf's best books, I do have two real problems with it. First, the author intermixes her theory that Pow-Wow is actually a version of the Old Religion disguised by a Christian overlay in with material on the history of Pow-Wow. While the author's speculation in this area is interesting, I believe it should have been kept a bit more separate from the history . . . One more minor problem is that while she sometimes provides both Christian and Pagan versions of chants and spells, she often only provides Pagan versions. This is true even when it seems obvious that she converted a Christian version into a Pagan version. This makes the book somewhat less useful than it could be to a Christian wishing to learn the system.

However, as the reviewer also notes:

> I find Pow-Wow a fascinating magickal system. If you are interested in it, Ravenwolf's *American Folk Magick* is one of the few books in print devoted to the subject. It's probably the only one readily available.

It is this two-fold issue, the appropriation of Christian charms and reinterpretation in a neo-pagan context, and the fact that (as of 1998) her book was indeed one of the few popular books in print on powwowing that led Chris to write his book as a corrective from a traditional—Christian—point of view.

RavenWolf's position that powwowing is an originally pagan practice and that the Christian elements of powwowing are optional is shared by others. There has been a resurgence of interest in "heathenry," tied to the neo-pagan Asatru (a group that worships the ancient Norse gods), and that resurgence includes powwowing. As the Pennsylvania German Alliance for the Urglaawe ("Original Faith") website notes:

> Our purpose is to weave the cultural experiences of the Pennsylvania Germans into the Heathen tapestry. Practices such as Braucherei and Hexerei as well as folklore and folk medicine will shed more light on the way our ancestors practiced the original faith (Pennsylvania German Alliance for the Urglaawe website).

The group also has a an online Yahoo! Group on "Hexenkunst: Hexerei, Braucherei, Der Urglaawe" whose purpose is "to discuss and explore the Pennsylvania German form of healing, also known in totality as Braucherei, and Hexerei, later as 'Pow-Wow.'" The group had 135 as of 2 January 2010. Its welcome page ends with a note to readers (capitals original):

> This list is HEATHEN-focused, even though it covers the historical period of our Ancestors that have been Christian. The aim is to recover our Ancestral Folkfaith, our Urglaawe, which we believe exists as it has been practised [*sic*] in the Healing arts, Folk Arts, Food, Farming practises [*sic*], etc. of our people down through the ages.

An interest in "der Urglaawe" has also led to the reemergence of a type of powwowing practice that had been virtually extinct for decades in Pennsylvania—what I elsewhere refer to as "entrepreneurial" powwowing (Kriebel 2007), in which powwowers use their practice as a means of making money. In the past, such entrepreneurs openly charged for powwowing, a practice that became illegal with the passage of the Pennsylvania Medical Practices Act. However, today's powwowers charge substantial fees for teaching potential practitioners, something that is without precedent in the history of powwowing, In southern Berks County, Pennsylvania, a powwowing and herbalism business has been established that teaches powwowing in exchange for sizable tuition payments. The group also charges for an annual "Guild Membership" and attendance at monthly "Guild Gatherings."

This business—The Three Sisters Center for the Healing Arts[9]—is an interesting organization in itself that merits further study. The Center embodies a number of contrasts. If one types in the term "braucherei" into a web browser, the Center is the first hit that comes up—viewing the website provides a sense of the varied and, as some, such as Chris, believe, conflicting strands of belief that underlie its mission. Its stated mission is to preserve Pennsylvania German culture, especially knowledge of powwowing—the Center always uses the Pennsylvania German terms *Braucherei* and *Braucher* for the more familiar "powwowing" and "powwower," respectively—and herbalism. In a 2008 interview with one of the founding members of the Center, Jesse Tobin, she reveals a clear knowledge of powwowing and appears to share the traditional understanding of the art (Shelly 2008):

> Determined not to let go of a culture that she holds dear, Tobin continues to practice and educate others about Braucherei. While a few people denounce her efforts at traditional healing, she insists that it works, not because of any power she has, but because of the power of God and the Holy Spirit, which flows through her to the patient.
>
> "I can't do the healing," Tobin said. "All I can do is open myself to the power of God."

No traditional powwower I know, including Chris, would disagree with this statement. Indeed, the cultural model of healing among the Pennsylvania Germans appears to include a model of powwowing (*Braucherei*, often shorted to *Brauche* in everyday speech) in which the power comes through the powwower from God. That is why not only law, but custom, prevents the powwower from asking for payment for such services, although free-will "offerings" may be accepted (typically, these go to the powwower's own church).

However, earlier in the same interview, Jesse notes: "It incorporates many aspects of healing and spiritual traditions . . . We see all of this melting pot of traditions" (Shelly 2008). This is not the way any traditional powwower or powwow client would describe the practice. Rather, they view it as a form of Christian devotion—"structured prayer," in Chris's words—with Jesus often being considered the first powwower. This more eclectic view of the practice is also evident on the Center's website, which speaks of powwowing as a "spirit path."

As of 2009, the Center charged $25 for an annual Guild Membership, $35 for member attendance at Guild Gatherings, and $45 for non-member attendance. A $10 surcharge was added for attendees who intended to take notes. The Center also charged $700 for resident students (maximum class size 25) and $800 for distance-learning students to take Jesse's course, "Der Braucherei Weg" (The Powwowing Path, though the Center avoids the term

"powwowing" and in a hybrid of the Pennsylvania German dialect and English, renders it as "The Braucherei Path"). In her course, students:

> explore the historical roots of Braucherei from pre-Christian times to present. In particular they will focus on the evolution of the mystical cosmology through the many waves of cultural influence in both Europe and America . . . Students will engage in active discussion of the *ongoing re-systemization* of this living but severely fragmented tradition. This course will prepare interested students for a future apprenticeship in the practice of Braucherei, should they choose to pursue it. (Three Sisters Center website, italics mine).

The "ongoing re-systemization," Chris believes, is an attempt to rediscover an *Ur*-tradition of powwowing within pre-Christian religious systems. Indeed, an examination of the Center's website and "Hollerbeier Haven"[10] newsletter reveals much discussion of *Braucherei* as part of "the Urglaawe," although it is not clear whether the Center is endorsing the Heathen view of the art. While he acknowledges that pre-Christian influences shape powwow charms, Chris shares with traditional powwowers a belief that the essence of powwowing—*Braucherei*—is Christian. Chris became interested in the group—he is on their e-list, though not a dues-paying member—in order to learn from other powwowers, but quickly received the feeling that "the girls down in Oley" as he calls them, were not practicing the same kind of powwowing as he was.

Anyone familiar with neo-paganism who reads the newsletter or visits the website will recognize elements "the Braucherei Path" has in common with Wicca, as well as Asatru, such as the "Wheel of the Year" and the importance of feast-days such as Halloween and May Eve. Indeed, a year after the article in the *Reading Eagle* appeared, one of the Center's leading members informed Chris that Jesse was not a Christian, an assertion that seems at odds with her depiction in the news article. Traditionalists are divided on whether a powwower must be a Christian, or simply believe in the God of the Bible, but it is unclear from the Center's literature whether anyone there falls into the latter category. Chris now believes that the people at the Center are trying to make *Braucherei* into a religion itself, something he opposes. In describing the practice, the Center refers to a "Braucherei tradition," "Braucherei wisdom," and "transition ceremonies . . . found among the Braucherei community," all descriptions which make this interpretation plausible. Relations between Chris and the Center began to sour when he expressed his own Christian views on powwowing, and worsened sharply when he announced he was publishing a book offering instructions on learning powwowing.

Interestingly, according to Chris, the same member of the Center has expressed hostility to the scholarly study of powwowing, saying that in the past "academics got their filthy paws" on the art. I have not yet had an

opportunity to interview this individual to confirm this, but such an attitude would suggest a wish not to have secrets exposed. In itself, this is not remarkable—as noted above, powwowers tend to be secretive. But the secrecy has always been rooted in two sources—a fear of being ridiculed or considered a witch, and a sense that not everyone should learn powwow. It does not seem that either of these conditions apply to the Center which appears to offer instruction to anyone who has "committed" themselves to "the Braucherei Path."

There are three other possible reasons for the hostility: concern that Chris's book will encourage people to teach themselves, and that this could be dangerous; to prevent a product (powwow training) that generates profit from being given away for free; or a basic disagreement about what powwowing really is. The first possibility fits with a traditional interpretation of powwowing, for there has always been concern that anyone not properly trained—"apprenticed," in the Center's parlance—may end up being drawn into black magic. Traditional powwowers, knowing of Chris's book, may well react negatively to it for that reason, although thus far those who seem to know the most about powwowing have given it the most favorable notices. The second possibility, based in economic considerations, is supported by the fact that "Guild Gathering" attendees are charged extra for each session in which they take notes, and therefore are paying for knowledge that is (presumably) similar to what can acquire in Chris's book. The third possibility is based on the extent to which the Center's practitioners have adopted a "Christianity is a veneer over heathenism" model of powwowing, versus Chris's "Christianity is essential" model.

Some may wonder whether Chris himself should be considered an "entrepreneurial" powwower himself, since he is profiting from sales of his book. I've asked him why he published the book, knowing that the action was bound to be controversial, not just with neo-pagans or the followers of "the Braucherei Path" at the Center, but with traditional powwowers like himself. His answer has always been that he believed it was his Christian duty to write the book in order to present an insider's picture of powwowing to counter the neo-pagan view as presented by writers like Silver RavenWolf and groups seeking to promote powwowing as an element of a heathen "Urglaawe." As Chris notes, many people in such groups have an active disdain for Christianity, while others simply find it dull: "The J-word [Jesus] just isn't very exciting for these people."

As a scholar of powwowing—one of those filthy academics--my research, both ethnographic and documentary, indicates that whatever the pre-Christian influences on powwowing may be, it is undeniably a Christian practice at its heart. Ironically, by stripping powwowing of its Christianity or

downplaying that Christianity in the name of a broader spirituality, those who seek to preserve this traditional practice are actually transforming it into something entirely different. This is also Chris's position:

> Now, there are folks out there who have, indeed, stripped as much Christianity as possible out of Braucherei, and then added on reconstructed heathen elements. However, once that process has been undertaken, what one ends up with is a totally different "creature," and is no long Pow-Wow or Braucherei in any sense that their ancestors would have understood or recognized it.[11]

As we enter the second decade of the twenty-first century. powwowing appears to be going in three different directions. The main line of traditional powwow, practiced by individuals who have quietly received the knowledge through friends, relatives, or powwowers who have healed them, is losing its magical character and becoming more similar in concept to healing prayer or spiritual healing. The other two lines of development are both influenced by esoteric sources outside the organically changing practice as it exists in the culture area. On one hand, there are the neo-heathen practitioners and the Center—which is at least tolerant of neo-heathen and neo-pagan interpretations—emphasizing spiritual development and treating powwowing as a "spirit path," part of an "Urglaawe," or even, if Chris is correct, something approaching a religion in its own right. Most Internet sources that relate to powwowing today are influenced by this "neo-powwowing" perspective. On the other hand there is Chris, who operates within the same Christian worldview as the traditionalists, yet with a strong mystical bent. While he has no organized group comparable to the Center or the various heathen groups, he is not the only Christian esotericist with knowledge of powwowing, and it is likely that at least some non-powwowers who read his book may become motivated to take up the practice in the traditional manner. Ironically, by breaking a taboo and revealing the secrets of powwowing to a mass audience, something a pure traditionalist would never do, Chris may be helping to preserve and perpetuate traditional powwowing in Pennsylvania and beyond.

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Notes

[1] Most of these individuals were former powwow clients, or family and friends of deceased powwowers.

[2] For additional information on powwowing beyond sources cited in the text, see the scholarly works of Don Yoder (1952, 1967, and 1976) and Barbara Reimensnyder (1982), and Arthur Lewis's popular book *Hex* (1969).

[3] Sun Bear is a controversial figure who has been accused by a number of Native American groups of creating the Bear Tribe Medicine Society as a money-making organization and not a legitimate spiritual group.

[4] Chris joined the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA), the largest, but also most liberal, Lutheran subdivision in the U.S. He would have preferred to attend a Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) church, but the nearest one was too far away from his home to attend regularly.

[5] Most neo-powwowers would, however, resist this label and describe what they have done as stripping away a later Christian veneer to reveal an ur-practice, grounded, not in the Bible, but in Germanic pagan beliefs and rituals. Chris himself believes that powwowing has pre-Christian influences, but holds to the more traditional view that these influences are not central—Christ is.

[6] Though if that was the intention, the disguise did not work—many Pennsylvania German people, especially among the clergy of the "church people," have in the past regarded powwowers as no different from witches, drawing their power from the Devil, rather than from God.

[7] Though most who were burned for witchcraft were Christian heretics, some of whom held similar beliefs as the Protestant denominations found among the Pennsylvania Germans.

[8] Usually called in Wicca "the (Horned) God and the (White) Goddess," or "the Lord and Lady," though other, more personalistic deities (e.g. Astarte, Tammuz, Osiris, Isis, etc.) may be invoked, depending on one's personal belief. One pagan high priestess I interviewed, a professional academic, referred to paganism as "a shopping cart religion," which seems an accurate description.

[9] The term "Three Sisters" is reminiscent of the three witches ("weird sisters") in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, but also of the Triple Goddess of neo-paganism. I should note that I have not interviewed anyone, other than Chris, affiliated with this group. Accordingly, all of my information derives either from the Center's own materials, interviews by others, or statements by Chris. When citing the published information on the Center, I use names recorded in these sources, but when citing information from Chris, I omit names. That does not mean I distrust Chris's testimony, simply that I have not had the opportunity to interview these individuals myself, and it is my practice to provide anonymity for any source unless (like Chris) that person has given me permission to use their actual names.

[10] "Hollerbeier" means "Elderberry" in Pennsylvania German. According to another article on the Three Sisters, it also has an association in Germanic myth with a wise, protective, earth mother goddess (Poncavage, 2007).

[11] Chris Bilardi, email message to author, 2 January 2010.

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Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

Language and Otherness: Popular Fiction and the Amish

"It's just so awful dangerous . . . out in the modern, fancy world."
Mandy in *The Missing*

One does not have to read very far in author Beverly Lewis's *The Missing* to know that Mandy and her sister Grace are different.[1] Dressed in long work aprons, they are plain, not like the "fancy folk," and they live in a solid pioneer house with hand-built dressers, wooden floors and blanket chests. Most strikingly, they talk funny, their English old fashioned and mixed with German. Dad is "Dat," grandmother is "Mammi," and grandfather is "Dawdi," the strange words italicized lest we fail to remark their foreignness. From the beginning, a "Pennsylvania Dutch" constructed from German words and outdated English syntax marks these girls as Amish and presents them as a study in contrast to the modern reader.

Speaking German and Being Amish

The social role Pennsylvania German, commonly called Pennsylvania Dutch, plays in constructing and maintaining Old Order Amish and Mennonite identity has long been recognized.[2] An unwritten, unstandardized language, Pennsylvania German acts to keep these groups separate from the dominant culture; at the same time, the commitment of these groups to remaining separate keeps Pennsylvania German alive.

For the Amish themselves, Pennsylvania German stands as a *Zaun*, a fence that protects the church from the forces of modernity.[3] The late sociologist John A. Hostetler once asked Joe Byler, then editor of the Amish publication *The Diary*, whether the Amish would ever pray in English. Byler answered that, "Once the Amish pray in English, they are no longer Amish."[4] Much earlier, nineteenth-century Missouri Preacher John Kauffman warned his church not to use English, the world's language, "because the world will get us and then the devil."[5] For the Amish, Pennsylvania German, like wearing

archaic-looking dress, rejecting technology, and insisting on an agrarian way of life, helps to reinforce group boundaries, perpetuate group values, and realize religious beliefs.

But while the Amish use German to help keep their communities separate from the outside world, popular non-Amish authors use it to invite that world into the lives of Amish families and give it access to the most private of Amish thoughts, hopes, fears, and desires. Speaking "in the know," with an authority reinforced by their command of a language inaccessible to their readers, writers as diverse as award-winning author Jodi Picoult, romance novelist Beverly Lewis, and science fiction writer Allen Kim Lang have given voice to Amish characters. These and other popular writers draw on Pennsylvania German, German-accented or "Dutchified" English, and the bilingualism of Old Order communities to construct an Amish idiom that defines what it means to be authentically Amish and mediates between the Amish world and our own.

Old-fashioned Language and Strange Ways

Although, in real life, the Old Order Amish constantly confront and negotiate with the modern world, popular fiction often presents the Amish, with their horse-drawn buggies, straw hats, and non-electric lives, as unchanging links to the past. From these texts we know that all Amish quilt and build barns together, ride in buggies and lack electricity. They are old-fashioned, even if we are not always sure what time period they belong to. In Jodi Picoult's *Plain Truth*, lawyer Ellie Hathaway, ordered to stay with an Amish family so that she can watch over her young Amish client, is relieved to discover that the family's home is not the *Little House on the Prairie* she had been expecting. Instead the appliances remind her of those her "grandmother had had in the 1950s."[6]

Even though the English spoken by most Amish differs little from that spoken by their non-Amish neighbors, the speech of fictional Amish characters is often strangely archaic, evidence in print that these relics of the past are strangers in our modern world. In *The Witch Tree Symbol*, author Carolyn Keene's girl detective, Nancy Drew, finds that folks in Pennsylvania's Amish country have a "quaint" way of speaking, and her friend, George, suggests laughingly that, "We may have some trouble understanding what people say in these parts."[7] Similarly, in *Angels Watching Over Me*, the first of Lurlene McDaniels' *Angel* trilogy, a series written for young adults, the young non-Amish teenager Leah finds the speech of her Amish friends surprisingly old fashioned. Meeting seventeen-year-old Ethan, for example, Leah responds to his use of "harshly" by thinking, "What a weird word for a teenage guy to use."[8] By the second volume of McDaniel's trilogy,[9] Leah finds Ethan's speech

musical and, like Nancy Drew and her friends, wonders at the Amish and their "quaint way of phrasing sentences."[10]

Hardly unique to fiction for young adults, the use of language to link Amish protagonists to bygone days cuts across literary genres. For example, mystery writer Roma Greth characterizes the Amish community in *Plain Murder* as living "at a slower pace, in another time,"[11] and her Amish characters drive this point home by speaking English slowly and as seldom as possible. Christian fiction writer Beverly Lewis's non-Amish characters speak openly about the Amish as a people living in the past. In *The Crossroad*, the second book in a two-book series, cameraman Rick Henning is surprised when writer Philip Bradley tells him he can't do a photo shoot in an Amish home. "Are you saying I can't zoom in on the eighteenth century, standing halfway across a pasture?" he says.[12] Lewis's Amish characters reinforce this notion that they are a people misplaced in time by speaking the "archaic" English of Hollywood westerns in which the progressive form of the verb is often preceded by "a" and generally lacks a final "g": "Rachel's a bit perplexed, I'm a-thinkin'."[13]

But more than simply old fashioned, the Amish, like our ancestors who came from other lands, are foreign. Picoult's lawyer, Ellie, is surprised to hear her aunt, Leda, who is "as American" as she is, "slip into the Germanic dialect."[14] As she discovers later, the language of her aunt's Amish relatives is "unintelligible."[15] The strangeness of the fictional Amish idiom highlights the differences between Amish life and our own and names the terms on which the cultures interact. In romance novelist Colleen Coble's *Anathema*, the ex-Amish woman and the non-Amish police officer who loves her both refer to the non-Amish as "*Englisch,*" the German spelling of the word startling in a conversation apparently conducted in English.[16] The Amish are "*unser Leut*" in P. L. Gaus's novels, and "*the People*" for Beverly Lewis's fictional Amish characters. Non-Amish are "*Englisher*" in works by Jodi Picoult and Beverly Lewis, "*de Hochen* [the high ones]" in those by mystery writer P. L. Gaus, "*these* English" for T. Myer's Mennonite detective, and "*outsiders*" in L. McDaniel's *Angel* trilogy.

The Amish accent emerges in a mix of unvoiced consonants and superlative compounds. The *chust wonderful-gut* of author Beverly Lewis's protagonists, for example, is echoed by Barbara Workinger's Granny Hanny, who in moments of stress pronounces her "j"s like "ch"s and adopts a "Pennsylvania Dutch accent, liberally sprinkled with 'Dutch' and German words."[17] Others, like Nancy Drew's Amish friend, Henner, who enthuses, "Oh, Nancy . . . you kept us from being dead already yet,"[18] use *verhuddelt* or mixed up English. P. L. Gaus uses neither device to introduce young Lydia Shetler in *Clouds Without Rain*, but he comments that she speaks "with the classic Dutch accent

of the region."[19] Diverse Amish characters, like mystery writer Karen Harper's young Amish farmer Eben (*Down to the Bone*), romance writer Wanda E. Brunstetter's Will (adopted by an Amish family in *White Christmas Pie*), and Beth Wiseman's Amish widower Sam (in the Amish-themed romance *Plain Perfect*), begin utterances with "ach," use *Ja* instead of "yes," and mix German words and phrases in their everyday speech.

Language and Values

Such linguistic devices hint at the social isolation of the Amish protagonists; their interaction with the modern world and twenty-first century American culture is limited, and their fictional idiom marks them as a people out of touch with everyday events and strangers in their own land. For the reader, this can mean comic relief. Freni, the Amish cousin of Magdalena Yoder, mystery writer Tamar Myers's Mennonite detective and B & B owner, interprets one non-Amish guest's request for Thai food to mean she should boil his neckwear.[20] She also loses her English at inopportune times, thinks cheese is a vegetable, and, although she is "church Amish" and so "not as strict as some of her brethren,"[21] finds "everything about the outside world . . . an enigma."[22]

But isolated from modern society, the Amish characters may be in touch with values that are in danger of disappearing from modern life. Myer's heroine and unwilling sleuth, Magdalena Yoder, is no longer Amish but remains close to her Amish roots, a cultural position evident in her unwillingness to tolerate swearing; her younger sister, Susannah, a study in contrast who went so far as to marry *and divorce* a Presbyterian, swears frequently.[23] In Linda Castillo's *Sworn to Silence*, a novel about a serial killer in Ohio's Amish country, the ex-Amish police chief describes the Amish as "Hardworking. Religious. Family Oriented." She calls herself as an "anomaly"—she is single, a workaholic, estranged from her family, drinks, and may have killed someone.[24] Emma Zook, the Amish cook in Marta Perry's "love inspired suspense"[25] novel *Hide in Plain Sight*, is hard-working and careful not to say anything that sounds prideful. Asked whether she grieved that her mentally retarded adult son would never have a family of his own, Emma is content in her faith. "No, not grieve. He is as God chose to make him. I accept that as God's will." Emma comments later, "Ja. . . . It is good to know where you belong."[26]

Indeed, one might conclude that the Amish mask beneath their picturesque clothing and quaint speech a wisdom we would do well to heed. Granny Hanny, Barbara Workinger's Amish detective in novels such as *In Dutch Again*, works with her once Amish granddaughter, a practicing lawyer, to solve murders in her small farming community. Granny Hanny's attempts

to use popular expressions lead to mixed metaphors ("That Ian Hunter is too smart a cookie to try to pull the wool over his head already")[27] that mark her as quirky and innocent. At the same time, she is sage, pragmatic, and "authentically Amish," and her calm, common sense approach to solving crimes offers a stark contrast to the bumbling behavior of the local police detective, who is awestruck by the celebrities he encounters.

Some science fiction writers have drawn on the simple, sage devotion that the Amish seem to show to traditional values to counterbalance the terror and uncertainty of a future in which science dominates all. For example, writer Allen Kim Lang theorizes that cultures go backwards technologically in the process of colonizing new worlds. Amish settlers are, thus, ideal colonizers because they can help other colonists regain technological expertise lost through this regression. In Lang's short story, "Blind Man's Lantern," Amish newlyweds Aaron and Martha Stoltzfoos journey to the planet Murna in search of the farmland that is in short supply on an overpopulated and overdeveloped Earth. It is a homesteading deal; in return for their land, the Stoltzfooses are supposed to help an earlier set of space travelers start the planet "back toward the machine age."

As they leave the spaceship with their horse and buggy, Lang's Amish couple is clearly alien, not only to the strange world of Murna, but to the crew from Earth that ferries them to their new home. They are simple people, and their speech, a mix of German and English, reflects a life in which they are at home with the livestock as well as with those who fly their spaceship. "Sei schtill, Wutzchen," Fraa Stoltzfoos says comfortingly to their pig. "We're reddi far geh, Captain [we're ready to go]," her husband tells the ship's commander. He goes on to recite the list of foreign delicacies they will offer the captain and his crew when the ship returns with other Amish settlers, including "onion soup and Panhaas, Knepp and Ebbelkuche, shoo-fly pie and scharifer cider." The reader may not understand the menu, but it is clear that these traditional dishes signal the taming of this wild frontier.[28]

It seems we can depend on those who do not quite control modern idioms and find respite and fulfillment among them. Romance writer Shelly Shepard Gray's Anna, heroine of Gray's *Hidden*,[29] leaves her abusive fiancé and finds shelter with her New Order Amish friend Katie, who has to remember to use English instead of German and whose "knowledge of the outside world was sketchy at best."[30] Before coming to stay with the Amish, Anna was "fancy" and spoiled, but in Katie's home she becomes hardworking, competent, and plain. Similarly in Beth Wiseman's "fictional love story" *Plain Perfect*,[31] Lillian leaves her abusive home life to find shelter with her Amish grandparents. Mislead by an Amish boy's archaic "down yonder a spell" to think the farmhouse she is seeking is only a short walk away, Lillian gratefully

accepts a ride in a passing buggy, telling the driver that she'll work hard for her grandparents and will be Amish "if that's what it takes to feel peaceful and calm."[32]

Moreover, shelter with the Amish means acquiring the wisdom of the Plain People. By the end of Wiseman's novel, Lillian has joined the Amish church, married an Amish man, and responds "*Ja*" instead of "yes." Gray's Anna learns to be patient, to avoid gossip, and to trust in God. In *Plain Truth*, Jodi Picoult's lawyer Ellie Hathaway, packing to leave Lancaster County, muses about the things that she will take back from her stay among the Amish: "spirit, humility, peace."[33]

Language and Alienation

Nevertheless, their foreign, archaic tongue clearly marks the Old Order Amish as "the other," different from us in every way, and the refuge their world seems to offer may be illusory. We cannot turn to those we cannot understand, and the strange language of the Amish makes them—and their world—incomprehensible. Sarah Fisher, the Old Order mother in Picoult's *Plain Truth* pleads with her husband "in a language [the police officer] could not understand," and when a doctor asks eighteen-year-old Katie Fisher if she speaks English, she replies, "*Ja.*"[34] Some Amish characters, like the Bishop in Gaus's *Blood of the Prodigal*, mix German and English together in a code switching that emphasizes the differences between the two cultures. "I intend no disrespect," the Bishop comments to the local non-Amish school teacher, for example, "but *Wir sind Bauern. Verstehen Sie Bauern*? Do you understand? We are *Bauern*, peasants."[35] Other Amish characters use standard German and "Dutchified" English to mark their alienation from the American mainstream. Amishman Enos Coblentz talks to *Dokter* Branden in Gaus's *Blood of the Prodigal*, while the bishop calls Branden *Herrn Professor.*[36] In Gaus's *Broken English* (the title has double meaning), D. Hawkins, a former Green Beret and convert to the Amish, can *only* explain himself in German. Acknowledging that he could have killed the murderer of his daughter, Hawkins responds, "*Mehr doffa net so du, Herr Professor.* Murder is forbidden."[37] Most tellingly, in the late novelist Tristan Egolf's *Kornwolf*, perhaps the most bizarre of recent fictional works about the Amish, the conflict between the Amish world and the dominant English one plays out in a clash of flash-bulb popping tourists and trapped Amish buggy drivers. Young Ephraim, mute and alienated from his own abusive Amish world, morphs into a werewolf and rampages through the Lancaster County countryside. According to on-lookers, the so-called "Blue Ball Devil" "don't speak English too good."[38]

As these works make clear, those who find sanctuary in the Amish world pay a steep price. Whereas our society values individuality, the Old Order

Amish of these novels suppress it. In Gaus's *Blood of the Prodigal*, Little Jeremiah Miller feels guilty for getting up early to enjoy the dawn, worried that this "could give him a sense of identity separate from the others."[39] McDaniel's Leah realizes that "the part of Amishness she could never accept" is "the complete smothering of individual reality."[40] In Picoult's *Plain Truth*, Katie's psychiatrist asserts that, unlike the dominant culture, which "promotes individuality . . . the Amish are deeply entrenched in community. . . . To the Amish, there's no room for deviation from the norm. . . . If you don't fit in, the consequences are psychologically tragic."[41]

Further, failure to fit in, to suppress individual difference, invariably leads to the *Bann*, or excommunication, and *Meidung*, or shunning—those most well-known and least understood features of Amish life. For the Amish, excommunication and shunning are a biblically mandated response to wrongdoing. The Bible says to "root out the evil-doer from your community" (I Corinthians 5:12–13). Following the biblical command that one neither eat nor keep company with those expelled from the church (I Corinthians 5:11; II Thessalonians 3:14), shunning requires members of the community to cease all social and business relationships with the excommunicated person. The Amish see excommunication and shunning as an act of love, believing that excommunication and shunning will protect the community from the wrongdoer and convince the one shunned to repent and return to the community.

With few exceptions, however, these texts present the *Bann* and *Meidung* as one final, unforgiving, and, for the non-Amish audience, inconceivable act, a rejection and ostracism that destroy the life of the one who is shunned. Tellingly, it is marked in these works by silence, the absence of language. Gaus suggests that, for the Amish, someone shunned is "dead to them but still alive," and church members will hardly mention the name of the outcast.[42] "Do not speak to me with your English tongue," Amish farmer Jacob tells his sister, Katie, the local police chief.[43] Lewis's Katie "could remember her Mammi Essie telling about a man who had been shunned for using tractor power. None of the People could so much as speak to him or eat with him, lest they be shunned too. 'It's like a death in the family,' Essie told her."[44] When Katie herself is shunned, none in her community will speak to her.

Clearly, Old Order life may be stable, secure, and grounded in tradition and morality, but, these works make clear, it is also confining, suppressive, and totalitarian, suggesting that the Amish are hardly the innocent God-fearing folks of tradition and certainly not worthy of any special consideration.[45] The Amish mother in Picoult's *Plain Truth* commits infanticide to keep her daughter from leaving her community. In detention with others from his Amish "gang," Egolf's Ephraim finally speaks, snarling "*genug*" [enough]. It

is the beginning of the end for him, and, in not-quite-human form, he leaves his community, fleeing hatred and flames.

These works portray a darker side to Amish life, a world in which traditional values are sacrificed to tradition run amok. The archaic tongue of Amish protagonists hints at a blind devotion to the past that robs the present of creativity. The simple life of the Amish is lived at the expense of free will and individual control. McDaniel's Leah wants to ask the Amish boy Ethan why his family keeps watch over the body of his little sister before the funeral, but "decided he probably didn't know. He rarely knew the why of their customs, only that it was always done that way."[46] Lasky's Meribah finds her life "defined not by herself but by others."[47] The Old Order world is a "closed society" in which each individual has a "sure fate,"[48] and Amishness is like a disease one escapes with difficulty. "If it were a tumor," a Mennonite woman comments about her husband, who was raised Old Order, "he could go to a surgeon and have it cut away. But it's imbedded in him. . . ."[49]

Ultimately, these works suggest, leaving the Amish means finding freedom. In Gaus's *Blood of the Prodigal*, Professor Michael Branden, who dresses Amish on occasion, sets up a scholarship fund for young Amish who wish to leave the Amish church. Branden denies that he is encouraging young people to leave their families but asserts that those who wish to do so will have his help. He will give them "a chance."[50] While the pastoral, in these texts identified with the Old Order, has traditionally been seen as sanctuary from the rat-race of modern life, in fact, these novels suggest, our increasingly urbanized, industrialized, and technologically complex society permits greater individual freedom and self-determination. Lewis's Katie, shunned from her Old Order community, delights in her freedom: "No more Ordnung hanging over my head. No more bishop telling me how to dress, how to pin up my bun, how not to sing. . . . I've been cut loose to discover who I truly am."[51]

Dutch and the Lessons of Amish Life

Clearly, the non-Amish world is of two minds about the Old Order Amish.

As David Weaver-Zercher has pointed out, today's popular representations of Amish life run the "representational gamut from noble Americans to pathetic bumpkins."[52] The Amish, Weaver-Zercher argues, have been domesticated—"fashioned and refashioned to function towards particular ends."[53] In this Amish-themed literature, German, Dutchified-English, and non-standard spellings help turn the Amish into our pioneer ancestors, reassure us that the Plain People continue to guard traditional values, and provide us an escape from the pressures of our modern lives. At the same time, however, the strange language of the Amish drives home the foreignness of these people

who live among us. Their strangeness, Weaver-Zercher points out, lets us feel "normal."[54]

But while Amish-themed literature meets the needs of its readership, it also meets the needs of those who produce it.[55] As journalist Andrea Sachs points out, these works generate over a billion dollars in sales annually;[56] indeed, they constitute "one of the few bright spots for foundering Christian publishers."[57]

In their use of dialect, authors of Amish-themed fiction writers claim insider knowledge in their depictions of Amish life. Publishers make these claims explicit for the reader. For example, dust jacket quotes praise one author for providing "an insider's look at Ohio's Old Order Amish culture" and another for presenting "a fascinating portrait of Amish life rarely witnessed by those outside the faith." In other words, language not only constructs the Amish protagonists of this literature, but it also constructs the authors as authorities on Amish life. The strange speech of the Amish in these texts serves to validate the authors' construction of both the Amish characters and the relationship between the Amish characters and the non-Amish counterparts with whom they share the fictional landscape. Dialect makes these authentic portraits of Amish life well worth the purchase price.

Conclusion

As linguist James Paul Gee argues, "we continually and actively build and rebuild our worlds not just through language, but through language used in tandem with actions, interactions, non-linguistic symbol systems, objects, tools, technologies, and distinctive ways of thinking, valuing, and believing."[58] Amish-themed fiction, made authentic through language that is exotic and foreign, invites us into an otherwise inaccessible world. Through these texts we can be voyeurs, indulging in fantasies of life in a pre-industrial world. After all, as one journalist put it, "Bird-in-Hand is an appealing place for a jaded *Englischer* to escape to for a while."[59] We can read these works, safely visit Old Order homes from the comfort of our armchairs, and see what is normally hidden, secure in the knowledge that we have the "real story."

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Notes

[1] B. Lewis, *The Missing* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House Publishers, 2009).

[2] The Old Order Amish communities are marked by the use of Amish High German for church services, Pennsylvania German for intra-community oral interaction, and English for written communication and for dealings with those outside the church. For example, see

K. M. Johnson-Weiner, "Community Identity and Language Change in North American Anabaptist Communities," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2/3 (1998): 375–394.

[3] A. N. Keim, ed. *Compulsory Education and the Amish: The Right Not to be Modern* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975), 10

[4] This incident was described in a note found in the Muddy Creek Farm Library in a box of materials related to language use in the Plain Churches. The Muddy Creek Farm Library, currently located in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, was founded by Amos B. Hoover and located in his home in Denver, Pennsylvania.

[5] Kauffman was quoted in a letter to *Family Life* from Paul A. Hostetler (January 1983). According to this source, John Kauffman was preaching in Shelby City and Woodford City, Illinois, arguing that "if they get the 'Welt sproch (English) no gruckt die Welt euch, no gruckt da teifl euch.'"

[6] J. Picoult, *Plain Truth* (New York: Pocket Books, 2000), 50.

[7] C. Keene, *The Witch Tree Symbol* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1975; 1955), 19. Carolyn Keene is the pen name of a series of authors.

[8] L. McDaniel, *Angels Watching Over Me* (New York: Bantam Books, 1996), 30.

[9] L. McDaniel, *Lifted Up By Angels* (New York: Bantam Books, 1997); L. McDaniel, *Until Angels Close My Eyes* (New York: Bantam Books, 1998).

[10] L. McDaniel, *Lifted Up by Angels*, 12.

[11] R. Greth, *Plain Murder* (New York: Pageant Books, 1989), 5.

[12] B. Lewis, *The Crossroad* (Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1999), 21.

[13] Ibid., 49.

[14] J. Picoult, *Plain Truth*, 20.

[15] Ibid., 48–49.

[16] C. Coble, *Anathema* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2008), 131.

[17] B. Workinger, *In Dutch Again: An Amish Country Mystery* (Bloomington: First Books Library, 2002), 8.

[18] C. Keene, *The Witch Tree Symbol*, 153.

[19] P. L. Gaus, *Clouds Without Rain* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999), 2. Gaus's Amish characters sometime use standard German rather than their own Pennsylvania German. For example, in the second in the series, *Broken English* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), an Amish woman addresses Gaus's professor-detective, Michael Brandon, as Herr Professor (43). Often Gaus points out that conversations between Amish characters (to which the readers are not privy) are in a "low German dialect" (e.g., *Clouds Without Rain*, 74).

[20] T. Meyers, *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary & Crime* (New York: Signet Books, 1996), 38–39.

[21] Ibid., 188.

[22] Ibid., 38–39.

[23] T. Myers, *Just Plain Pickled to Death* (New York: Signet Books, 1997), 13

[24] L. Castillo, *Sworn to Silence* (New York: Minotaur Books, Kindle edition, 2009), location 493.

[25] This characterization is Perry's own and is taken from her website. Perry refers to herself as an "inspirational romance author." http://www.martaperry.com/books.html (accessed 19 August 2009).

[26] M. Perry, *Hide in Plain Sight* (Toronto, CA: Steeple Hill Books, Kindle edition, 2009) location 2063; 2192.

[27] B. Workinger, *In Dutch Again: An Amish Country Mystery* (Bloomington: First Books Library), 62.

[28] All quotes are from A. K. Lang, "Blind Man's Lantern." (EBook #24567; The Project Gutenberg version, released 10 February 2008; originally published in *Analog*) http:///www.gutenberg.org/files/24567/24567-h/24567-h.htm (accessed 8 May 2009).

[29] S. S. Gray, *Hidden* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008). *Hidden* is the first of Gray's three volume *Sisters of the Heart Series*, which is classified as "inspirational" fiction. See http://www.harpercollins.com/author/microsite/About.aspx?authorid=33563 (accessed 19 August 2009)

[30] Ibid., 4–5.

[31] The characterization of the novel is from the Wiseman's website. (http://www.bethwiseman.net/About_the_Author.php , accessed 19 August 2009). *Plain Perfect* is the first in a five volume series called *Daughters of the Promise*.

[32] B. Wiseman, *Plain Perfect* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2008), 13.

[33] J. Picoult, *Plain Truth*, 402.

[34] Ibid., 22–23

[35] P. L. Gaus, *Blood of the Prodigal* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999), 45.

[36] Ibid., 55, 157.

[37] P. L. Gaus, *Broken English*, 191.

[38] T. Egolf, *Kornwolf* (New York: Grove Press, 2006), 26.

[39] P. L. Gaus, *Blood of the Prodigal*, 1.

[40] L. McDaniel, *Until Angels Close My Eyes,* 191.

[41] J. Picoult, *Plain Truth*, 338.

[42] P. L. Gaus, *Blood of the Prodigal*, 29.

[43] L. Castillo, *Sworn to Silence*, location 2289.

[44] B. Lewis, *The Shunning (*Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1997), 132.

[45] T. Egolf, *Kornwolf*, 97.

[46] L. McDaniel, *Lifted Up By Angels*, 208.

[47] K. Lasky, *Beyond the Divide* (New York: Aladdin Books, 1983), 6.

[48] P. L. Gaus, *Blood of the Prodigal*, 45.

[49] L. McDaniel, *Until Angels Close My Eyes,* 197.

[50] In discussing how Amish young people leave school at the end of eighth grade, Gaus's characters, Professor and Mrs. Branden, are apparently saddened by the lack of opportunity for the brightest Amish students. See 43–46.

[51] B. Lewis, *The Shunning*, 281–82.

[52] D. Weaver-Zercher, *The Amish in the American Imagination* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 7.

[53] Ibid., 13.

[54] Ibid., 5.

[55] Weaver-Zercher points out that the commodification of the Amish "demands two distinct parties: one that sells the Amish (the merchant) and another that buys the Amish (the consumer)," 13.

[56] A. Sachs, "Amish Romance Novels: No Bonnet Rippers," *Time*, 16 April 2009. http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1891759.html. Accessed 12 June 2009.

[57] E. Gorski, "How the Amish Saved Civilization," *Religion News Blog*, Religious News Service, 19 August 2009. http://www.religionnews.com/index.php?/rnsblog/how_the_amish_saved_publishing/. Accessed 12 October 2009.

[58] J. P. Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 11.

[59] A. Sachs, "Amish Romance Novels: No Bonnet Rippers."

Joshua R. Brown

An Amish Mortuary Ritual at the Intersection of Cultural Anthropology and Lexicography

Setting the Scene

Scribbled in the corner was the Pennsylvania Dutch word: *Rumdraage*, 'to carry around.' It seemed peculiar to me to see such a random and equally uninteresting word penciled onto a page of field notes. But the accompanying explanation of a Amish funerary custom was fascinating. I was in the basement of our campus library, organizing the contents of the John A. Hostetler Papers. Since my first experiences with the Anabaptists were as a lexicographer on the Pennsylvania German Dictionary Project, my curiosity was piqued: a single and seemingly mundane lexical item being associated with a cultural custom. Although our work on the dictionary project was always prefaced with a caution about the "comprehensive" and not "complete" nature of the project, I never imagined that I would find additions to word entries years after the fact while moving folders and boxes around in the basement of the university archives.

Yet a glance at the massive dictionary project for Pennsylvania Dutch yields only the standard definition: 'to carry around' (Beam and Trout 2006). Lacking from both the dictionary and contemporary accounts of Amish mortuary rituals is the inclusion of this funerary custom, *Rumdraage*.

Introduction

In the human experience, both birth and death create such uncertainty and change. In birth the newborn is held with uncertain wonderment. In death a stirring reflection of the possible afterlife and mortality pervades the minds of mourners. Yet as univerally immenent as death is, cultures around the world explore death in a variety of ways, often striving to reiterate the cohesiveness of the group and offer support during the period of mourning.

It should come as no surprise that an ethnoreligious group, like the Amish, which has resisted the mainstream trend toward individualism, promotes family- and group-centric ideals even in the final stages of the life-journey. This paper explores a peculiar mortuary ritual among the Amish in Central Pennsylvania.[1] While observers can definitely explain its significance in light of anthropological theories of in-group cohesion, grief support, and ritual, we cannot completely ignore the historicity that such a ritual has, as it may not be practiced by any other group of Amish in the world. Its significance, as a characteristic trait of the Amish in northern Appalachia, warrants attention for further explanation of the diversity of an American ethnoreligious minority, which is sadly often thought as monolithic.

Necessary Background

The Amish are a group of sectarians found only in North America, though their roots can be traced to the Radical Reformation of the sixteenth century in central Europe. In 1525, a group of men, seeking more radical reform to religion than their Protestant teacher, Ulrich Zwingli, baptized each other as adults in Zurich, Switzerland. Although each of the three men either died or were killed shortly thereafter, their baptisms sparked a movement, which went underground in defiance of state religious authorities throughout Europe. The group stressed nonconformity to the world, separation of church and state, pacifism, and adult baptism. As early as 1528, a communal branch of these adult baptizers, or Anabaptists, moved eastward into Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Russia until eventually arriving in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. As settlers of North and South Dakota and the prairie provinces of Canada, this group, the Hutterites, still stresses communal living on rural colonies.

The larger Swiss Brethren movement eventually followed the Rhine River through Germany and into the Netherlands. Menno Simons, a former Catholic priest who became a leader in the Netherlands, gave his name to the peaceable branch of the Anabaptists (Mennonites). However in 1693, a more conservative faction, led by an assertive Jacob Amman from the Alsace region in France, precipitated a schism in the Swiss Brethren church. Amman wanted foot-washing in worship services, communion twice a year, and shunning of excommunicated members. His church would also forever be associated with his name (Amish).[2]

Today, following several migrations to colonial America, the Amish number over 250,000 and double in growth every twenty years. They still practice the original tenets of Anabaptism and can readily be identified by their plain dress, headcoverings, worship in homes, travel by horse-and-buggy, and rejection of most modern technology.

From early settlements in southeastern Pennsylvania, the Amish have spread out, forming new daughter settlements throughout Pennsylvania, New York, the Midwest, the South, and Canada. Within Pennsylvania, the most familiar Amish are those in the Lancaster County settlement, identifiable with their gray buggies. However a variety of Amish in different regions of the commonwealth can be found. The Amish explored in this paper live in Kishacoquillas "Big" Valley. Big Valley is located in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, and has a population (both Amish and non-Amish) of about 14,000. The settlement began with three Amish families and was supplemented by more moving northward from an earlier Berks County, Pennsylvania, settlement. Topographically isolated, the Valley is narrow, level and bound on two sides by Standing Stone "Back" Mountain and Jack's "Front" Mountain.

Importantly, the history of the Anabaptists in Big Valley is one of schism and religious divergence. From the original Amish-only settlement, an array of Anabaptist groups has emerged. Hostetler (1993) separates the Valley into twelve distinct Anabaptist groups ranging from assimilated Mennonites to a group of the most conservative Amish in the world. He calls it an "Anabaptist continuum." Distinctive dress is important for all Old Order Amish groups in Big Valley for distinction from other Anabaptist and other Amish sects; additionally all Old Order groups in Big Valley use horse and buggy for transportation with the color of the buggy top being divergent. The Old School Amish, or Nebraska Amish, is one of three Old Order Amish sects in Big Valley. Nebraska Amish men wear white shirts, wide-brimmed hats, no suspenders or belts, and brown trousers. They drive white-topped buggies equipped with gas lanterns and no window panes. Women wear a flat, straw hat and brown dresses with aprons. They may not paint their barns or use modern farm equipment, window screens, curtains, or carpets. The Byler Amish is an Old Order Amish sect, whose men wear solid color shirts and have one suspender. Women wear brown bonnets. Unlike the Nebraska Amish, Bylers may use tractors in the barnyard, but still use horse-driven equipment in the field. Similar to the Nebraska, Bylers may not have carpets in their homes, though half-length curtains are allowed. The Renno Amish is the third Old Order Amish sect in Big Valley, which has frequent religious and marital contact with the Bylers. Their buggies have black tops and men wear black pants with solid color shirts, while women wear black bonnets and colored cape dresses. Carpets and window coverings are permitted. Houses and barns may be painted.[3]

Of the three groups, the most "peculiar" are the Old School "Nebraska" Amish, easily identified by their white buggies. The term "Nebraska" arose in 1881, after the church split from another Amish district in the northern end of Big Valley. Initially, church members wrote to Bishop Yost H. Yoder

(1842–1901) in Nebraska and asked for him to officially declare the legitimacy of the church. It was not until the church gained a member of the clergy from their original group that Bishop Yoder came and ordained Menno L. Yoder as bishop, David L. Hostetler as minister, and Jacob Zook as deacon. Several reasons have been cited as the cause for the split, among them are: disputes of clover seed, length of hair, and buggy style (Hurd 1981, ch. 2; Kauffman 1991, 119; Mook 1962). Mook (1962) also claims that the origin of the split is rooted in the 1863 split between the Peachey and Byler churches in Big Valley, and that the Nebraska Amish formed from a conservative holdover. Additional splits within the church have occurred since 1881, namely a split in October 1922 over barn dances and overhanging eaves on homes (Hurd 1981, 34) and in Spring 1978 over chainsaws and the use of bulldozers to dig basements (Hurd 1981, 35–36). Recent interviews by Donald Kraybill (personal communication) also indicate the possibility of divisions since 2000, so that the number of Nebraska groups may be currently as many as four or five. In the Valley, the Nebraska groups are known colloquially as White-Toppers, or *Weiss-Wegli Leit*. They currently reside in Big Valley, as well as Snyder, Union, and Centre Counties. A 2004 population count of Nebraska Amish in Big Valley numbered 1,119 individuals with only five surnames represented (Friedrich 2004, 12, 14)

Of additional interest are the costumes and customs of the White-Toppers. The most researched aspects of their culture have been their textiles (Friedrich 2004; Weiser 1987, 1998) and mate selection (Hurd 1981). It is important to keep in mind that the White-Toppers are the most conservative Amish in the world as far as clothing is concerned, in that their clothing "represents a stylized form of [older] attire" resisting "innovations evident in other Amish attire" (Weiser 1989, 9).[4] This paper will explore the funerary customs of the Nebraska people. It will be argued here that their funeral customs may exhibit similar conservatism as their dress.

Purpose of a Funeral Ceremony

The modern notions of a funeral in contemporary America, complete with sprays of flowers, beautifying the corpse, and the office of a funeral director are indeed very recent innovations in the United States (Mitford 1963, 190). The stark plainness of funerals had long dominated a nation founded by more austere Protestant groups. But movement away from simplicity in the stage of death and mourning from Puritanical practices can be readily observed in the ornateness-trajectory of tombstones and memorials (Thursby 2006, 20).[5] Embalming was perfected after the Civil War and tombstones became elaborate reminders, *memento mori*, of an afterlife (Howarth 2007,

218). Funeral celebrations moved away from stark plainness toward frivolity of in-group camaraderie. The funeral celebration in the United States calls on the mourner as an animated and active participant, not only for grief support, but validation of our own society's norms. As such, the funeral ceremony (at least in the United States) has a focus not on the deceased but on the living.[6]

The Mortuary Ritual

Death, dying, and the funeral ceremony can be interpreted in large measure as rituals of culture. The overarching purpose of the mortuary ritual is to make the death public (Howarth 2007, 234). In making the event public, mourners are invited to participate in a larger and complex societal change—a change (or passage) from living to deceased and from living to mourner. As such the mortuary ritual is a rite of passage, one that shows a disconnect with a previous role in life and the incorporation of a new role (Rosenblatt et al. 1976, 87).

We are beholden to the early work of ethnographer Arnold van Gennep, who made "ritual" accessible to all cultures, significantly departing from the work of earlier evolutionary anthropologists, who focused on the ritual as a reaction to historical context. For his theoretical construct, the rite has meaning, regardless of its past associations (Metcalf and Huntington 1991, 31). Van Gennep (2004) explained the tripartite nature of these *rites de passage* (rites of passage): *séparation* (separation), *marge* (liminality), and *agrégation* (incorporation)—the separation of living and dead, the transition into new societal roles, and the incorporation of the new role into the continued societal construct. It is through the manifestation of each of these parts that important values and beliefs of a culture can be scrutinized.

Looking solely at the rite of passage in death, Robert Hertz (1960), a sociologist and student of Durkheim, noted the three-purpose function of a mortuary ritual: disposal of the corpse, intercession in the fate of the soul, and reintegration of the mourners into the social fabric. I would like to stress this final point. It is through the mortuary ritual that a culture's people are allowed to accept a new status of the individual (as mourner or as self-defined void of the deceased) and to accept the new status of the deceased (as departed loved one) (Rosenblatt et al. 1976, 89). Because of this effort on the part of the participant in the mortuary ritual or death ceremony, society and culture can continue onward, assuming new roles, but nonetheless, diachronically defining their outward manifestation of identity and personhood. A ready example is that of the wailing Warao women with their polyphonic and intertextual tunes, which reinforce societal (and gender) distinctions of a society in transition at death (Briggs 1993).

In reinterpreting van Gennep's rites of passage, Thursby (2006, 46) changes "incorporation" to the more reciprocal idea of "connectedness." Perhaps this distinction better incorporates Hertz's ideas as well. The reciprocity of the deceased and the mourner—the role of each in the re-definition of the social fabric. This idea is nothing new, of course, for the Jews have long differentiated stages of their mourning period, *shivah*, not only for honoring and respecting the deceased, the *k'vod hamet*, but also (at a different stage) for consolation of the mourner, the *nichum aveilium* (Thursby 2006, 55).

Funerary Feasts

In studying the role of the mortuary ritual in society and culture, we cannot ignore the binding elements of the ritual. Two important elements are eating and drinking. Indeed Jews begin the *shivah* with a meal of comfort, the *seudat havra'ah*. And even contemporary Methodists in the Midwest include "cheesy funeral potatoes" in their cookbooks (Thursby 2006, 81). No less than eight major feasts are celebrated as funeral custom on the Tanga islands of Papua New Guinea, including the *moratineng* (one especially for the women who sat with and cried over the corpse) and a ritual exchange of food from the family in receipt of shell valuables from the funeral guests (Foster 1990). Conversely, the women who cry over and sit with the deceased in the island nation of Madagascar do not prepare or serve the funeral feast—a ritual taken over by the younger *ampela mahery*, "strong women" (Raharijaona and Kus 2001).

It is through food that a culture can comfort and reaffirm a collective identity. Soul food of the group is indeed that. Food, which not only reminds us of our pasts, but sparks renewed interest and definition of ourselves. As such, the role of ethnic cuisine in the mortuary ritual is often a necessity. Not only does it affirm the identity of the group, but strengthens the relationships between members of that culture (Thursby 2007, 79). Some cultures in the world even engage in necrophagy (anthropophagy, or ritual cannibalism, of the deceased) ranging from consumption of just bone ashes throughout the Amazon and small pieces of flesh in Melanesia to the consumption of organ tissue among the Amazon's Warí (Conklin 1995).

Yet the solidifying effect of the funeral feast is not always stagnant against time and context, as the Malawi in southeastern Africa are currently abandoning the tradition of a funeral feast and funeral participation due to the high mortality rates of the AIDS crisis (Kiš 2007). All of these particulars are important, when we view the mortuary ritual as an uncertain time in newly defining roles and status within a culture—the necessity of having something, which binds a group together, something that can be shared by participants in mourning.

Additionally we find celebrations involving much drinking and socializing at funerals, for example among the Berewan in central northern Borneo and rum drinking at funerals among the Bara (Metcalf and Huntington 1991, 64, 117).[7] The Asante of Africa's western coast give the deceased water shortly after death in the hopes that it will strengthen them for a journey over the mountains into the great beyond—and the pouring of alcohol (though often in excess) and reciting of prayers ensure the loved one safe travels (Bonsu and DeBerry-Spence 2008). In Ireland, a "sin-eater" was traditionally paid to take on the deceased's earthly sins to allow them full entrance into heaven. Utilizing both elements of food and drink, the sin-eater needed to sit on the deceased and eat a loaf of bread and drink a certain amount of beer (Thursby 2006, 88). Indeed many western cultures in Europe (e.g. Italian, Basque, French, and Spanish) serve bread and wine before and after a funeral (Thursby 2006, 79). Older traditions in Alpine Swiss villages, also show the tradition of buying wine from the *Gemeindekeller* for funerals (Gibson and Weinberg 1980).

In the New World, the practice of serving alcohol at funerals was enough to distress Puritan Cotton Mather to denounce the drunken behavior of mourners (Mather 1713). Regardless, contemporary funerals still integrate alcohol. The pouring of beer and wine at the feet of a distraught father in the second line of a recent New Orlean's funeral parade is of note here (Regis 2001). And more recently in the American gangland, the ritual of "pouring one out for a homie" entails emptying a container, usually forty fluid ounces of malt liquor, onto a street curb for a deceased gang member (Miller 1991). Certainly a relationship between bread and alcohol and sins (sin-eating) can be drawn with the Holy Eucharist, an act still consecrated by many Catholics in the world at their funerals.

Pennsylvania Dutch Ways of Death

With regard to the food and drink funerary customs of far-off lands and cultures (explained above), the Pennsylvania Dutch had no less folklore or ritual attached to death. In 1768, Conrad Beissel's death in the Ephrata Cloister caused the Sisters of the group to turn every bottle and keg upside down to prevent food spoilage. Even some contemporary Pennsylvania Dutch might shake a vinegar bottle, thereby moving the *Essich-Mutter*, following the death of the woman of the household (Coffin 1976, 89). The underlying belief is that with the ruin of life comes potential ruin of food in the home. Traditionally the Pennsylvania Dutch delayed burial, in the hopes that life would return to the body. But after making sure that life was lost, burials were celebrated, as in other cultures, with *Seelesse* (soul food) at the *Leichtesse* (funeral

feast) (Brumbach 1964; Adams and Brumbach 1981; Shupp 1984). Coffin (1976, 87) sites a Pennsylvania Lutheran, who surmised that: "Our Germans look forward all of their lives to their funerals, hoping to be able to entertain their friends on that great occasion with the hospitality due them." So elaborate were the funeral feasts of the Pennsylvania Dutch that so-called "funeral runners," or *Mitesser*, appeared at every funeral possible only for the intention of partaking in the food and drink (editor's note in Brumbach 1964; Gilbert 1977, 8).[8]

Another food custom, this one adapted by the Pennsylvania Dutch from their English-neighbors in the eighteenth century, was the distribution of funeral biscuits (Weaver 1989, 111). These biscuits were typically served at funerals, and could have been eaten (Weaver 1989) or saved as another *memento mori*, a reminder of the life and death of a loved one (Thursby 2006). Coffin (1976, 70–71) gives the ingredients in funeral biscuits as: flour, sugar, butter, pearl ash salt, and caraway seed—markedly hard to the bite. These funeral cakes and alcohol were considered "staples" of early New England funerals (Geddes 1981). And the popularity of the funeral biscuit in Pennsylvania is noted as early as 1748 in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, where Benjamin Betterton's advertisement for "Burial Biscake" appeared (Weaver 1989, 108). Gottlieb Mittelberger, in his eighteenth century account of travels throughout Pennsylvania, noted that Pennsylvania Dutch funerals were celebrated like European weddings, complete with cake and West Indian rum (spiced with lemons, sugar and juniper berries) (1997, 114).

Alcohol consumption is also not unfamiliar to the Pennsylvania Dutch. The 1738 double-funeral of Dunkard leader Johannes Gumre and his wife Anna in Pennsylvania's Wissahickon Valley included expenses for breads, cakes, meats, cheese, butter, sugar and molasses (or rum, as Sachse [1899] points out). Generations later, Victor Dieffenbach recounted in funerary stories from his grandfather that the Pennsylvania Dutchmen would form a line in the yard just before leaving for the church and cemetery to pass down a bottle of rye whisky. After taking a sip, the bottle was passed to the next in line and so it went until each had imbibed a bit. If the father of the household died, then his oldest son assumed the role of "bottle-bearer" (Dieffenbach 1949).

The funeral ceremony among Amish groups is markedly different from the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Dutch. In fact Amish funeral rituals vary considerably by group affiliation. Most Amish prefer to die at home and as soon as a death is announced the entire community is set into action. The family does very little for the preparation of the funeral. A room in the home is prepared: cleaned and furniture removed. The body, except in the strictest of settlements, is removed to the funeral director's where it is embalmed and then returned. Upon returning, members of the Amish community wash and

prepare the body for the viewing. Both men and women may be dressed in white (the apron and dress of the woman is the same as that of her wedding day).[9] In days leading up to the funeral, the *Leichtaasaager* (Hostetler 1993, 200–6) extends invitations to friends and family to attend the funeral.[10]

On the third day after death, the body is viewed. A one or two-hour service with silent prayer, spoken hymns, and sermons in the home follows the viewing (Tortora 1997).[11] In Big Valley, the funeral service is performed by one minister and there is no singing (Scott 1988). The body is then removed to the burial site, where a final viewing is done. Among the Nebraska Amish, the clergyman reads a hymn as the body is lowered into the ground.[12] Attendees are invited to silently say the Lord's Prayer (Scott 1988). After the plain wooden box is lowered into a plain wooden vault and the grave filled, the participants of the funeral ceremony return to the home for a large noon meal. The meal may consist of "mashed potatoes and gravy, cold beef and gravy, cole slaw, pepper cabbage, prunes, applesauce, cheese, bread, buns, and raisin pie or 'funeral pie'" (Tortora 1997, 136).[13]

Again the funeral custom of sharing the noon meal is one of role realization. As members of the community help in preparation of the meal, the participants rejoin to feast on ethnic soul foods and breathe new life into the home of the deceased. As such, "the bereaved experience a sense of belonging and togetherness" (Hostetler 1993, 206)—facets so important to the Amish way of life. As one Amishman recounted for Bryer (1979, 257): "The funeral is not for the one who died, you know; it is for the family."

Rumdraage

I had first heard about the Nebraska Amish in summer 2004, while visiting the late Reverend Fred Weiser at his home in New Oxford, Pennsylvania. Fred's work among the Nebraska people's textiles is unparalleled, as have been his many significant contributions to Pennsylvania Dutch studies. Fred recounted at that meeting on recently having been to a Nebraska viewing, when he was brought into the house of an Amish grandmother. He depicted the scene so vividly—being led by candlelight into a completely dark room, as the old woman's son lifted the flame to her cold face. He remarked that it felt as if he had stepped back into early colonial America.

Several years later, I had the opportunity to participate in an oral history project in Big Valley, interviewing members of several Anabaptist groups about cultural, religious and linguistic changes throughout their lifetimes (cf. Page and Brown 2007). And in summer 2007, while working as a collections processing assistant at The Pennsylvania State University Archives, I came across field notes and the mention of *Rumdraage* in the John A. Hostetler Papers.[14] Hostetler noted that *Rumdraage* applied to serving bread and wine

during an Amish funeral. The bread, he noted, was a particular type of sweet bread, which only one woman in the community could bake.

A wonderful account of a Nebraska Amish funeral by Scott (1988) does mention this practice, but refers to it as a "refreshment." In a more structured ethnographic approach, I elicited information about the ritual from the Valley's Amish. They were generally aware of this unique custom. A bishop in the Renno church believed that the practice was still continued by the Nebraska. A bishop in the Byler church stated that his father-in-law remembers the ritual, but that it is no longer practiced in their church. He also indicated that *Rumdraage* occurred after the funeral service, before burial. A member of the Nebraska church confirmed the assertions of the others. He stated that *Rumdraage* is still practiced, much in the same way Amish communion is celebrated. Bread and cheese are carried in by the pallbearer's wife to the mourners seated in the house of the deceased. A bottle of wine and two small glasses on a plate are brought in by the pallbearer. The wine, bread, and cheese are passed to each of the mourners. Another pallbearer and wife may take some of the bread and wine outside to others. In this way, a type of "communion" is given to those in attendance.[15]

The question which looms is *why*. Why does this practice exist among such a small secluded group in Central Pennsylvania? Did other Amish groups also serve communion at funerals, but have since lost this practice? Examining the answers from members of the Black and Yellow Top Amish in the Valley, the answer to the second question would seem to be "yes." All of the Amish in Big Valley did serve bread and wine at a funeral at some time in their history. The practice has been since abandoned by all groups except the Nebraska. To the author's knowledge, no other Amish groups observe serving bread and wine during a funeral service.

One bishop suggested that the practice has roots in an interpretation of the *Apocrypha's Book of Tobit*. The *Apocrypha*, as noted by Hostetler (1993, 341), along with *The Gospel of Nicodemus* and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* seem to hold a special, even magical, place among the Amish. Indeed, contrary to most modern English versions of the Christian Bible, Luther's German version (still used by the Amish) does include the *Apocrypha*. The line in question is from Tobit 4:18 "Pour out thy bread and thy wine on the tomb of the just, and give not to sinners" (Charles 1913). Since some Amish groups still read the first four chapters of the *Book of Tobit* during their wedding ceremonies (cf. Hostetler 1993, 195) it would seem likely that this is the origin. However, the question still remains as to why other Amish, who read the same *Book of Tobit*, choose not to practice *Rumdraage*.

Perhaps we need to return to funeral biscuits—those tokens of memory passed around at funerals and adopted by the Pennsylvania Dutch in the

eighteenth century. In fact, Weaver (1989, 110) notes that the hard biscuits were dipped in fruit wine or beer at the funeral. Additionally, the manner in which they were served (taken from a Lutheran account in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania) is strikingly similar to that of the Nebraska Amish *Rumdraage*: the daughter serves bread and cakes on a large pewter plate and the son serves whisky or wine from a cup on a plate (Weaver 1989, 110). As with their textiles, being holdovers from a distant past, so too may their funeral traditions be holdovers of early colonial mortuary rituals in Pennsylvania.

Conclusion

We are left, in the end, with more questions than answers. The exact root of *Rumdraage* is unclear. Is it simply one group's interpretation of the *Apocrypha*? Or is it a holdover from an earlier funerary practice of serving funeral biscuits? We cannot be certain of either. Geographically, Big Valley's secluded nature and relative isolation from many other Amish groups might make it a prime location for both the innovation and continuance of a unique custom. However, its location on the fringe of the original area of Pennsylvania Dutch settlement might speak against the continuance of the funeral biscuit tradition. We are content, though, that it is not completely unlikely that the Mifflin County Amish did not simply adapt this English biscuit custom and preserve it through modernity. A ready example of just such a cultural bridge is the St. Michael's Day celebration of Goose Day in Big Valley. This affair, claimed to be a holdover from the county's earlier Scottish and Irish inhabitants, celebrating the day on which a landlord was paid a goose by his tenants, is not without an Amish spin. Oral tradition, recounted by Julia Spicher Kasdorf (personal communication) attests that the origin of the custom lies with an astute Amishwoman, who capitalized on the day by selling her home-raised geese.

The story of *Rumdraage* is unfortunately incomplete, yet its integration into current studies on both funerary customs and Amish sociology/anthropology make its discussion both necessary and valid. Indeed it seems that scholars have much to explore in cultures in our very own backyards. Its discussion here also makes a comprehensive Pennsylvania Dutch dictionary even more complete. The discussion of a single Pennsylvania Dutch lexical item over pages in this manuscript is a testament to the comprehensive and imperfect nature of the dictionary project, showing that there is much to be done in both Pennsylvania Dutch lexicography and Pennsylvania Dutch studies. Moreover, the preservation of this ritual (now in print and not just in practice) ensures the more complete description of America's Anabaptist culture and society (only casual references are given in Scott 1988 and Hostetler 1993). For it is often the ritual that is lost to time and unfortunately

unrecoverable by archeology, which otherwise successfully informs contemporary society about mortuary customs (Trinkaus 1984).

The unique practice of a Protestant group celebrating a communion-like ritual at the funeral ceremony is remarkable. Early German Protestants sought to make their funerals rather sparse—usually just a procession, hymn at the grave, and burial with the role of the clergy reduced to a minimum (Koslofsky 2000). Special altars for the communion rite were also avoided, further separating Catholic ritual from Protestant ritual (Reinis 2007, 257). As such, the funeral took on a more social role for the group and less of a religious role. It would be interesting to take that early Protestant analysis into consideration with *Rumdraage*. Is Scott (1988) correct in referring to it as "refreshment," even with the presence of bread and wine. In other words, does *Rumdraage* serve an overt religious function, as communion, or an overt social function, as strengthening cohesion?[16]

We note, though, that complex rituals are often linguistically named, just as *Rumdraage*, as in *kabary* marriage requests studied by Ochs Keenan (1973), where phases of the ritual are identified by illocutionary-act names. In comparison, the verbal action-oriented ritual names are often employed for textually based rituals via the first utterance, e.g. *Kýrie eléison*, *Hail Mary*, and *Shma*.[17] The use of the action-oriented "to carry around" word for the ritual is not coincidental, by locating the "here-and-now" of the ritual (cf. Silverstein 2004). Moreover the naming of a ritual, at least in English, often shows a structured "procedure" with both "a sense of collective or communal enactment that is purposive . . . and an awareness that they are different from 'ordinary' everyday events" (Tambiah 1979, 116–17). In effect, the word *Rumdraage* conveys not only the act of the ritual in the action-oriented verbal *draage* 'to carry,' but also conveys the communal instantiation of the ritual itself with *rum* 'around (to every mourner).' As such, *Rumdraage* not only typifies the collective and communal—the carrying around to each person—but also the purposive, by using a verbal form for the action posits the motion, the deed, as foremost. Moreover, the elements of the ritual cannot be discounted as coincidental: on the one hand, wine and bread as symbols of communion and in turn the ethereal body (and blood) of Christ and on the other, cheese, the decayable empirical "body," not unknown to German immigrants as a food staple and symbol of hospitality.[18]

Regardless, its function within the community is clear. Naturally the practice complements the rite of passage. That a religious custom has gravity for an ethnoreligious minority is without question. In sharing—literally, in communing—with each other, the group's religious and social fabric remain intact. In death (in change), continuance of a shared custom becomes paramount and the symbolism of the Eucharist, taken only during the year when

the entire Amish congregation is in peaceful accord, exhibits a light of continuance (perhaps even survival) in the darkness and uncertainty of death.

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Notes

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[2] For a more thorough discussion of Anabaptist history cf. Hostetler (1974; 1993), Kraybill and Bowman (2001), Kraybill and Hurd (2006) and Nolt (2003).

[3] Additional information on the Amish of Big Valley is found in Hayes (1946), Mook (1976), Peachey (1930), Stroup (1965).

[4] Another Amish group, the Swartzentrubers, are (at least in some respects) more conservative than the Nebraska.

[5] Notable exceptions to this are the Quakers, Shakers, and Amish.

[6] This is not necessarily unique to the United States, or even "western" culture. Buddhist practices insist that funeral ceremonies for those who live after 80 years are to be celebrations of life and not death (Thursby 2006, 33).

[7] Malagasy funerals are said to be not only "bawdy" but inspire "drunken revelry" due to the fact this culture views the deceased as in limbo and isolated and, therefore, in need of entertainment (Metcalf and Huntington 1991, 112).

[8] Coffin (1976, 88) gives us a wonderful old adage said around Lebanon, Pennsylvania in bygone days about such *Mitesser*: "A funeral's not a funeral without a corpse and Eddie Sussekuche."

[9] This may indicate the lifelong preparation of death (Bryer 1979).

[10] The practice is comparative not only in custom, but also linguistically, to the *aanspreeker* in Dutch New Amsterdam, who announced deaths along the Hudson River in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Coffin 1976, 69). Other Pennsylvania Pietist groups also had inviters (*Einlader*, *Anzeiger*) to their funerals (Sachse 1899).

[11] Tortora's (1997) account is consistent with the Amish in Lancaster County.Other Amish groups do have singing at their funerals.The descriptions of "the Amish" throughout this text are, in parts, necessarily generic.The Amish cannot be considered monolithic.

[12] Reading a hymn is of course mirrored in earlier Pennsylvania Dutch funeral ceremonies, where hymns were sung at the grave. A practice traceable to earlier GermanProtestant tradition (Ebert 1789).

[13] In this final respect, the Amish parallel the Pennsylvania Dutch (*Leichtboi*, Gilbert 1977, 8, Shupp 1984, 9; Gehris 1985) and other New Englanders.

[14] The John A. Hostetler Papers, along with the existing Chris Gaines Memorial Library collection, and the newly arrived Getrude Huntingdon Papers, are housed within the Special Collections Library at The Pennsylvania State University.These collections plus the Harmony Society Collection, the Ammon Stapleton Collection, Pennsylvania German Broadsides and Fraktur, and the Allison-Shelley Collection of German Literature in Translation make Penn State's Special Collections Library one of the largest and most comprehensive facilities for German-American (especially Anabaptist) research in the country.

[15] Although, I am certain that only baptized members may partake in the communion, other Anabaptist conventions (i.e., communion only when the membership is in accord) may not necessarily be met.As such this ritual may not be an exact duplicate of the communion rite, but rather a symbolic feasting with religious undertones.

[16] We can compare the social function of cohesion with other practices, like that of Old Order River Brethren women baking bread for the love-feast (Reynolds 2001).

[17] Many thanks to Michael Silverstein for bringing this to my attention.

[18] Again, my thanks to Michael Silverstein for this helpful analogy.

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Michael Werner

"Mer schwetze noch die Mudderschprooch!": Zur Geschichte und Zukunft des Pennsylvaniadeutschen in den USA

Vorbemerkung

Manch ein Amerikaner in Pennsylvania ist vertraut mit dem berühmten Zitat von Benjamin Franklin, der sich im 18. Jahrhundert darüber beklagte, dass "die Pfälzer Bauernlümmel sich um unsere Ansiedlungen drängen und, indem sie in Rudeln zusammenwohnen, ihre Sprache und Sitten befestigen zum Verderben der unsrigen . . . , dass sie uns germanisieren, anstatt dass wir sie englisieren" (zitiert nach: Scherer 1981, 29).

Deutsche und amerikanische Linguisten wissen jedoch nur zu gut, wie die Situation in den Zielgebieten der pfälzischen Nordamerikaauswanderung heute aussieht: Sprachen zum Beispiel Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts 600.000 bis 800.000 Menschen Pennsylvaniadeutsch, jenen Dialekt, über den hier ein kleiner Überblick gegeben werden soll, so sind es heute maximal 300.000 (davon nur rund 100.000 im täglichen Umgang mit anderen). Grund genug, gerade jetzt, zu Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts, einmal zurückzuschauen, aber auch einen Ausblick zu wagen auf die nächsten Jahrzehnte. Wie ist das Pennsylvaniadeutsche entstanden, wie hat es sich weiterentwickelt, und wird es in hundert Jahren überhaupt noch Sprecher geben?

Zur Entstehung des Pennsylvaniadeutschen (1683–1815)

Bei Ausbruch des amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieges lag die Zahl der deutschsprachigen Siedler in Pennsylvania, jenem Staat, der die Wiege des Pennsylvaniadeutschen werden sollte, bei rund 110.000 (vgl. Graeff 1942, 3). Gemessen an der Gesamtauswanderung der Deutschen nach Amerika seit Ankunft des ersten Schiffes mit einer deutschen Siedlergruppe im Jahr 1683—nach Angaben verschiedener Quellen bis in die 80er Jahre

des 20. Jahrhunderts über 7 Millionen Menschen—ist diese Zahl vergleichsweise gering. Zieht man jedoch in Betracht, dass die Gesamteinwohnerzahl Pennsylvanias um 1775 nur bei rund 225.000 lag (vgl. Graeff 1942, 3), erhält die Zahl der deutschsprachigen Siedler ein anderes Gewicht. Beachtet man außerdem, dass sich die Siedlungsorte der deutschen Emigranten im Südosten des Staates konzentrierten, ist leicht nachzuvollziehen, dass sie in den von ihnen bewohnten Gegenden kulturell und sprachlich eine entscheidende Rolle spielten und der Region ihren prägenden Stempel aufsetzten. Der amerikanische Unabhängigkeitskrieg brachte die Nordamerikaauswanderung jedoch abrupt zum Stillstand. Die deutschen Auswanderer wandten sich anderen Zielgebieten zu, die vor allem im Osten Europas lagen.

In Amerika aber führte die gemeinsame Erfahrung des gewonnenen Kriegs gegen England die Mitglieder der nun neu entstandenen "multinationalen Nation" enger zusammen. Aus Deutschen, Engländern, Iren, Schweizern, Holländern und anderen waren nach der britischen Kapitulation (1781) und dem formellen Friedensschluss von 1783 Amerikaner geworden.

Zwar stieg nach 1783 die Zahl der Auswanderer wieder an, aber bereits knapp zehn Jahre später waren die europäischen Auswanderungshäfen erneut geschlossen. Sie blieben es bis 1815, dem Jahr, in dem der Wiener Kongress die Landkarte Europas nach dem Abtritt Napoleons neu ordnete.

In diesem Vierteljahrhundert riss nun die Verbindung zwischen der alten und der neuen Heimat komplett ab. Die rund 25 Jahre zwischen 1790 und 1815, in denen praktisch keine neuen Auswanderer in Pennsylvania ankamen, genügten, um aus den dort lebenden Pfälzern, Württembergern, Schweizer, Elsässern und anderen "Pennsylvaniadeutsche" zu machen. Und in diesen Jahren—also einer einzigen Generation—entwickelte sich aus den unterschiedlichen deutschen Varietäten durch Dialektausgleich allmählich eine vergleichsweise einheitliche sprachliche Varietät: "das Pennsylvaniadeutsche".

Lange, nämlich von 1869 bis 1935, hat man unter Linguisten darüber gestritten, welchem deutschen Dialekt das Pennsylaniadeutsche am nächsten komme. Am Ende setzte sich die Meinung durch, das Deutsch der Siedler entspreche am ehesten der Varietät, wie sie in den nordöstlichen Regionen der (heutigen) Pfalz gesprochen werde (vgl. Eshleman 1935, ohne Seitenangabe).

Über die Gründe, weshalb sich ausgerechnet das "Vorderpfälzische" in Pennsylvania maßgeblich durchsetzte, wurde in Fachkreisen jedoch weiter heftig diskutiert. Meist wurde die Erklärung in der hohen Zahl der Siedler aus der Pfalz gesucht. An dieser These, deren Argument extern-linguistischer Natur war, mochte etwas dran sein, restlos überzeugend war sie indes nicht. Erst 1968 wurde ein intern-linguistischer Erklärungsansatz vorgelegt, der die Diskussion weitgehend beendete (vgl. Veith 1968, 270). Die Varietät des Pfälzischen, die in einem Umkreis von etwa 20 Kilometern um Mannheim

gesprochen werde, habe sich als Kompromissmundart für die nebeneinander wohnenden Pfälzer, Schwaben, Elässer und Schweizer angeboten, weil sie linguistisch von allen in Pennsylvania vorhandenen Varietäten diejenige gewesen sei, die dem Standarddeutschen am nächsten kam. Das Vorderpfälzische entwickelte sich also, da außer Pfarrern und Lehrern kaum ein Mensch des Standarddeutschen mächtig war, zur "lingua franca" unter den Siedlern. Dass sich diese Varietät in den USA im Laufe der Jahrhunderte vom Vorderpfälzischen in Deutschland durch Sprachwandelprozesse linguistisch entfernt hat, ist selbstverständlich.

Die Merkmale des Pennsylvaniadeutschen

Es handelt sich beim Pennsylvaniadeutschen um einen Dialekt, bei dem—grob geschätzt und für einen Linguisten nahezu fahrlässig vereinfacht gesagt—vielleicht etwa 90 Prozent der linguistischen Elemente und Strukturen auf das Pfälzische zurückgehen dürften. Die Phonetik/Phonologie ist eher vorderpfälzisch geprägt, in der Lexik überwiegt die westpfälzische Variante. Rund 2 Prozent der linguistischen Elemente und Strukturen dürften alemannische Wurzeln haben—am auffälligsten ist die Diminutivbildung auf *-li*. Der englische Einfluss dürfte insgesamt bei rund 8 Prozent liegen, am stärksten wird er deutlich in der Lexik und der Syntax. Ich will im Folgenden nur einige wenige Beispiele geben, um die Eigenheiten des Pennsylvaniadeutschen aufzuzeigen:

Phonetik/Phonologie

Folgt ein /r/ auf /o/, /i/ oder /e/, erscheint dieser Vokal im Pennsylvaniadeutschen als /a/: "Watt" statt "Wort," "Hah" statt "Her," "Hasch" statt "Hirsch." Außerdem ist die amerikanische Aussprache des /r/ und des /l/ unter Pennsylvaniadeutschen weit verbreitet. Verbreitet ist auch der sogenannte "Sprossvokal": "Milich" statt "Milch," "Karich" statt "Kerch" und "darich" statt "durch." Im Vergleich zum Pfälzischen, das aus vielen Ortsdialekten und regionalen Varianten besteht, ist das Pennsylvaniadeutsche phonetisch gesehen eine vergleichsweise einheitliche Varietät. Regionale Varianten—etwa zwischen Pennsylvania und Ohio—sind zwar vorhanden, aber längst nicht so ausgeprägt.

Morphologie

Hier sind die Gemeinsamkeiten mit dem Pfälzischen noch sehr deutlich, und zwar in allen Wortarten. Die deutschen Wortbildungsmuster blieben weitestgehend erhalten. Auffällig ist die deutsche Form der Verbbildung mit englischen Wortstämmen, z.B. "dschumb-e" statt "to jump."

Lexik/Semantik

Häufig kommt es zu Lehnübersetzungen (z.B. "guudguckich" statt "good-looking"), Lehnübertragungen ("alliebber" statt "everybody") und sogenannten Lehnbedeutungen ("gleiche" in der Bedeutung "to like"). Selbstverständlich haben auch zahlreiche echte englische Lehnwörter wie "blendi," "Fens" oder auch "schmoge" (to smoke) Eingang in die Alltagssprache gefunden. Häufig sind auch sogenannte Hybride wie "Bisniss-Leit" (business people). Aber auch zu Eigenbildungen, die nicht auf das Englische zurückgehen, ist das Pennsylvaniadeutsche fähig, wie das Lexem "Guckbax" (TV) zeigt.

Im Pennsylvaniadeutschen haben sich schließlich eine Reihe von Wörtern erhalten, die im Pfälzischen heute weitgehend nicht mehr gebräuchlich sind wie etwa das Lexem "ebber" (jemand). Insgesamt kennzeichnend für das Pennsylvaniadeutsche ist seine relative Synonymarmut.

Syntax

Hier fällt auf, dass das Pennsylvaniadeutsche englische Satzbildungsmuster übernommen hat. Manche Linguisten sehen in diesem Punkt ein Indiz für das baldige Ende des Dialekts, andere—etwa Marion Lois Huffines aus Lewisburg, Pennsylvania—werten diese Tatsache als Strategie zum Spracherhalt.: Sie ist der Ansicht, ein Sprecher, der sich nur ein Satzbildungsmuster merken muss (nämlich das englische), hat es leichter mit der Handhabung des Dialekts. Er muss nicht mehr zwischen deutschem und englischem Syntaxmuster unterscheiden. Beispiele für den Einfluss des Englischen in diesem Bereich sind: "Was Zeit iss es?" (What time is it?), "Ich besser geh heem" (I better go home) oder "Wie bischt?" (How are you?), "Sell iss uff zu dir" (It's up to you), "Was geht aa datt?" (What's going on there?).

Wie das Pfälzische kennt das Pennsylvaniadeutsche keinen Genitiv, und in Nordamerika ist auch der Dativ auf dem Rückzug. Vor allem bei Amish hört man immer öfter "Geb mich . . ." statt "Geb mir."

Zusammenfassend lassen sich die Unterschiede zwischen Pfälzisch und Pennsylvaniadeutsch in vier Gruppen zusammenfassen (vgl. Kelz 1995, 103):

a. dem Einfluss des Englischen, der im Pfälzischen fehlt;
b. dem Vorkommen von Formen aus nicht-pfälzischen deutschen Dialekten im Pennsylvaniadeutschen;
c. der größeren Varianz des Pfälzischen (z.B. Synonymreichtum und regionale Varianten);
d. der Eigenentwicklung des Pennsylvaniadeutschen seit seinem Entstehen.

Die diachrone Entwicklung des Pennsylvaniadeutschen (1815–2001)

Betrachtet man die Entwicklung der pennsylvaniadeutschen Sprachgemeinschaft in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten, fällt auf, dass sich zwei gegenläufige Tendenzen gegenseitig überlagern:

Tendenz 1: Der Assimilierungsdruck

Auf makrosoziologischer Ebene verstärkt sich von Generation zu Generation der Druck auf die deutschsprachige Bevölkerung Pennsylvanias, sich der umgebenden amerikanischen—und englischsprachigen—"Mainstream Society" mehr und mehr anzupassen. Dieser Assimilierungsdruck wird anhand folgender Daten anschaulich:

a. Standarddeutsch als Unterrichtssprache: 1834 schränkte ein Schulgesetz den Gebrauch des Standarddeutschen in der Schule erstmals ein (vgl. Kloss 1952a, 83). Im Jahr 1880 ist das Standarddeutsche als reguläre Unterrichtssprache in der Schule endgültig verschwunden (vgl. Stine 1942, 103ff.; Wood 1952, 789).
b. Standarddeutsch als Pressesprache: Das vor allem im 19. Jahrhundert florierende deutschsprachige Pressewesen kam zwischen 1910 und 1917—in der Zeit der Vorkriegspropaganda bis zum Kriegseintritt der Vereinigten Staaten—nahezu vollständig zum Erliegen (vgl. Wood 1942, 129ff.; Wood 1952, 789; Kloss 1952a, 83). Von diesem Schlag hat es sich nicht wieder erholen können.
c. Standarddeutsch als Gottesdienstsprache: Hier führte der Erste Weltkrieg in den meisten lutherischen und reformierten Gemeinden Pennsylvanias zu einem Wechsel der Gottesdienstsprache. Statt Deutsch wurde fortan auf Englisch gepredigt. Der Zweite Weltkrieg brachte nun auch die letzten noch verbliebenen Gemeinden, die allsonntäglich auf Deutsch predigten, dazu, die Gottesdienstsprache zu wechseln. Insgesamt geht man davon aus, dass sich der Verlust des Standarddeutschen als Gottesdienstsprache im Wesentlichen zwischen 1917 und 1940 vollzogen hat (vgl. Wood 1952, 789; Kloss 1952a, 83; Kloss 1952b, 337). Einzig die Sektierer—Amische und Mennoniten alter Ordnung—hielten weiteren am Deutschen als Gottesdienstsprache fest.
d. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Alltagssprache außerhalb der eigenen vier Wände: Die Varietät des Alltags war niemals das Standarddeutsche, sondern der Dialekt. Man sprach ihn bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts zu Hause, bei der Arbeit, vor der Kirche, auf dem Markt. Mit Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs wurde der Gebrauch des Dialekts in die häuslichen, familiären Bereiche zurückgedrängt. Mir erzählte ein um

1910 geborener—mittlerweile verstorbener Pennsylvaniadeutscher—ihm sei in der Schule der Mund mit Seife ausgewaschen worden, wenn bemerkt wurde, dass er auf dem Schulhof Dialekt sprach.

Hinzu kam, dass ab etwa 1920 die wachsende Verbreitung des Autos unter Lutheranern und Reformierten den Kommunikationsradius der deutschsprachigen Landbevölkerung mit einem Male spürbar vergrößerte. Nun waren auf einmal auch weiter entfernt liegende Städte erreichbar—und die waren in aller Regel rein englischsprachig (vgl. hierzu auch Kloss 1952b, 337).

e. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Alltagssprache in den eigenen vier Wänden: Hier hielt sich der Dialekt naturgemäß am längsten. Aber auch in diesem Bereich war sein Gebrauch früh gefährdet. Deutsch-englische Mischehen führten meistens zur Aufgabe des Deutschen im Hausgebrauch, ebenso die schlechten Erfahrungen der Pennsylvaniadeutschen, die ihre Kindheit in Weltkriegszeiten durchleben mussten. "Meinen Kindern sollte erspart bleiben, was ich an Anfeindungen erleben musste," ist eine oft gehörte Aussage. Ab etwa 1920 drängte das englischsprachige Radio in die Wohnstuben der Deutsch-Pennsylvanier, ab 1950 zunehmend auch das englischsprachige Fernsehen. Beides verstärkte den Trend, Deutsch als Haussprache zugunsten des Englischen aufzugeben.

Insgesamt wurde die frühere Zweisprachigkeit Pennsylvaniadeutsch—Standarddeutsch gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts weitgehend von der Zweisprachigkeit Pennsylvaniadeutsch—Englisch abgelöst.

Tendenz 2: Die Folklorisierung des Dialekts

Sprachdomänen werden aufgegeben: In Schule, Kirche, Presse und im alltäglichen Sprachgebrauch setzt sich mehr und mehr das Englische durch. Aber jede Bewegung erzeugt auch eine Gegenbewegung. Und die liegt im Fall des Deutschen in Pennsylvania darin, dass der Versuch unternommen wird, neue Sprachdomänen zu erobern, um dem Dialekt eine Zukunftsperspektive zu eröffnen:

a. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Literatursprache: Um 1835 wird ein erstes Gedicht in pennsylvaniadeutscher Mundart verfasst (vgl. Haag 1988, 31). Veröffentlicht wird es jedoch erst 14 Jahre später, im Jahr 1849. Ab ca. 1861 erscheinen pennsylvaniadeutsche Kolumnen regelmäßig in Zeitungen und Zeitschriften (vgl. Kloss 1931, 237). 1868 erscheint ein erstes literarisches Werk in Buchform (vgl. Kloss 1931, 237). 1938 treffen sich Wissenschaftler und Autoren in Hershey, um gemeinsam eine

Schreibkonvention für den Dialekt festzulegen (vgl. Graeff 1939, ohne Seitenangabe). Das Ziel wird ein Jahr später erreicht, allerdings setzt sich das nach seinen Begründern benannte "Buffington-Barba-System" nicht durch.

Bis heute sind mehr als hundert Bücher in pennsylvaniadeutscher Mundart erschienen. Auch gab es jahrzehntelang ein recht reges Theaterwesen. Die Zahl der Autoren seit 1835 dürfte, vorsichtig geschätzt, sicherlich über 1.000 liegen.

b. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Vereinssprache: 1891 wird die "Pennsylvania German Society" gegründet (vgl. Werner 1996: 47), 1936 dann zusätzlich die "Pennsylvania German Folklore Society." Sprachliche Aspekte stehen bei beiden Vereinsgründungen nicht im Vordergrund, aber der Förderung des Dialekts wird in der Vereinsarbeit dann doch eine hohe Bedeutung beigemessen. Beide Gesellschaften fusionieren 1968 zur Vereinigung mit dem Namen "The Pennsylvania German Society."
Ab ca. 1935 gründen sich eine Reihe weiterer Vereinigungen mit dem Ziel, den mündlichen Sprachgebrauch in der Mundart zu fördern: "Grundsau Lodsches" (Groundhog Lodges), "Fersommlinge." Daneben gibt es "deitsche Picknicks" und weitere Veranstaltungen, die jedes Jahr zusammengenommen wohl über 20.000 Menschen zusammenführen, um im Dialekt zu kommunizieren. Verbreitet ist die Sitte, für jedes englische Wort bei einer Dialekt-Veranstaltung eine Strafe zahlen zu müssen, die einem guten Zweck zugute kommt.

c. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Gottesdienstsprache: Der Verlust des Standarddeutschen als Kirchensprache wird von Lutheranern und Reformierten insgesamt bedauert. Ab 1950 kommt es als Gegenbewegung mancherorts zu Dialekt-Gottesdiensten (vgl. Gilbert 1956, 277ff., Beam/Costello 1985, 76ff.). Allerdings finden diese nur wenige Male im Jahr statt.

d. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Mediensprache: In den 50er Jahren entstehen erste Dialekt-Radiosendungen, ab 1974 zunehmend auch einzelne Fernsehsendungen in lokalen Stationen (vgl. Beam/Costello: ebd.).

e. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Fremdsprache: 1942 erscheint ein erstes ernsthaftes Lehrbuch, das deutschstämmigen Amerikanern die Sprache ihrer Vorväter wieder nahebringen will (vgl. Frey 1942). Alle früheren Abhandlungen hatten noch didaktisch darauf abgezielt, den Pennsylvaniadeutschen Englisch beizubringen. 1954 folgt diesem Versuch eine umfängliche pennsylvaniadeutsche Grammatik (vgl. Buffington/Barba 1954). Pennsylvaniadeutsch-englische Wörterbücher, die bereits seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts von verschiedenen Autoren zusammengetragen und gedruckt werden, dienen nun zunehmend nicht mehr dazu, ein englisches Äquivalent zu finden, sondern die dialektale Entsprechung

eines englischen Wortes. 1996 erscheint der *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* von Eugene Stine, ein duales Wörterbuch, das Übersetzungen vom Englischen ins Pennsylvaniadeutsche und zurück ermöglicht. Das Werk wird vor allem in Pennsylvaniadeutsch-Kursen verwendet. Einen anderen Ansatz verfolgt C. Richard Beam mit seinem elfbändigen Werk *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary*, dessen letzter Band 2007 erscheint. Hier geht es darum, möglichst alle im Pennsylvaniadeutschen gebräuchlichen Wörter zu erfassen und dem Nutzer neben einer englischen Übersetzung Verwendungsbeispiele in Kontexten zu geben.

f. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Mediensprache: Der Verfasser dieses Artikels ist seit 1997 Herausgeber einer zweimal jährlich erscheinenden kleinen pennsylvaniadeutschen Zeitschrift: *Hiwwe wie Driwwe*. Die Publikation erscheint in einer Auflage von 2.400 Exemplaren, von denen rund 1.500 nach Nordamerika versandt werden, während 900 in Deutschland bleiben. Mittlerweile ist es gelungen, einen Stamm von rund 50 Autoren aufzubauen, die in der Lage sind, journalistische Textsorten im Dialekt zu produzieren: Berichte, Reportagen, Interviews, Portraits, Kommentare etc.

g. Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Sprache im "World Wide Web": Eine Erscheinung der vergangenen Jahre ist die zunehmende Nutzung des Dialekts im Internet. Seit Januar 2002 ist im Internet die Adresse "hiwwe-wie-driwwe.de" erreichbar, und seit 2006 gibt es auch eine pennsylvaniadeutsche Sprachversion der Wikipedia. Darüber hinaus gibt es zwischenzeitlich Dialektforen (www.amisch.de), Blogs (www.deitscheblog.wordpress.com), eine pennsylvaniadeutsche Facebook-Gruppe einen regen eMail-Verkehr zwischen Pennsylvaniadeutschen. "Ich kann sell E-Poscht-Wese schunt haendle" ist mittlerweile fast zu einem geflügelten Wort in der Online-Kommunikation geworden.

Zur Zukunft des Pennsylvaniadeutschen im 21. Jahrhundert

All diese Bewegungen und Gegenbewegungen betreffen zunächst und vor allem jene Pennsylvaniadeutschen, die sich als Teil der amerikanischen Gesellschaft verstehen. In sozioreligiösen Kategorien gesprochen, sind dies Lutheraner, Reformierte und weltoffene mennonitische Gruppen. Sie stellen noch immer den größten Sprecheranteil. Aber die Sprecher sind meist alt (60 Jahre und darüber), und die Mundart wird nicht mehr an die nachwachsende Generation weitergegeben.

Die Zukunft des Pennsylvaniadeutschen liegt in den Händen einer sozioreligiösen Gruppe, die 1890 kaum 3.700 Köpfe zählte (Hostetler 1993, 97) mittlerweile aber auf rund 180.000 bis 200.000 Menschen angewachsen ist:

die Amischen alter Ordnung (Old Order Amisch, ca. 230.000) und die Mennoniten alter Ordnung (Old Order Mennonites, ca. 30.000). In längst nicht allen der strenggläubigen Gemeinden wird der Dialekt gepflegt, aber doch noch in den meisten.

Die Lebensgewohnheiten der Old Order Amish und Mennonites sind allgemein bekannt: Sie sondern sich von der sie umgebenden amerikanischen "Mainstream Society" ab, fahren Pferdewagen statt Autos, verzichten (weitgehend) auf Elektrizität. Hier hat das Pennsylvaniadeutsche seine soziale Funktion behalten. Es ist die Sprache des Alltags im Hause und außerhalb, die Sprache der Arbeit und—mit Einschränkung—des Gottesdienstes (hier mischt sich standarddeutsche Lexik mit pennsylvaniadeutscher Phonologie). Der Dialekt ist hier keinesfalls Gegenstand einer Folklorisierung, sondern Bindeglied zwischen den Familienmitgliedern einerseits und zwischen Familie und Gemeinde andererseits. Solange dies so bleibt und die Gemeinden auch weitgehend am deutschsprachigen Gottesdienst festhalten, scheint die Zukunft des Pennsylvaniadeutschen nicht nur gesichert—es dürfte aufgrund des Kinderreichtums der Amischen und Mennoniten mittelfristig sogar wieder mit steigenden Sprecherzahlen gerechnet werden.

Allerdings: Das Pennsylvaniadeutsche wird sich substanziell stark verändern, sich in allen linguistischen Ebenen weiter auf das Englische zu bewegen, wenn nur noch Amische und Mennoniten Träger der Mundart sind. Schon jetzt wird allgemein von zwei Arten Pennsylvaniadeutsch gesprochen: "Non-plain Pennsylvania German" (das der Lutheraner und Reformierten) und "Plain Pennsylvania German" (das der Amischen und strenggläubigen Mennoniten) (vgl. Louden 1993, 169).

Im "Non-plain Pennsylvania German" haben sich die linguistischen Strukturen seit 1815 kaum verändert. Bei Lutheranern und Reformierten existiert kein Erwartungsdruck der Gesprächspartner, ausnahmslos im Dialekt miteinander kommunizieren zu müssen. Das bedeutet: fehlt ein dialektales Wort, wird einfach die Varietät gewechelt und das Gespräch auf Englisch weiter geführt. Dies führt zur paradoxen Situation, dass das Pennsylvaniadeutsche hier einerseits strukturell geschützt, insgesamt aber in seinem Gebrauch gefährdet ist.

Das "Plain Pennsylvania German" ist dagegen gekennzeichnet durch starke Anglisierungstendenzen in der Phonologie, der Lexik, aber auch der Syntax. Grund hierfür ist der Erwartungsdruck der Gesprächspartner, jede Alltagssituation im Dialekt meistern zu müssen. Ein Sprachwechsel (Code Shift) verbietet sich, und so gelangen englische Elemente und Strukturen zunehmend in diese Form des Pennsylvaniadeutschen. Das Nachwachsen weiterer Sprechergenerationen ist bei Amischen und Mennoniten gesichert. Wichtig ist ferner die Tatsache, dass Amische wie auch Mennoniten alter

Ordnung keine homogene soziale Gruppe darstellen. Die Geschichte der Anabaptisten ist seit der Trennung der Amischen von den Mennoniten 1693 gekennzeichnet von Abspaltungen immer neuer Untergruppierungen. Für das Pennsylvaniadeutsche ist dies ein Glück. Denn auch wenn eine Gemeinde den Dialekt nicht mehr länger als substanziell für das Leben in der Gemeinschaft ansehen sollte, werden mehrere hundert andere Gemeinden dies mit Sicherheit anders sehen.

Im Jahr 2003 gründete sich in Deutschland mit dem "Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Arbeitskreis e.V." ein Verein mit dem Ziel, ein internationales Netzwerk aufzubauen, um die Kontakte zwischen den Nachfahren der pfälzischen Auswanderer in Pennsylvania und den Nachfahren der damals in der Pfalz Verbliebenen wieder zu intensivieren. Der "DPAK" will einerseits Anlauftstelle sein für pennsylvaniadeutsche Institutionen, Initiativen und Personen, die Kontakt in die alte Welt suchen. Auf der anderen Seite führt der Arbeitskreis selbst Projekte durch. So erschien im Jahr 2006 in Deutschland die Anthologie *Mit Pennsylvanisch-Deitsch darich's Yaahr*, um auf die Ähnlichkeit von Sprache und Gebräuchen der Pennsylvaniadeutschen mit dem Pfälzischen aufmerksam zu machen. Für das Jahr 2010 plant der DPAK erstmals die Koordination eines fünfmonatigen Kultur- und Sprachfestivals in Pennsylvania unter dem Titel "En Friehyaahr fer die Mudderschprooch." Die Idee, alle zwischen Februar und Juni stattfindenden Veranstaltungen zum Pennsylvaniadeutschen unter dieses gemeinsame Motto zu stellen und "zu vermarkten," stammt aus dem Elsass. Der DPAK hofft, dass sich das Projekt in Pennsylvania ähnlich erfolgreich entwickelt. Langfristig angelegt ist die Lobbyarbeit des Arbeitskreises im nördlichen Lancaster County. Die Mitglieder sprechen vor Ort mit Vereinen, Medien und der Verwaltung des Landkreises, um die Verantwortlichen davon zu überzeugen, einen "Historic Pennsylvania German District" in der Gegend um Ephrata einzurichten. Die Idee stößt auf Interesse, nicht zuletzt auch deshalb, weil ein solcher historischer Bezirk sich gut durch das pennsylvanische Tourismusmarketing für die Vermarktung des "Keystone State" nutzen ließe.

Schlussbemerkung

Insgesamt kann man sagen, dass die Perspektiven für das Pennsylvaniadeutsche nicht so schlecht sind, wie oft geschrieben wird. Es spricht jedenfalls einiges dafür, dass auch im Jahr 2100 noch manch ein Amerikaner nach einem alten Gedicht sagen kann: "Der Uncle Sam finnt uns gedrei, mir duhne unser Flicht."

Deutsch-Pennsylvanischer Arbeitskreis e.V.
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Michael R. DeHaven

Pennsylvania German in Lyndon, Kansas: Variation, Change, and Decline

Community Background

In 2001, ten families from an Amish-Mennonite—or "Beachy Amish"—community in Kentucky moved to Lyndon, Kansas, and established a new community, which also created a new Pennsylvania German (hereafter: PG) speech island in Kansas. During the few years since it was founded, the community has continued to grow steadily, drawing in families from other parts of the country. This mixture of people from different areas has created an environment where variants of PG are brought in close contact with one another, but also brings in members who do not speak PG. This has led to a shift in how some members speak PG, with several informants reporting changes in word choice since joining the community. Along with clear signs of change, and despite the community's growth and an influx of new PG speakers, there are signs of decline in the language. Although both internal and external factors are at work, internal influences appear to have the greatest impact on this decline. Many informants spoke of increasingly less usage with each successive generation and also reported increasingly fewer opportunities to use the language in the community.

Methodology

Informants

In the summer of 2007, dialect interviews were conducted in Lyndon to collect and analyze samples of spoken PG. By the time the interviews were taken, the community had grown to twenty-five families. Only about half of the members spoke PG and their degree of ability varied widely. Most members were raised in Amish-Mennonite communities, but several were originally from Old Order Amish communities. A total of five interviews—two group interviews and three individual interviews—were conducted involving

seventeen informants. Of these, eight were over the age of eighteen and the remaining nine were eighteen and under. The youngest informant was seven years old while the oldest interviewed was fifty-nine. Though seventeen may seem a small number—about fifteen percent of the total population—since only about half the community speaks PG, these seventeen informants represent approximately twenty-five percent of the total speaking population.

Tools used

Interviews were conducted using a variety of tools to elicit a wide range of spoken responses from the informants. The first tool used was a dialect questionnaire that was developed by researchers at the University of Kansas. The questionnaire consists of twenty-six items, each being a single word; a set of related words, such as the numbers from one to ten or the days of the week; or simple sentences. The second tool used was an English translation of the Wenker sentences that had been translated by researchers at the University of Kansas. Other tools used were a set of pictures taken from a picture dictionary showing people engaged in various activities and a set of pictures taken from several coloring books made by a conservative Mennonite community in Mexico, which show farm scenes and pictures of everyday life in such a community. Use of these pictures allowed for unscripted language used within a specific context that could be compared to the responses of other informants. Finally, several informants volunteered samples of free speech, including humorous anecdotes, descriptions of events in the informant's life, comparison of life in Kansas to life in another state, songs, rhymes, and tongue twisters. This allowed for the greatest amount of freedom in language use, as the context was not constrained. The lack of a specific context made translation and comparison difficult, but these samples provided many useful and interesting examples of language use.

Conducting the interviews

Although the questionnaires were intended for individual interviews, I found they worked well for group interviews as well. During the group interviews, all informants took turns responding to successive items on the questionnaires. If the other informants agreed on the response, the group continued to the next item. If another informant had an alternative response, however, that response was recorded as well and all variations were annotated in the transcripts. I felt group interviews were significant as they provided an opportunity for spontaneous interaction between informants. Often, information was brought out that would not normally be provided through the questionnaires during an individual interview, such as regional variations

used by members of the same family or language changes that have occurred since the family moved to Lyndon.

During all interviews, informants were given a copy of each questionnaire, I would read each item to them in English, the informants provided an oral translation or approximation of the item in PG, and their responses were recorded on digital tape for later analysis. Informants were first asked to give responses from the dialect questionnaire and then from the Wenker sentences. After the informants completed both questionnaires, they were given the sets of pictures and asked to describe what they saw and were encouraged to give their own thoughts about the pictures. The coloring book pictures were especially useful for eliciting responses from the younger informants, though the adults provided many interesting observations as well.

Phonology

Phonological features of PG in this community tended to agree with those features noted in other studies. For example, Mark Louden and Robert Page, in discussing the phonology of a present-day Old Order Amish community in Lancaster County, observe: "/r/ and /l/ have the same phonetic realizations as in American English" (p. 1389). As examples, they provide the PG / AE pairs *recht* [ɪɛçt] / *wrecked* [ɪɛkt] and *Heisli* [haisli] / *nicely* [naisli] (p. 1389). These realizations were observed among all informants in Lyndon as well with no notable exceptions. Louden and Page also report that final devoicing is preserved in this same Lancaster community, for example: *Bilder* [bɪldɐ] and *Bild* [bɪlt] (p. 1389). This same phenomenon also occurs consistently among the Lyndon informants.

An interesting phenomenon noted in Lyndon was variation between /w/ and /v/ in the realization of certain words. For example, some informants realized the PG word for "water" as [wasɐ], whereas other informants realized this same word as [vasɐ]. Similar variation was noted in the PG for "when/if" with most informants preferring [wɛn] while some realized it as [vɛn]. This phenomenon was not limited to words with these phonemes in initial position. The PG word for "sister" was realized either as [ʃwɛstɐ] or [ʃvɛstɐ]. Most informants realized the simple past of "to be" as [waɪ], with one informant switching between [waɪ] and [vaɪ]. Although each informant showed preference for one or the other realization in each of these examples, none were consistent in using only one of the two.

Another interesting phenomenon observed in this community was apocope in the first person singular pronoun in certain linguistic environments. All informants but one realized this pronoun as [ɪç], with the one exception consistently realizing it as [ɪk]. Whenever this pronoun appeared before /h/,

however, it was consistently realized as [ɪ]. For example, in responding to the last phrase of Wenker sentence eight (I believe I have walked them off), five of five informants responded with [ɪç glap ɪ hap sɪ apglɔfə]. Informants were also consistent in realizing the pronoun in this manner in the phrase "I have a headache" (item six on the dialect questionnaire): [ɪ hap kɔp veɪ]. Informants were less consistent when the pronoun appeared prior to /s/. In the first part of Wenker sentence eleven, for example, only three of five informants realized "I am going to hit you" as: [ɪ sɛl di ʃla]. Two informants realized "If I just" as [wɛn ɪ juʃ], showing the same phenomenon before /j/. Only one of the two was consistent in doing this, however. More data and investigation are needed to better understand this phenomenon, but it is clear from the present data that it occurs consistently prior to /h/, possibly because of the similarities in articulation between it and /ç/.

Grammar

Verbs and Tenses

Table 1 shows the present tense conjugation observed for the verbs "to be" and "to have." Often, the final [-t] of the second person, both singular and plural, was dropped, resulting in [bɪʃ], [sɪn], [haʃ], and [hɛn], but this was not consistent among informants. Though these two verbs are the only ones for which I have complete conjugations, the conjugation for regular verbs can be approximated from forms present in my corpus and is given in Table 2. For the past tense, the only preterit observed was for the verb [saɪ] "to be": [waɪ] (sing.) and [waɪə] (plural). All other uses of the past tense were formed in the perfect using [saɪ] and [habə] as auxiliaries.

Though the present tense was used frequently, a progressive construction was used far more often to indicate current action. This phenomenon is consistent with usage observed by Janet Fuller, who reports use of a dative preposition "am" plus infinitive. This construction differs from the American English progressive ("to be" plus a participle), which, according to Fuller, shows the German character of the PG progressive (Fuller 1996, 503). In Lyndon, the preposition used was either [an(ə)] or simply—and most often—[n]:

	"to be" [saɪ]		"to have" [habə]	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1st Person	[bɪn]	[sɪn]	[hap]	[hɛn]
2nd Person	[bɪʃt]	[sɪnt]	[haʃt]	[hɛnt]
3rd Person	[ɪs]	[sɪn]	[hat]	[hɛn]

Table 1: present tense conjugation of "to be" and "to have."

	singular	plural
1st Person	-	[-ə]
2nd Person	[-ʃt]	[-ət]
3rd Person	[-t]	[-ə]

Table 2: Regular verb conjugation.

(1) [ɛʁ ɪs seɪ hɛnt n vɛʃə] "He is washing his hands."
[vo bɪʃ du n geɪə] "Where are you going?"
[də hunt ɪs də mæn anə watʃə] "The dog is watching the man."

Cases

As may be expected, there was no evidence for a genitive case in Lyndon. Phrases designed to elicit genitive responses were realized using a particular construct that follows the pattern *owner + possessive pronoun + item possessed.* The following examples illustrate this construct:

(2) [sɛl waɪ maɪ nɔkba seɪ ʃaɪʁ] "That was my neighbor's barn."
[dɪ saɪ ɪɹə ʃwanz] "the pigs' tails"
[dɪ fɪa ɪɹ blats] "the woman's place"

This differs slightly from the typical construct that is occurring with increasing frequency in spoken Standard German in that it shows no dative case markings prior to the noun indicating the owner.

In all, in fact, of the corpus, no dative case markings were observed whatsoever. Silke Van Ness reports that PG speakers in Pennsylvania have lost dative case markings, while older speakers in Ohio, at the time of her study, still marked for the dative (Van Ness 1996, 12). Fuller, in one of her earlier studies, reports a trend toward convergence of the dative and accusative cases (Fuller 1996, 503), and in a later study published in 1999 observes: "Plain [PG] . . . has undergone the loss of dative case markings in all contexts" (Fuller 1999, 41). The data from Lyndon would seem to agree with this last observation. This is most clearly seen in the lack of differentiation in pronouns in different cases:

(3) [fʌ mɪç] "for me"
[gɛt mɪç də bux] "get me the book"
[sak daɪ ʃwɛʃtʁ] "tell your sister"
[fʌ daɪ mæm] "for your mother"

This shows there was no distinction made between pronouns as direct or indirect objects or as objects of prepositions.

The same phenomenon is seen in articles, as shown in the following examples:

(4)	[ɛʁ ɪz naɪ ɪn dɪ ʃtat n geɪə]	"he is going into town
	[ɛʁ vont ɪn dɪ ʃtat]	"he lives in town"
	[ɛʁ ɪz naɪ ɪnz kalt vasʁ gəfalə]	"he fell in(to) the cold water"
	[də anɪɪ waɪə ʃʊn ɪnz bɛt]	"the others were already in bed"

The evidence seems to point, then, to a convergence of the accusative and dative cases into a single objective case.

Lexicon

A total of 646 PG words were collected from the interviews. Some interesting lexical examples are given here:

(5)	[bɪzkats]	skunk
	[frija]	spring (season)
	[ʃputja]	autumn
	[hʌmlɪ]	calf
	[piplɪn]	chicks
	[hɪŋglhas]	henhouse
	[sʌdə/sadə]	somewhat, rather

Twenty four of the PG words collected were variations of the same word, where different informants gave different PG words for the same meaning. Some of these variations are shown here:

(6)	PG 1	PG 2	English
	[lavə]	[blɛtʁ]	leaves
	[anəʃtas]	[ʃʊnʃ]	otherwise
	[aləma]	[ɪmʁ]	always
	[onɪ]	[mɪtaus]	without

Also collected were 152 English words, fifty-eight for which at least one other informant gave a PG equivalent, showing the coexistence of loan words and native words for the same meaning within the same speech island. All informants interspersed their PG with English, with the younger speakers doing so more often than the older speakers.

Discussion

Variations in word choices and in pronunciation of the same words seem to indicate the coexistence of different variants of PG within the same speech island. Given the relatively recent founding of the community and the fact

that it has seen a steady influx of PG speakers from different regions, it is possible that no specific variant has yet become dominant within the community. If this is this case, then there is likely little or no pressure for PG speakers to adapt their speech when they come into the community.

There is, however, direct evidence of change due to internal influences that may indicate a shift toward one variant, or the creation of a unique one. One family that was interviewed had moved to Lyndon from Tennessee within the previous year. The family reported that, before they moved, all member of the family said [onɪ] for "without," and this was the word used in their previous community. Shortly after moving to Lyndon, the children began to use the word [mɪtaus] instead, while the parents continue to use the word [onɪ]. According to the children of this family, they learned it from other PG speaking children in the school, and [mɪtaus] does appear to be the dominant word in the community.

The clear English influence in the word [mɪtaus] is indicative of another trend within this community: the increasing use of English words or English-influenced words. This may show a slow process of convergence with or a shift toward English. As mentioned earlier, all informants interspersed their PG with English loan words. Most of these words are short conjunctions or particles and the informants would use them regularly even though in many cases the speakers knew—and sometimes would also use, even in the same discourse—the PG equivalents of these words. The most commonly used English words were "about," "really/real," "but" and "anyhow." An interesting combination of English and PG that was observed is in certain set phrases. These expressions are typically two words, with one being an English word and the other a PG word to form the whole phrase. Examples include: "instead fon" (instead of), "any epas" (any one), and "sure genug" (sure enough).

In general, the younger generation tends to use more English than their parents and most adults admitted to knowing less PG than their parents. An example that occurred in one family was how different family members translated the word "sleet." The parents both used the PG word [kɪslɪ] whereas all of their children simply used "sleet."

The main motivations for this increasing shift to English seem to be a lack of opportunity to use PG within the community, and attitudes about the language as it relates to their identity. As mentioned earlier, only about half the community speaks PG, and it has seen an increase in the number of members who do not speak PG. This community is also fairly isolated from other PG speaking communities, the nearest being about a two hour drive away. Because of the low percentage of speakers and the community's relative isolation, the same family from Tennessee mentioned before also reports

difficulty in maintaining their knowledge of PG due to fewer opportunities to use it in Lyndon, compared to their previous community.

The general attitude of the community toward PG seems to be consistent with the attitudes noted by Fuller in other Amish-Mennonite communities. In one study, she mentions the social setting of the language as a factor in Matrix Language turnover. She mentions that, for sectarian speakers, as long as a strong identification of PG with their way of life remains, there will not be a complete shift toward English (Fuller 1996, 511). In another study, where she studies this identification in more detail within a Beachy Mennonite community, she notes that the close identification of PG with plainness has been lost and further says, "These speakers acknowledge that it is possible to be Plain and not speak Dutch" (Fuller 2005, 805). My observations of the Lyndon community concur with hers. Unlike the Old Order Amish, the Lyndon Amish-Mennonite community does not try to isolate itself from the larger society, but seeks to interact with it and sees itself as an outreach to the surrounding community. This attitude was made obvious when, after being asked why they moved to Kansas, one of the ministers responded, "To spread the light of the Gospel." Given this view of their community, the use of PG can actually be seen as a barrier to their goals. Community members are in fact careful not to use PG in the presence of people they know do not speak it. That the ability to speak PG is no longer a necessary part of their identity is clear from several factors: church services and official activities are conducted exclusively in English, instruction in the community's private school is conducted solely in English, and those members who do not speak PG feel no compulsion to learn it. An extension of this attitude can be seen in the fact that, in families where only one parent speaks PG, the children do not learn it.

Conclusion

The Lyndon Amish-Mennonite community presents an interesting linguistic situation, where the interaction of PG variants in close contact with each other, changes due to this contact, and overall decline of PG can be seen in one place. Despite several influences that are helping maintain PG usage in the community, such as an occasional influx of PG speakers from other areas, including some who recently came from Old Order communities, and the fact that even young couples are using PG in their homes, the dominant trend is toward decline, especially since PG is no longer seen as a necessary part of their socio-religious identity. How long it will take for PG to completely disappear from this community is uncertain. The youngest informant was seven years old and spoke PG quite well for her age. In families where both parents

speak PG, this is not the exception, but the rule. As long as the community and the Amish-Mennonite way of life remains intact, this fact alone should guarantee that PG will continue to survive for at least a couple more generations and perhaps longer.

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Solving the Preacher's Dilemma: Communication Strategies in Old Order Amish Sermons

In Old Order Amish (OOA) communities, the worship service plays a crucial role for social interaction and group identity. For every Amish, worship Sunday is a "day of anticipation."[1] Furthermore, the worship service is the main occasion where all three languages in the repertoire of OOA play a role in interaction: American English (AE), Pennsylvania German (PG), and Amish High German (AHG). Despite the important role of the worship service and its interesting linguistic structure, the language use in the worship service of OOA has not been examined comprehensively. Only a small number of studies within the ethnographic approach describe language use in OOA worship services in detail.[2]

As a ceremonial event, the worship service is more rule-governed than many other speech situations.[3] Thus, it is an interesting setting for analyzing the connection between language use and its social rules (sociolinguistic norms). The analysis of OOA worship services during my dissertation project on Pennsylvania German speakers in Kansas shows that worship services are linguistically more complex than prior studies imply.[4] The very rules that restrict language choice in the worship service cause a communicative problem—the "preacher's dilemma": The sociolinguistic norm prescribes avoidance of American English in the worship service, but clashes with the limited AHG competence of Amish. The scriptures used in the worship services are in AHG and the preachers need to translate unknown words from AHG into AE to ensure that the congregation understands the sermon. I will show that preachers solve this dilemma through flexible use of communication strategies, i.e., self-translations and metalinguistic remarks, thus limiting the use of AE to the necessary minimum while producing a comprehensive and cohesive sermon.

Data for speech behavior in the sermons were collected during my dissertation project by participant observation in twenty worship services in

two Old Order Amish districts in Anderson County, Kansas. In Anderson County, two OOA districts are adjacent, consisting of 39 families at the time of the study. I attended worship services in both districts, taking notes during the sermons and more notes were written down immediately after the worship service. Taping the sermons would have been too disruptive and was not attempted. This method proved to be sufficient to describe communicative strategies and give a general description of language alternation in sermons. Because of the method of documentation, the data from sermons have limitations and do not allow quantitative analyses of code switching or analyzing phonetic details.

The data from sermons in the Anderson County OOA community contribute to filling the gap in knowledge about language use in ceremonial events and provide information on how speakers manage communicative problems in a highly regulated setting. Furthermore, analyzing multilingual communication strategies is a first step to analyze code switching within domains of language use in OOA communities as most prior studies focus on the use of different languages in different domains.[5]

Because language use in OOA sermons is determined by sociolinguistic norms, I will start with a description of the religious and cultural context that determines these norms. The second part will discuss the sociolinguistic norm for OOA worship services and the difficulties to define it. The language use in OOA worship services is determined by the linguistic structure of the languages involved which will be described in the third part. Part four introduces the concept of communication strategies and provides the analysis of their usage in OOA worship services.

Religious and Cultural Context of Sermons

Amish theology is focused on living the faith in the community. Thus, the worship service is the central event in Amish life.[6] Worship services take place every other Sunday in homes of congregation members. In Anderson County, every member of the congregation hosts a worship service twice a year and worship Sundays alternate between the two neighboring districts. The districts have two preachers each and share the bishop and the deacon. The bishop, with the preachers and deacons, administers the worship services in both districts.

The worship Sunday does not only fulfill a religious function. It is connected to several elements of community formation. Very important for the group identity is the occasional council after worship service in which matters of congregational discipline are discussed. Only baptized congregation members attend while all non-baptized have to leave the room.[7] Furthermore, gathering on worship Sundays creates many opportunities to converse with

other congregation members. All congregation members have lunch together and the young Amish meet again in the evening for singing. The rest of the day consists of conversations among the adults while the children play together.

The importance of worship Sunday is reflected in the strict social norms and numerous traditions for this day. Except the sick and small babies, everyone attends worship service.[8] All attendees at the worship service comply with a dress code, wearing plain clothes, for example without buttons or zippers on jacket and coat. The OOA have a strong emphasis on the dress code, a common marker of group membership, next to language choice.[9] Another marker of group membership for OOA is the use of horse and buggy for work and private transportation. Different from most OOA, the Anderson County, OOA use tractors for work and some errands, but never on worship Sundays: only horse and buggy are used to travel to the worship services.

As an in-group event, worship Sundays are dominated by PG-use. American English is only used if visitors who do not speak PG are present, but only outside of the worship service. The language use in the worship service is determined by the individual speech events. The OOA worship service in Anderson County consists of the following eleven speech events.[10]

1. Opening
2. Hymn singing
3. *Abrath* (council)
4. First sermon (in PG "klenne Deel," in English "the small part")
5. Prayer
6. Scripture reading
7. Main sermon (in PG "schwere Deel," in English "the heavy/difficult part")
8. *Zeignis* (testimony)
9. Prayer & Benediction
10. Announcements
11. Hymn singing

The status of the worship service as a religious event results in the usage of formulaic speech. The opening, the prayers, and the announcements concerning the next place of worship at the end of the service are formulas in AHG used in many Amish districts.[11] These formulas are recited in a monotonous intonation with higher speed and pitch than the rest of the sermon. Hostetler describes the register for the prayer as "chant style" and a similar intonation-pattern for the sermons.[12]

The scripture reading is the liturgical center of the worship service because it provides the textual base for the sermons. For Amish, the delivery of the

scripture has priority over its interpretation and the preacher's interpretation of the scriptures is not regarded as dogmatic but rather as one proposition on how the scriptures could be applied to daily life.[13]

The sermons in the worship services are presented through free speech in PG with scripture quotes in AHG. The sermons are prepared in two ways: First, the preachers read and analyze the scriptures at home and, second, discuss the major points of the sermons at the beginning of the worship service in a council, the *Abrath*. The *Abrath* provides the opportunity to prepare the sermon in a discussion with the all preachers and to determine who will give the sermon at this day.

Besides the sermons, two short speech events contain PG: the so-called *Zeignis* (in English: testimony) after the main sermon, and the announcements before the last hymn singing. The *Zeignis* consists of short comments on the sermon by the preachers, usually one to five minutes long. The *Zeignis* is the direct result of the theological concept in Anabaptist communities that preachers do not have an authoritative interpretation of the scriptures. Congregation members have to confirm that the presented interpretation of the scriptures is acceptable and did not omit important points.[14]

Sociolinguistic Norms

The strict social norms for the worship service extend to the sociolinguistic norms, i.e., the rules governing language use in the worship service. As informants in Anderson County describe, hymns, scripture readings and sermons can only be conducted in AHG or PG; accommodations for visitors without knowledge of PG and AHG cannot be made. This distinguishes the worship service from the rest of in-group interaction: PG is the common language within OOA communities, but speakers switch to AE when outsiders are present. The rules for using German in worship services are commonly mentioned in studies on OOA, but the sociolinguistic norms for OOA communities have not been empirically described. A general description of sociolinguistic norms is usually derived from observed patterns of language use, mostly within the domain model. In the domain model, the use of one language for one domain is predicted.[15] However, few studies on PG have actually described the domains of PG communities in detail or tested the salience of domains and their assumed sociolinguistic norms in the speech community. The most detailed analyses of language use in OOA communities include a possible domain structure, but focus on the role of the speaker as a factor for the selection of languages in a speech situationx, without investigating the sociolinguistic norm for the whole situation.[16] As the most detailed study in the ethnographic approach, Enninger and Raith describe the roles of speakers as main factors for the distribution of PG and AHG in Amish

worship services. Their results confirm the findings from Anderson County that sociolinguistic norms for worship services exclude the usage of AE.[17]

The absence of systematic data on sociolinguistic norms in OOA worship services does not mean that the existing statements on sociolinguistic norms in OOA communities are not valid. In accordance with the ethnographic approach to language studies, rules of speech behavior can be derived from the observed behavior.[18] For my own study, I also did not use an empirical approach to determine sociolinguistic norms because this was not part of my original research design. I followed a qualitative ethnographic approach of gathering data through participant observation and included individual statements of speakers as well as observations by other scholars in my analysis of sociolinguistic norms. As already mentioned, some informants for my study explained that they cannot use AE in the worship service and would not make any accommodations for visitors. In the worship services observed for my study, AE was not used with two exceptions: one is the occasional reading of letters out loud from other communities that asked for assistance. The other exceptions are occasional quotes in AE and code switching as means of solving communicative problems during the sermons. The latter exception from the general avoidance of AE in worship services is the main focus of this study. This phenomenon poses a double question: does the occasional usage of AE in sermons mean that the sociolinguistic norm allows AE usage? If so, we would have to adjust our description of the sociolinguistic norm and refine interpretations of the significance of AHG and PG in worship service and possibly in OOA communities in general. If the sociolinguistic norm generally does not allow AE usage in worship service, what circumstances justify a violation of the general rule?

Before I address the relationship between language use and sociolinguistic norms in sermons, I have to outline the linguistic repertoire of OOA speakers.

The Linguistic Repertoire of Old Order Amish

Old Order Amish usually grow up with PG as a first language, learn AE as a second language, and use AHG in the worship service. I will describe AE only briefly and will spend more time on PG and AHG because the structure of PG supports the use of multilingual communication strategies and the particular status of AHG is the source of communication problems in the sermons.

American English is the second language of OOA children and they are not fully competent in AE before they are teenagers. The informants from Anderson County report that children are taught some AE by parents and peers before attaining school age, so that children get along in school. In

Anderson County, most children attend public school where all instruction is in AE. Even two families who home-schooled their children used AE as the language of instruction. As teenagers, OOA children have become fully bilingual with AE and PG, with PG being used only with the members of the district and other PG-speaking Anabaptists.[19] The structure of PG has been examined in numerous studies,[20] often with a focus on language change and the possible influence of AE on PG.[21] Most studies conclude that PG undergoes changes within the framework of German syntax and morphology but includes approximately ten to fifteen percent loan words from AE and additionally loan translations.[22] The loan words in PG are not a sign of decline of the PG vocabulary, but rather expand the expressive tools of speakers.[23] Loan words from AE are usually morphologically integrated, e.g., verbs receive inflectional endings and suffixes according to PG morphology rules and nouns are used in compound nouns.[24] These integration processes result in hybrid forms that are partly AE, partly PG, e.g., /carpenterarwett/ for 'carpenter work,' /readykrigge/ for 'getting done,' or /anyebbes/ for 'anything.'[25] The integration of loan words neither reduces PG vocabulary nor changes the basic syntax of PG.[26] Consequently, we cannot talk of convergence between PA and AE but rather of a regular presence of AE elements in PG through borrowing.

Not only borrowing but also code switching introduces AE elements into PG speech. Code switching shares features with borrowing and the two phenomena are difficult to distinguish, especially when only individual words from the second language are used.[27] The use of individual words from a second language has been defined as code switching if words are singular occurrences, not morphologically integrated, or fulfill different functions than loan words.[28] Some AE words used by OOA could be classified as code switching and, therefore, OOA are not only used to AE loan words but also to a certain degree of code switching. But further research is needed to determine whether a distinction between code switching and borrowing can be made, whether the two phenomena fulfill different functions, and whether the speakers perceive the phenomena as different.

Both borrowing and code switching have been described as gradual phenomena: AE loans can be found in different degrees of integration into PG, with less and less awareness by speakers that the words were borrowed from AE.[29] Code switching has been described as borrowing with a low degree of integration and low frequency of occurrence.[30] Because of borrowing and code switching, sociolinguistic norms that prescribe PG usage have to be open to a certain amount of AE words.

The third language in the repertoire of OOA is AHG, the spoken version of Standard German found mainly in the scriptures, some liturgical texts and

a few non-religious writings used by OOA. Frey describes AHG as similar to spoken German in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though distinguished by "some peculiarities in pronunciation that are typically Amish."[31] Amish High German includes some archaic vocabulary because OOA use the Luther translation.[32] The AHG competence of OOA is usually limited to reproductive use, i.e., reading written texts or quoting them from memory. Amish do not usually write or converse in AHG.[33] The children of Anderson County OOA become acquainted with AHG in a bi-weekly Bible School and a week-long summer school once a year. Otherwise, AHG is only encountered in private Bible studies and during worship services. As a consequence, the Anderson County OOA have limited competence in AHG and often consult dictionaries or English translations of scriptures in order to understand texts written in German. The meaning or pronunciation of AHG words cause problems, as I will show in the analysis of sermons.

Communication Strategies

For the Anderson County Amish, the main communicative problem in the sermons is the "preacher's dilemma" but other problems can result from gaps in the communicative competence of OOA. The preachers employ communication strategies to solve these communicative problems. Communication strategies have been defined as "a systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with some difficulty."[34] These difficulties can be gaps in the linguistic system of a non-native speaker resulting in production errors, or problems of discourse organization.[35] In multilingual settings, communication strategies are often connected with code switching.[36] Because OOA are fluent speakers of two languages, PG and AE, they have the choice between two languages to compensate for deficits in the third language. In multilingual settings, the results of communication strategies can look similar to ad hoc products of multilingual speech, e.g, borrowing.[37] Different from ad hoc language, communication strategies are planned behavior, oriented towards the solution of communicative problems that are caused by the restricted control of one language in their repertoire.[38] My analysis of communication strategies in OOA sermons concentrates on two main communication strategies that are used to resolve the preacher's dilemma: metalinguistic remarks and self-translations.

Metalinguistic remarks are employed "whenever the addresser and/or the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code, speech is focused on the CODE."[39] Metalinguistic remarks can occur as implicit or explicit utterances and are often marked by different prosodies and decreases in volume.[40] Metalinguistic remarks can be in the same language as the main language of an utterance but in bilingual communication they are often connected to

code switching.[41] These features are framing-mechanisms, enabling the recognition of metalinguistic remarks by conversation partners. Metalinguistic remarks can be distinguished regarding their object: metacommunication is talking about the relationship between speakers, while metapragmatics refer to the use of language, not its linguistic form or semantics.[42]

The functions of metalinguistic remarks can be symbolic, organizing the discourse, signaling how utterances should be interpreted (e.g., as ironic), and repair of communicative problems.[43] The repair function makes metalinguistic remarks suitable for the resolution of the "preacher's dilemma." The preachers in the Anderson County OOA-districts employ metalinguistic comments on their language use mainly as a strategy mainly to address problems connected to the understanding of words in AHG, but also regarding problems with the pronunciation of AHG and the recollection of quotes.

When addressing problems in understanding AHG preachers refer to the AE meaning of a word.

1 *in englisch ded ma saache seared with hot iron*
[in English one would say seared with hot iron]

This type of metalinguistic remark provides the majority of tokens in the data from Anderson County. These types of remarks are metapragmatic, i.e., they refer to the use of translations and in this way to the organization of the speech event.

Some metalinguistic comments express the insecurity regarding the correctness of a provided translation:

2 *ich denk des heest wie lost wie don't care*
[I think it means like lost or don't care]

The use of /ich denk/ (AE: I think) and the presentation of two different translations shows that the speaker is not sure of his translation and wants the listeners to be aware of the limited validity of his translation. Like the first example, this example has an implicit metapragmatic function by referring to the use of translations. Explicit references to translations are rare in Anderson County sermons but occur occasionally:

3 *mir wolle denke was se määne (.) ich kann's ned alles explaine (.) ich kann de dictionary nemme un's versuuche*
[we want to think about what they mean (.) I cannot explain it all (.) I can take the dictionary and try it]

In this example, the preacher addresses the congregation. Integrating the audience has been described as increasing the effectiveness of communication strategies.[44] Furthermore, the preacher in example 3 states his difficulties in

finding the correct meaning for an AHG word, similar to the preacher in the next example:

4 *wenn ich's letz hab gucken's nooch*
[if I got it wrong, look it up]

This metalinguistic remark on the preacher's possibly erroneous interpretation of an AHG scripture is consistent with the role of preachers in OOA communities. They are not expected to deliver a dogmatic interpretation of scriptures.

Besides issues with translating or understanding AHG scripture sequences, metalinguistic remarks sometimes refer to problems with the pronunciation of AHG words:

5 *Bosheit—ich wees ned ob ich des pronouncä duh recht—uf englisch is, meen ich, malice*
[Malice—I do not know whether I pronounce it the right way—in English (it) is, I think, malice]

The example contains two metalinguistic remarks that refer to different problems: after referring to his lack of competence in the pronunciation of AHG, the preacher addresses the problem of finding the correct meaning of the word (/uf englisch is me:n ich malice/). The AHG word /Bosheit/ triggered at least two other metalinguistic remarks by the same preacher, both referring to the difficulties in translating the word properly. The other aspect mentioned, i.e., difficulties with the pronunciation, are not addressed very often. This is partly due a limited amount of such problems. Amish High German has leveled the major differences between the phonology of written German and PG.

Besides issues with the translation and the pronunciation of AHG words, metalinguistic comments in the sermons address problems with recalling quotes:

6 *wenn ich die worte noch recht krigge kann*
[if I still can get the correct words]

This problem arises because the preachers often recite long quotes from memory and attempt to reproduce them as literally as possible. This aim of verbatim reproduction is connected to Amish theology which defines the main function of preachers as reproducing the scriptures rather than delivering a dogmatic interpretation.[45] The importance of verbatim quotes is demonstrated by the fact that the preachers interrupt and try to remember the quote if recalling the exact quote causes issues. Occasionally, they start over several times in attempts to reproduce the exact words of the scriptures.

Besides using metalinguistic remarks, preachers try to solve the Preacher's Dilemma with self-translations. Self-translations are translations of lexical items or longer phrases by the same speaker immediately after or in close proximity to the utterance of the original item. The self-translations in Anderson County sermons have repair functions because they fill gaps in the AHG-lexicon of congregation members:

7 *alle Gesetze halten—alle laws halten*
[keeping all laws—keeping all laws]

Self-translations are a form of repetition or reiteration. Gumperz defined reiterations as the verbatim or modified repetition of a message in another code.[46] Self-translations are formally distinguished from other translations by their position in the discourse and the absence of a lexical frame, i.e., they are not introduced by a word or expression that marks the translation as such.[47] As shown in example seven, the translation often follows the problematic word immediately or with only one or two words separating original and translation. However, the preachers also regularly repeat the whole phrase that contains the problematic word and only translate the problematic word:

8 *die Zichtigung gibt uns nicht Freude—die Zichtigung gibt uns nicht joy*
[the castigation does not give us joy]

9 *er war eens fun de Aposchtlen (.) er war eens fun de disciples*
[He was one of the disciples (.) he was one of the disciples]

Some words that were subject to self-translations in sermons in Anderson County are listed below:

AHG items in Self-translations

AHG original	Self-translation in AE
verschreckt	troubled
Unparteilichkeit	impartiality
Reinigung	purge
Erlesungswerk	plan of salvation
gehorchen	obedient (used with PG /sei/)
gottesfirchtig	god fearing
erneuerten Sinn	renewed mind
vergeblich	in vain
unsträflich	without rebuke

Occasionally, preachers translate complete sentences into AE, also without an introduction of the translation and then continuing in PG right after the self-translation:

10 *Wie sollen wir entkommen wenn wir so eine groose seeligkeit missachten?*
How should we escape if we neglect so great a salvation?

Most self-translations in sermons are translations from AHG into AE, but some translations into PG have been observed. Examples are shown below:

Self-translations into PG, observed in sermons

AHG original	**Self-translation in PG**	**Meaning in AE**
werden [Gott] schauen	zelle sehe	will see [god]
war in Banden	is in kette gwest	was in chains
er verschied	is gschdorwe	he died
zerbreche	verbreche (.) weech mache (.) ma kennt sache *tenderizä*	to break apart (.) to soften (.) one could say to *tenderize*

Conclusion

The analysis of OOA sermons shows that they are linguistically dynamic on the micro-level within strict sociolinguistic norms on the macro-level. The use of the two communication strategies metalinguistic remarks and self-translations successfully manage the "preacher's dilemma" and support the efficient performance of the speech event. The use of AE for the communication strategies is possible because the structure of PG includes more or less integrated AE elements and speakers are used to a certain amount of code switching. Consequently, a sociolinguistic norm that prescribes the use of PG allows a certain amount of AE. Metalinguistic remarks and self-translations allow the usage of the amount of AE necessary for a comprehensible sermon while keeping the use of AE to a minimum. Addressing communication problems in metalinguistic remarks is supported by the theological concept that preachers do not provide a dogmatic interpretation of the scriptures. Moving the speech to the metalinguistic level enables a certain amount of interaction with the audience (controlling the preacher's translations and interpretations), thus increasing the efficiency of the communicative strategy.

My data on OOA sermons in Anderson County allow a first description of communication strategies but are insufficient for a detailed analysis of micro-level strategies like code switching. More data are needed, especially audio-taped data, to investigate code switching and communication

strategies. Neither phenomena have been investigated for PG but such analyses promise interesting insights into the language choice within speech situations and the managing of interaction in multilingual settings. Future studies should be expanded to more communication strategies and more situations. A better understanding of how OOA perceive sociolinguistic norms in their speech communities would be beneficial for future studies on PG use and the symbolic function of PG. Understanding communication strategies and their sociolinguistic factors in OOA communities use offers a broad field for future research with possible implications for many other multilingual speech communities.

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Notes

[1] John Andrew Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 4th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 209–10. Thank you very much to Eileen Beazley and Summer Eglinski for their help with preparing the manuscript for this article.

[2] E.g., Werner Enninger and Joachim Raith, *An Ethnography-of-Communication Approach to Ceremonial Situations* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982).

[3] Ibid., 5.

[4] Jörg Meindl, "Language Use in an Old Order Amish Community in Kansas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2009). Web, Nov. 28, 2009. <http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/bitstream/1808/5444/1/Meindl_ku_0099D_10183_DATA_1.pdf>)

[5] For domains see, e.g., Marion Lois Huffines, "Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and Shift," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25 (1980): 46–47; however, for social roles as factor of language choice see for example Enninger and Raith, *Etnography-of-Communication.*

[6] Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 210.

[7] Ibid., 218.

[8] Ibid., 220.

[9] Muriel Saville-Troike, *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 665.

[10] Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 213.

[11] Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography-of-Communication,* 54, 82–83.

[12] Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 215–18.

[13] Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography-of-Communication*, 61.

[14] Ibid., 74.

[15] Joshua A. Fishman, "Domains and the Relationship between Micro- and Macrosociolinguistics," in *Directions in Sociolinguistics,* ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 450.

[16] E.g., Werner Enninger and Karl Heinz Wandt, "Pennsylvania German in the Context of an Old Order Amish Settlement: The Structural Instability of a Functionally Stable Variety," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 17 (1982): 123–43.

[17] Joachim Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp, Sprachkontakt, Sprachgebrauch* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1982), 188.

[18] Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication*, 11.

[19] For the details of language choice in Anderson County see Meindl, "Language Use," 81–118.

[20] E.g., Albert F. Buffington and Preston A. Barba, *A Pennsylvania German Grammar* (Allentown: Schlechter, 1965); John William Frey, *A Simple Grammar of Pennsylvania German* (Lancaster: Brookshire, 1981); Earl C. Haag, *A Pennsylvania German Reader and Grammar* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982).; Barbara Meister Ferré, *Stability and Change in the Pennsylvania German Dialect of an Old Order Amish Community in Lancaster County* (Stuttgart: F. C. W. Vogel, 1994); Carroll E. Reed and Lester W. Seifert, "A Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks," *Modern Language Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (1948): 448–66.

[21] E.g., Janet M. Fuller, "The Role of English in Pennsylvania German Development: Best Supporting Actress?" *American Speech* 74, no. 1 (1999): 38–55; Janet M. Fuller, "Borrowing Trouble: Convergence in Pennsylvania German;" in *Studies in Contact Linguistics. Essays in Honor of Glenn G. Gilbert*, ed. Linda L. Thornburg, Janet Fuller and Glenn G. Gilbert (New York; Berlin; Bern; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 189–204; Mark L. Louden, "Synthesis in Pennsylvania German Language and Culture," in *Die deutsche Präsenz in den USA/The German Presence in the U.S.A* (Berlin, Germany: Lit, 2008).

[22] For loan words most recently Louden, "Synthesis," 688–89; cf. Claudia Blank, "Der Einfluss des Amerikanischen Englisch auf das Lexikon des Pennsylvania German der Old Order Amish in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania" (Edition Dissertation, Universität Regensburg, 1994); Helga Seel, *Lexikologische Studien zum Pennsylvaniadeutschen: Wortbildung des Pennsylvaniadeutschen : Sprachkontakterscheinungen im Wortschatz des Pennsylvaniadeutschen* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1988).; for loan translations see Kopp, "Evidence of Convergence."

[23] Louden, "Synthesis," 690.

[24] Louden, "Synthesis," 690–92.

[25] Meindl, 62.

[26] Louden, "Synthesis," 690, 695.

[27] Carol Myers-Scotton, *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Code-Switching* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 227–28.

[28] For code switching defined by the degree of integration see Shana Poplack, "Syntactic Structure and Soial Function of Codeswitching," in *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior*, ed. R. P. Duran (Norwood: ABLEX, 1981); for code switching defined by the frequency of the occurrence of lexical items see Carol Myers-Scotton, "Comparing Codeswitching and Borrowing," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 13, 1–2 (1992): 19–39. For code switching defined by its function see Carol M. Eastman, *Codeswitching* (Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1992), 4.

[29] For attempts to categorize different degrees of integration see Kopp, "Evidence of Convergence," 16–18; Fuller, Role of English," 43–44; Mark L. Louden, "Linguistic Structure and Sociolinguistic Identity in Pennsylvania German Society," in *Languages and Lives: Essays in Honor of Werner Enninger*, ed. James R. Dow and Michèle Wolff (New York; Berne; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 82–84.

[30] Eastman, Codeswitching, 16.

[31] John William Frey, "Amish Triple Talk," *American Speech* 20 (1945): 86.

[32] Werner Enninger, "Structural Aspects of Amish High German," in *Studies on the Languages and the Verbal Behavior of the Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. Werner Enninger (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986), 67; Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography-of-Communication*, 80.

[33] Frey, "Amish Triple Talk," 85; Werner Enninger and Karl Heinz Wandt, "Social Roles and Language Choice in an Old Order Amish Community," *Sociologia Internationalis* 17

(1979), 50; Marion Lois Huffines, "Pennsylvania German: Convergence and Change as Strategies of Discourse," in *First Language Attrition*, ed. Herbert Seliger and Robert Vago (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 48; Raith mentions the use of AHG for diaries or letters (*Sprachgemeinschaftstyp*, 188).

[34] S. Pit. Corder, "Strategies of Communication," in *Strategies in Interlanguage Communication*, ed. Claus Færch and Gabriele Kasper (London/New York: Longman, 1983),16.

[35] Elaine Tarone, "Some Thoughts on the Notion of 'Communication Strategy,'" in *Strategies in Interlanguage Communication*, ed. Claus Færch and Gabriele Kasper (London/New York: Longman, 1983), 64–65; Corder, "Strategies," 15.

[36] For an overview on Communication Strategies based on code switching see Peter Auer, "The Pragmatics of Code-Switching: A Sequential Approach." In *One Speaker, Two Languages : Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*, edited by Lesley Milroy and Pieter Muysken (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 120. Also Magdolna Kovács, "Code-Switching and Language Shift in Australian Finnish in Comparison with Australian Hungarian." (Åbo Akademi University Press, Åbo Akademi, 2001), 113–27.

[37] Corder, "Strategies," 16.

[38] Claus Færch and Gabriele Kasper, "Plans and Strategies in Foreign Language Communication." In *Strategies in Interlanguage Communication*, edited by Claus Faerch and Gabriele Kasper (London/New York: Longman, 1983), 31–33.

[39] Roman Jakobson, "Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics " In *Style in Language*, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), 356; capitalization in the original.

[40] John Arthur Lucy, "Reflexive Language and the Human Disciplines." In *Reflexive Language. Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*, edited by John Arthur Lucy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993),15; Gabriele Kasper, "Participant Orientations in German Conversation-for-Learning." *The Modern Language Journal* 88, no. 5 (2004): 559.

[41] Yael Maschler, " Metalanguaging and Discourse Markers in Bilingual Conversation." *Language in Society* 23, 3 (1994): 325.

[42] Ibid., 326; Lucy, "Reflexive Language," 17.

[43] Kasper, "Participant Orientations," 563; Lucy, "Reflexive Language," 15; Maschler, "Metalanguaging," 328–29.

[44] Gred Watson, "A Model for the Functional Interpretation of Code-Switching in NNS-NS Contact Situations," in *ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism*, ed. James Cohen et al. (Somerville: Cascadilla Press, 2005), 2330.

[45] Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography-of-Communication*, 61.

[46] John J. Gumperz, "Conversational Codeswitching," in *Discourse Strategies*, ed. John J. Gumperz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 78.

[47] Self-translations also show formal features of repairs. Repairs are often marked by hesitations and changes in speed and volume (Kovács, *Code-Switching*, 120). In the sermons, very brief pauses seem to separate the self-translation from the translated item and the volume of the self-translations seems only slightly lower. However, better data is needed to describe volume and speed of self-translations.

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Jennifer L. Trout

The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary Brings Back Memories

The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary is more than a dictionary. It is a window into the past. As one of Professor C. Richard Beam's (professor emeritus of German, Millersville University) co-editors of his dictionary, many people have asked me what it was like to edit a dictionary and what do you do to edit a dictionary? In this article, I would like to explain what impact this dictionary has had on my life.

Many people look at the titles of the eleven volumes of this dictionary and they see the word "dictionary." Yes, this book has been called a dictionary, but it is more than an ordinary dictionary. The work that I have done on this dictionary has caused me to realize and understand more about my Pennsylvania Dutch background.

When I was a student at Millersville University, I majored in German. I chose to study German based on my Pennsylvania Dutch background. In May 2004, I started to assist Professor C. Richard Beam on his dictionary project. While growing up, my grandparents and other relatives spoke the dialect, but I never read it. While working with Professor Beam and reading aloud the dictionary entries, I quickly learned how to read in the dialect. I caught onto the B-B-B (Buffington-Barba-Beam) spelling system rather quickly.

When editing a dictionary, or any other work for that matter, it is necessary to read the entire text word for word. It is very time-consuming, but it must be done. I have read each volume of the dictionary that I edited at least six times and sometimes as many as ten times. Sometimes when someone starts reading a sentence in the dictionary, I can finish it.

What makes this dictionary so special to me? This dictionary opened my eyes to understanding how Pennsylvania Dutch my family is and I credit my grandparents for sharing these things with me and teaching me the dialect. While listening to Professor Beam tell some of his stories as we came across

words, he often reflected on the fact that his grandparents taught him those things and if it had not been for his grandparents, he would not know the dialect. Even though Professor Beam and I are of different generations, I feel exactly the same way. My grandparents taught me everything I know about the dialect.

When I was younger, my grandparents would speak the dialect so no one would understand what was being said, but I quickly picked up on the dialect and my grandparents found out that it was no longer safe to talk about secrets in the dialect because I had figured out what they were saying. Then my grandparents started teaching me words in the dialect. I remember sitting on the porch behind their house and they would randomly teach me words. I would point to things or say words in English and ask them how to say them in the dialect. They taught me how to count to ten. They taught me **Finger, Schtrimp, Hund** and **Katze**. I can see my grandpa sitting next to me laughing as I tried to pronounce the words after he said them. I spent most of my free time with my grandparents. I remember many times when I would sit on a chair in one corner of the living room. My grandparents' friends would come to visit and they usually saw me sitting in the chair with a book in my hands. They would speak in the dialect. They didn't see me making faces behind the book as they were speaking in the dialect. They did not know I understood what they were saying. Sometimes my grandma and grandpa would tell their that I understood Pennsylvania Dutch. They would say things to me and I would respond with simple one- or two-word answers.

These are some of the memories I have of learning the dialect and these memories along with other memories have become very clear to me especially since I helped Professor Beam edit his dictionary. I would sit in Professor Beam's living room and read each entry of the dictionary aloud to him. Sometimes I would comment to him that I remember doing that or hearing that word when I was younger. Sometimes the words made me think of things from my childhood, but I didn't express it in words. I just kept the thoughts to myself. Many of the words in the dictionary could make me think of a story about something I did or learned in my childhood.

As I read over the dictionary entries again, I am reminded of many things that my grandparents taught me.

Kumm esse!—In the summertime, I spent almost every day with my grandma and grandpa. When it was lunch time, they would often say **"Kumm esse!"**

Faasnacht—Every year my grandma would make sure she bought **Faasnachts**. Each year, I still make sure I eat a **Faasnacht**.

Schtrimp—There is something about this word. Whenever I read it or hear it, I think of the way that my grandma used to say it.

Finger—This is one of the first words that I remember learning from my grandma. We were sitting on the porch at her house and I was pointing to things and asking my grandma to tell me the Pennsylvania Dutch word for those things.

Kaes—My grandma or grandpa would often go to the refrigerator and ask me if I wanted cheese. They always asked me in Pennsylvania Dutch. They knew how much I liked to eat cheese.

Meisli—My grandpa always called me a **Meisli** when I was eating cheese. I could rarely eat my cheese without pretzels. To this day, I still eat pretzels with my cheese.

Rotriewe—When my grandma had red beets in the refrigerator, she would often say **Rotriewe** instead of saying it in English.

Wasser—When I was at my grandma and grandpa's house, I often used a small cup with a handle. It was either red, yellow or orange. My grandpa used to ask me what was in it and I responded with **"Wasser."** I never liked drinking **Wasser** anywhere else. In my opinion, they had the best **Wasser.**

Wassermelune—My grandpa grew **Wassermelune** in his garden. I would help him pick the watermelons and cantaloupes out of the garden.

Hund—My grandpa would often refer to his dog as the **Hund.** He told me that his Schnauzer was also my **Hund.** He rarely used the English word.

Katze—There were a few times when I had cats, but I kept them at my grandpa's house in his barn.

Schnitz un Gnepp—My grandma often made **Schnitz un Gnepp** for my relatives. My brother used to eat this, but I never liked it.

rutsche—If I moved around often, my grandma or grandpa would tell me to stop "**rutsching**" around.

Boi—I often helped my grandma to make **Boi**. We made strawberry, peach, rhubarb and many other types of pies. It was from my grandma that I learned how to bake.

Keller—Sometimes I would have to go in the **Keller** to get something for my grandma or grandpa. They kept their canned things in the cellar, such as pears or cherries.

Gude Marye—When I woke up in the morning (when I spent the night at my grandma and grandpa's house), my grandma and grandpa would say **Gude Marye** to me.

Gude Nacht—When I spent the night at my grandma and grandpa's house, they would say **Gude Nacht** to me. I especially remember my grandma telling me this. I can still hear exactly how she would say it.

Hasch—If I would go with my grandma and grandpa to their cabin in the mountains, sometimes we would see a **Hasch.**

hickle—My grandma and grandpa would sometimes say that people were **hickling** around.

Hosse—I often helped my grandma and grandpa do their laundry with the old ringer washing machine. My grandma and grandpa always wanted the **Hosse** and the rest of the wash hung up on the wash line in a certain way.

schtraubich—I would often spend the night at my grandma and grandpa's house. Usually when I woke up in the morning, my grandpa would tell me that my hair was **schtraubich** or a mess.

Kessel—I remember when I helped my grandpa look for dandelions or if we cleaned beans or picked something out of the garden, my grandpa would ask me if I had my **Kessel.**

Millich—In the morning when I ate breakfast and my grandma and grandpa's house, they would ask me if I needed **Millich** for my cereal.

naehe—My grandma taught me to sew. I used the sewing machine a few times and I used a needle, thread and a thimble to sew together a rug. This is where I learned the verb **naehe.**

As in Professor Beam's case, I also could never thank my grandparents enough for teaching me the dialect when I was younger. They sparked my interest in the dialect. I will continue to appreciate the Pennsylvania German dialect and culture and will try to preserve them as much as possible.

I would like to congratulate Professor Earl Haag on his eightieth birthday and I want to thank him for everything he has done to preserve the Pennsylvania German dialect. I am honored that I was asked to write this article to contribute to his *Festschrift.*

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Alan G. Keyser

Kucheheiser: Cake and Mead Shop Traditions

A major tradition has totally disappeared from southeastern Pennsylvania, that of the Cake and Mead shop. It was here until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but probably no one alive remembers it from first hand experience. Of the myriad of women and men who once kept cake and mead shops, only a few have ever had their name in print, or recently had a story related about them. A few of the surviving stories give us a glimpse of cake shop life.

Cake and mead shops once dotted the towns and villages of inland Pennsylvania. They were quite an institution and left behind many pleasant memories. In York at one time, "Signs called '*kochen schilds*' greeted your vision in all parts of town. On these signs were painted a black bottle, out of the mouth of which flowed a stream of beer into a tumbler, and alongside was a ginger cake, four cigars, and a sugar horse or a poll parrot painted. Here you could feast and drink your fill, all for a fip-penny bit (6 ¼ cents)." In them, "ginger and sugar cakes, with sweet small beer was abundant."[1]

A sign outside a mead shop in Germantown had a memorable comment.

> Caspar Moyer lived in a small house on the west side of Germantown Avenue, a little above Herman Street, where one Mary Moyer had a shop. Her sign was sufficiently unique to rescue it from the oblivion of time.
>
> I, Mary Moyer, keep cakes and beer;
> I make my sign a little wider,
> to let you know I sell good cider.[2]

Widow Housum had a sign by the door of her shop in Chambersburg. It listed "Ale and Porter, Small Beer, Mead and Cakes," as some of the wares she had available in her once well known cake shop.[3]

A cake shop in Fredericksburg, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. that stood on "the northwest corner of Market Square . . . in the first half of the nineteenth century [was] a steep-roofed, brownish-red, one-storied house. . . .

[It] was the residence of Michael Stroh and his wife, whose maiden name was Rudy." Mrs. Stroh was known to all the boys and girls of the village as Mammy Stroh, and everyone loved her and her large and comfortable sitting-room, as well as the toothsome wares which she sold there. These consisted of sweet cookies, "mintsticks," and black molasses candy, called "mozhey."

> She also made and sold a sweet drink, known as mead, which was a veritable nectar to young palates. She wore a snow-white cap with a big ruffle, or frill, which surrounded her kind, brown, wrinkled, motherly, old face as with a halo of glory. Her room was heated by means of a big, old-fashioned stove, and the fuel burned in it was white oak and solid hickory wood. For a youth of romantic seventeen to sit on the shiny, old-fashioned, red wood-chest, behind that warm stove next to a girl of sweet sixteen was like enjoying a seat beside a redeemed Peri in Paradise, and the buzzing of the fire in the old wood-stove was like music falling upon the ears of the blest![4]
>
> Mammy Stroh's parlor was a sort of trysting place for the Dutch lads and lassies, and many an acquaintance begun there in the dim light of her fat-lamp ripened into friendship and the closer ties of love. Many a matrimonial match had its beginning in Mistress Stroh's cake-parlor over a glass of spicy mead, and a delicious "Leb-kuche," paid for by the boy's copper pennies.

A cake and beer shop kept by "Granny" Mary Forney stood on the corner of Main Street and Cherry Alley in Annville.

> The east front room of the dwelling house, fronting on Main Street, served as Granny's Shop, where she cheered the hearts of her patrons. . . . The furniture was plain and simple. Back of the front door stood a high bureau or chest of drawers, in which she kept many articles for sale. At the other end of the room stood a high cupboard with shelves above and drawers below. The door had wooden panels—no glass. A few dishes and tumblers graced the shelves. These were necessary, when a couple or small party partook of refreshment at a fall leaf table. A few old-style chairs painted green, with fruit and flower designs on the top of the back were in the room. She never had a sign in front of her shop.[5]

Anna Maria Baldy kept a cake house in Reading and her estate inventory gives some idea of the contents of a cake shop in Reading in 1788.

> A True and Perfect Inventory and Appraisement of the Personal Estate of Anna Maria Baldy late of the Borough of Reading in Berks County widow deceased appraised the 22 July 1788.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | One Case of Drawers | 2-5-0 |
> | one Chist | 0-17-6 |
> | one Dough Trough | 0-7-6 |
> | one Corner Cupboard | 1-5-0 |

one red Table with Drawers	0-15-0
Five old Chairs	0-10-0
two Ginn Boxes	0-3-9
Eleven hundred Pine Shingles	2-15-0
one Kitchen Dresser	0-2-6
two old do Cupboards	0-7-6
an old Table & Bench in the Kitchen	0-1-6
one Barrel	0-3-9
two Keggs	0-3-9
some old Boxes and Kegs &c in Yard	0-5-0
2 Spades, an Ax, Hatchet & Dung fork	0-6-0
one Steelyards	0-7-6
one Hand Saw	0-1-6
all the owl Kegs in the Garret	0-3-9
one uper Bed of Feathers one Boulster 2 Pillows, 1 sheet & Chaf Bed	3-0-0
one do Boulsters, Pillows Sheet & Bedstead	2-10-0
two Iron Tea Kittles	0-10-0
two pair Waffel Irons	0-5-0
six Iron Potts	1-16-0
two Pair Boot Strecher & a quantity of Shoemakers Tools	0-2-6
a quantity of Last maker Tools	0-7-6
one Spinning Wheel	0-1-6
one watering Pott	0-2-6
a close line & Basket	0-5-0
six Baskets, a Scale and Hachell	0-7-6
Carried forward	£20-9-0
[page 2] Amount brought forward	20-9-0
12 Bushels of Wheat & 2 Bags	0-17-0
a quantity of dryed Apples, Peaches & Cherrys &c.	0-10-0
a quanity of Beans, dryed Plumbs & Cherrys	0-12-0
a Box with old Iron	0-7-6
a quantity of Chesnuts & Haslnuts	0-2-0
a quantity of Ground Nuts	0-5-0
3 Pots with Honey	0-15-0
some Pott Ash	0-4-0
some wraping paper	0-3-6
30 Besoms [6]	0-5-0
a Pair of old Boots	0-5-0
a Clock Reel	0-3-9
a Table in Garret	0-2-0
some Salt	0-3-0
some silver Sand	0-2-6

some Bran	0-3-0
two Swine	0-15-0
one Red, white & black coulered Coverlid	1-2-6
one Counter Pain for a bed	1-0-0
one set old Green bed Curtains	0-5-0
a old Blanket	0-3-0
a bundle of Linnen Yarn	0-7-6
a quantity of Amons, Nuts, Reasons, Sweet Cakes &c.	1-10-0
4 old Toy Boxes	0-2-0
a number of Cake Molds & plates	0-12-6
9 Delf Plates	0-1-3
3 Tea Pots Cream Jugg &c.	0-2-0
some small boxes Snuff	0-3-9
6 Pewter Plates & one Tea Pott & Soup Dish	0-15-0
a white Quart & pint 1 Tumbler, Pint decanter & Green Bottle	0-5-0
6 Pewter Plates	0-9-0
3 do Dishes & 23 Spoons	0-12-6
Carried forward	£36-15-3
[page 3] Amount brought forward.	£36-15-3
one Copper Tea Kittle	0-7-6
one Iron do	0-6-0
3 Iron Potts & 3 Skillets	0-15-0
2 do do & Bake Plank	0-12-6
2 frying Pans 1 roaster, a Box Iron & flat Iron	0-12-6
2 Pewter Pints, a Candle Mold & some Tin Ware	0-12-0
a Coffee Pott, Pepper Mill & Canister	0-3-6
2 Pott Racks, 2 Candlesticks & Snuffers	0-7-6
a Keg of Reasons	2-2-6
a Copper Cullender, 2 Skimmers & 3 ladles	0-5-0
2 lbs Candles	0-2-0
some Potts with Butter, lard & some Trumpery in Cellar	0-7-6
6 Baskets small	0-2-6
2 Tubs & a Bucket	0-7-6
1 ½ lbs Feathers	0-5-0
a Tin Scale & some small Weights	0-2-0
a Cloaths Press	[?]0-8-0
some Childrens toys	0-1-0
2 pair Specks	0-0-6

[At this point the account lists of several hundred £ in silver and gold and several hundred £ in bonds out on

loan, as well as book debts which have not been reproduced here.]

[page 4] Amount brought forward	£444-4-8
[More book debts then:]	
half Doz. Knives & Forks, Tea Cups &	
also Bread Baskets Earthen Ware &c.	0-10-0
two Curtain Rods	0-2-0
Total	£474-15-4[7]

Maria's inventory is of particular interest for several reasons. Finished foods are rarely mentioned in estate inventories, and this document has one of those rare mentions of "Sweet Cakes." In addition, 1788 is an early date for the mention of Potash, a leavening for sweet cakes. Honey was the only sweetener in her house, so she was making her metheglin or mead as well as her "Sweet Cakes" with honey. Since hers was a commercial operation, and she spent much time in the kitchen, she had two items not usually found there, a table and a bench. Several decades later benches and tables in the kitchen would become commonplace in most homes.

Years later the keeper of another cake shop, "Mam Bright," wife of Michael Bright, had a one story log house on the south side of Penn Street below Third in Reading. On the west side of the house was a large yard with tall trees and benches under them.

> [This was a popular] resort for old and young, married and single. Husbands took their families there and young men their sweethearts, to sit under the trees and enjoy themselves eating honey cake and drinking mead. The honey for the mead and cakes was for a long while bought at William and Isaac Eckert's grocery store, Fourth and Penn streets, and water was procured from the pump still standing, now painted green, in front of John Brown's premises, Penn street between Third and Fourth. Mrs. Bright used to say that no other water in the town was fit to make mead with.

As many as fifty to one hundred people were to be seen there sipping mead at a time.[8]

Fortunately Mam Bright's recipe for her "Soft Ginger Bread" cakes survives. To make them take:

> 2 quats [*sic*] of molasses
> ½ lb of Butter
> 2 Tablespoons of Soda
> 2 Teacups of milk
> Warm the molasses
> Don't make the Dough stiff
> Cut in shapes
> Bake[9]

The recipe for another of Mrs. Bright's cakes was also recorded by Louisa Schoener.

Mrs. Brights Funnel Jumbles
1 lb of Sugar
1 lb of Butter
6 Eggs
1 ¼ lb of Flour
1 Teacup of Thick Milk
1 Teaspoon of Bake Soda Stird in the Milk
Spice to your Taster[10]

Chambersburg had its cake shops, too. H. L. Fisher's mother took him to town for the first time when he was seven years old in May 1829. At Mrs. Reischer's Cake and Mead shop she bought him a pocket knife and a handkerchief, and refreshed him with small beer and large ginger cakes.[11]

Recalling the mead shops in Adamstown, Sebastian Miller, born there in 1814, gave this account:

> We boys spent most of our evenings at the 'kucha heiser' (cake houses) of the town. It was not customary for the young men to lounge at the hotels and stores, as the older men did, in fact they would not tolerate us. So the cake houses were supported by the patronage of the young men. At these places you could buy cakes, small beer, candy and tobacco. Resorts of this sort were kept open until late in the evening. Games were sometimes played, but we principally amused ourselves by our conversation. Adamstown used to have two cake houses. One was kept by Sofia Rieger, and the other by Susanna Mengel, both being widows. Their only means of support was this business.[12]

Here Miller has pointed out one of the few ways widows could support themselves. In this period before the introduction of factories, keeping a shop selling cakes and other things was a way to earn a reasonable income. At this time business was dominated by men, and almost no woman would undertake farming on her own either. There were exceptions of course.

Some women sold things other than cakes and mead, as this 1810 account describes:

> An aged lady who was known as "Old Mother Schreffler," lived in the house [on the south side of Penn Street between sixth and Seventh], and this was a favorite resort of the boys, where they were in the habit of spending their pennies for 'hutzlen bree' as it was called. This dish consisted of stewed dried fruit being chiefly peaches, interspersed with a few cherries. It was served in a saucer and eaten with a leaden spoon. (1 peach & an half dozen cherries for a penny).[13]

In urban cake shops some women baked pies for sale. Lewis Miller noted that in his youth in York they were within reach of the boys' budgets. "Mistress Scheffle made pies for sale in the bake oven. She made them large for one cent a pie. We boys bought them and one would satisfy and fill us and want no more. Our appetite was gone to [*sic*]. Eat pies in 1806. It was in South Duke Street."[14]

Historian A. S. Brendle lists the owners of the Schaefferstown "Cake shops—Mrs. Brownawell, Mrs. Jacob Mantel, Mrs. Philip Mock, and Mrs. Michael Dissinger."[15] Catherine (Mrs. Philip) Mock's cake and mead shop manuscript book from Schaefferstown survives to give us the an idea of the recipes for the cakes and drinks that were available in these village *Kucheheiser*. Catharine Mock kept her recipes in German script in a book from which she made these cakes, candy and drinks; Horsemen Cakes, Lady Fingers, Pound Cakes, Red Honey Cakes, White Honey Cakes, Honey Cakes, Molasses Cakes, Pepper Nuts, Quint Cakes, Sugar Cookies, Cream Cakes, Lemon Cakes, None So Good, Corn Cobs, Cup Cakes, Rolls, Rusks, Biscuits, Mint Drops, Beer, Alley Beer, Cold Beer, Strong Beer and Mead.[16]

It is worth noting that Catharine does not call any of her cakes *Lebkuchen*, and only seldom did she use any flavoring beyond honey, molasses, sugar or some citrus fruit.

While George Lauck was an apprentice to weaver John Smith in Schaefferstown in 1825, he wrote cake recipes on several pages in the back of his weaving pattern book.[17] His little cakes are seasoned in a fashion similar to Mrs. Mock's, except his biscuit recipe has a teaspoonful of cinnamon.

Lebanon, Pennsylvania too, had its cake shops, and "Some of our older people may yet remember 'Mother' [Louisa] Graeff (b. 1818) and her little candy store on Cumberland Street west of Ninth. She always carried a stock of Leb-Kuche with her candies."[18] Louisa Graeff's cake shop recipe book survives and contains three "Ginger Cake" recipes. It is impossible to know which of the three Mrs. Hark supposed her readers remembered. The following recipe with plenty of flavor produces more than ten pounds of *Lebkuchen*.

Hart ginger Cakes at 15 cts per lb.
2 qt Molasses
1 ½ lb sugar
1 ½ butter
1 oz. Salaratus
2 oz. Ginger, the same quantity cinnamon, do alspice
1 oz orangepeal
½ oz gloves
Flour 7 lbs.[19]

The earliest recipes for *Lebkuchen* in Pennsylvania come from the early nineteenth century and all contain molasses as the sweetener, pearl ash as the leavening and ginger as the spice. Additionally they contain flour, butter and milk. About 1830 the use of Saleratus began, then they all were made with sour milk. Then cinnamon and cloves came into many cake recipes. The recipe from Louisa Graeff above is fairly typical of this second generation Lebkuchen.

The earlier version of *Lebkuchen* comes from papers from Sam Person's tavern in Newmanstown, in Lebanon County from about 1820. It produces a large batch typical of what cake shops needed. A single batch of dough weighed just over 33 pounds. Recipe:

> 1 gallon Molasses
> 14 lb. fine flour
> 2 lb. butter
> ¼ lb. Potash
> 4 quarts Milk
> 2 spoonfuls of ginger
> one ounce of cloves
> Heat the oven as hot as you would for bread. Test it with flour until it turns yellow.[20]

An additional recipe for Lebkuchen from Juniata County about 1830 is similar, but contains several details about making them that Sam Person knew, but did not bother to write.

> ***Leb Kuchen* from Mrs. Knaus**
> Take:
> 1 quart Molasses
> 1 pint sour milk or butter milk
> 2 eating spoonfuls cream
> 1 ounce Potash
> 1 teaspoonful ginger
> 1 teaspoonful burned alum
> The last two items are dispersed in the milk
> ¼ pound of melted butter
> The yolk of one egg
>
> Dissolve the potash in the milk. Put the molasses, the milk with the cream, potash, and the egg yolk into a crock that will hold at least one gallon, and stir it together well. Then add the ginger and alum and stir again. Finally, add the warmed butter, and stir until it forms a good foam. Then add the amount of flour you think right, and stir it until you have a clear dough, however not too stiff. Then set it in the cellar at a cool place.
>
> The next morning, roll it out one finger thick, and cut it out with what ever cutters please you. Before you put the cakes into the oven, paint the tops with a solution of water and molasses.

> The oven is tested by this method. Put one or two cakes into the oven. They are well baked, if a dimple made with the finger will come out again. If it does not, they are not baked through.[21]

Another popular cake from the beginning of the nineteenth century was the *Peffernis* called in English pepper nuts or Pepper Nessels. Recipes for these cakes were given in Lancaster County manuscripts by Rosana Hubley, Sarah Yeats and Maria Bollinger, in Lebanon County by Catharine Mock, George Lauck, and Mary A. Bowman, and in Berks County by Mary Elizabeth Hiester. The recipe for *Peffernis* in George Lauck's weaver's draft book assumes the baker understands the addition of the required amount of flour.

> **Pepper Nuts**
> 1 pound sugar
> ½ pound butter
> ¼ quart sweet milk
> 1 teaspoonful potash
> 2 eggs[22]

Sarah Yeats's recipe assumes less and gives a few more details. Her first method has no leavening even though it calls for sour cream. She calls her Pepper Nuts "Pepper Nessels." To make them you take:

> 5 ½ of Cinnamon
> ½ jill rose water
> beat up 3 Eggs
> first add 1 ½ lbs Sugar
> ½ lb Butter made soft & worked into a jill
> Sour Cream, and work in 4 handfulls Flour
> Make it in a paste & cut out in forms[23]

Sarah collected another recipe, which she labeled "Pepper Nessels Best."

> 4 double handfuls of flour
> ¾ lb. Butter
> 1 lb box sugar
> a tablespoonful of cinnamon ground and a tablespoonful of Carraway Seed
> half a gill of rose water
> potash as big as a hickory nut soaked in a tablespoonful of milk
> a small tea cup of milk
> 4 eggs beat up to a froth & put in a hole in the middle
>
> Take butter cold and rub it in the flour, as much as it will rub fine in, rowl it out and grate loaf sugar over it, just rowl [*sic*] the sugar lightly over."[24]

Southeastern Pennsylvania had cake shops scattered throughout, but the closed Moravian community in Bethlehem had conscience against such "unnecessary" institutions. In 1764 the Moravians allowed Brother Kunkler to open a *Schmier* Store in addition to the Stranger Store for outsiders, but the ever careful community elders directed that he keep "no unnecessary wares for sale, such as baked sugar.[25]

In order to produce the wares available in the *Kucheheiser* a number of imported goods were needed. Larger towns had stores which supplied cake shops with the dried fruit, nuts and spices for their cakes, drinks and candy. In Lancaster city the Heinitsch apothecary was one source of these supplies. The apothecary account books and "Memorandum Book" shed light on the local mead shop activities. The Heinitsches mention only that they were buying from suppliers in Philadelphia, but never indicate where those suppliers obtained their wares. From 1809 to 1820, thirteen people, both men and women, bought quantities of filberts, almonds, figs, raisins, prunes, and currants for their cakes. To flavor their cakes and drinks they also bought allspice, cinnamon, cloves, ginger root, nutmeg and pepper. Some of these same buyers also bought candy for resale: mintsticks, mint drops, lemon candy, sugar candy, rock candy, and love letters. The love letters had printed messages similar to the present day Valentine's Day candies.[26]

Not all cake shops were kept by women and one in Lititz kept by men sold special baked items. "Their board was good and wholesome, and in all the wide world there were no such pretzels and 'streissel cakes' as could be had at the cake shop of old Mr. Peterson and his successor John William Rauch."[27] Apparently the Lititz Moravian powers-that-be were less opposed to "Baked sugar" than their brethren in Bethlehem. Their popularity continued for years. Just before Christmas 1858 in Lititz, there were long lines of young people waiting to get into, "a cake shop and confectionary, famous throughout the entire region for its spongy, delicate, copiously sugared 'streisslers.'" In addition to streisslers, the shop also sold, "crisp, brittle, highly seasoned 'pretzels'—its so called sand tarts, 'shrewberrys,' and other gastronomic peculiarities."[28] The *Lancaster Moravian Cook Book* of 1910 has the following recipe for *Streitzlers*.

> One quart of flour (scalded in water in which is a small handful of hops)
> one cake of Fleischmann's yeast; set to raise in the evening
> two pounds of soft white sugar
> one quart and one pint of milk, warmed
> add a little salt
> In the morning mix one quart of milk, two pounds butter, two pounds and two ounces of sugar, warmed.
> For the top of streitzler use one pound of butter and one pound of

sugar, cinnamon to taste; gives one hundred and fifty cakes.
Mrs. H. P. Eichler[29]

To make *Streitzlers* a number of pounds of flour had to be added to the above recipe. Also it is clear that the recipe was intended as a guide for someone who had made them often. First, the recipe fails to say that flour had to be added to make a soft dough in kneading and working it the morning after the sponge had been set. In forming individual cakes from the batch, one had to know how large to make each cake in order to have the batch yield one hundred and fifty. You also had to know how long and at what temperature they had to be baked. Such a large recipe was intended for either a Moravian congregation, or a cake shop.

The Moravian church has a practice of long standing known as the Love Feast in which these "Streissler Cakes" are part of the service. Colonel John May attended just such a service in 1788 in Bethlehem.

> We had a formal invitation to attend the love-feast in the afternoon. . . . The observance of a feast of this sort is a privilege the young misses have every 17th of August. It happened this year on Sunday. The little ones . . . excelled in beauty. . . . After they had chanted their hymns for about an hour, the great doors were swung open, and three pairs of maiden ladies appeared, each pair bringing between them a basket filled with large cakes, which they handed round to each miss and elderly lady. Soon after, two of the brothers came in, and in like manner handed the cakes to the gentlemen, and then withdrawing. In a short time, all returned with salvers of excellent coffee, and handed it round. This ceremony over, they sung again; and then there was an anthem, . . . and the assembly broke up."[30]

One innovative cake baker, Mammy Zorger, from Lewisberry in northern York County was remembered for a culinary invention that out lived her. "Mammy Zorger" introduced the "white sugar cake," which was an event in the art of cooking. She won the prize for the best cakes."[31] A recipe from Adams County is entitled Sugar Cake, and is from the area southwest of Mammy Zorger's cake shop, but is probably close to what gained her fame. Zorger's recipe seems to have disappeared.

Sugar Cake
One pint sugar
½ pint butter
4 eggs, teaspoon full salaeratus dissolved in a small cup full sour cream
As much flour as will stiffen to roll them, work the salt out of your butter rub it with the sugar into the flour; then add your eggs (well beaten) & the cream, flavor with rose water or essence of lemon.[32]

The published edition of this recipe includes a modern adaptation that makes a drop cookie rather than the intended rolled cake. A little more flour produces a stiffer dough and thus a rolled cake. The rolled cakes were cut out with cutters in special shapes.

The following recipe would make a whiter cake than the above recipe, because it uses no egg yolk, which would give the cake a yellow color.

> **For Zucker Kugen zu baken**
> 3 Punt Zuker
> Nem for 3 sent Sellereten
> das Weis fon 4 aer
> Ein Kwart diki Millig
> Ein Halb punt butter
> (To bake Sugar Cakes Three pounds sugar, Take 3 cents worth Saleratus, the whites of four eggs, One quart thick milk, one half pound butter.)[33]

Both Metheglin and Mead were honey beers. In English Metheglin was made with spices and mead was made without spices. However, as you will see Pennsylvania Germans were certainly not controlled by English naming conventions. The drink with spices was the one more commonly made and was usually called mead.

> Mead was a sparkling and very palatable beverage, when at the proper stage of ripeness, but when it got much beyond that stage, the drinker needed to keep his mouth open and his head thrown back if he did not wish to risk serious consequences, for if he kept his mouth closed the rush of gas through his nose would produce a snort furious enough to scare a war horse.[34]

The earliest version, but not the earliest recipe, is included in an anonymous manuscript from the 1820s.

> To make 20 quarts of Mead Take Five gallons of water, one gallon of Honey, one Tea cup full of cloves, one do of Alspice. Boil the water; add the honey. Boil the spices separate in about half a gallon of water for fifteen minutes, strain it. Then put the two liquors together; add when cold a tea cup full of Brewers yeast and as the yeast rises skim it off Clean. In about two days it will be about fit to bottle. You must get a keg and saw it in half and then put a spigot in one side of it near the bottom. When your mead is fit to bottle, you must draw it off instead of pouring it off for there is generally a great deal of sediment, but by doing this your mead comes out clear. You must always bear in mind that all the liquors or parts are to be boiled separate and when they are boiled, pour them together, and as your yeast raises skim it off until it is quite clear.[35]

A recipe for the drink without spices comes from northern Montgomery County.

> To make Matticklom Prepare a honey water solution strong enough to bear an egg. When the egg remains floating on its side, add just enough water to cause the egg to sink and stand upright. Boil this water for three hours. Skim the scum and foam off. Let it stand until it is cold. Put it into a barrel [some where here the recipe should indicate that some quantity of yeast be added after it has cooled to about 25 degrees C], and tap it off from the yeast dregs in the spring in March when the full moon stands in the descent. Then it will keep long, so that the older it is the better it becomes.[36]

Mead shops provided several things to the residents of Pennsylvania towns and villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were one way for widows to earn a living, and they provided the community with sweets and small beers. They also gave teenage boys a place to enjoy each others company as well as a place for them to entertain their sweethearts for a few pennies. Now that they are gone, everyone can probably name many shops that have taken their place, but the modern substitutes are a pale shadow compared to the Cake and Mead shops of yore.

Notes

[1] D. K. Noell, *York Gazette* of 19 August 1895 remembering the period around 1820.

[2] "A list of the Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 15, no. 4 (1891): 474.

[3] William Woys Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees Pennsylvania German Foods and Foodways*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 189. Weaver is quoting John M. Cooper, *Recollections of Chambersburg, PA, Chiefly between the years 1830–1850* (Chambersburg, PA: A. Nevin Pomeroy, 1900).

[4] Mary (Rudy) Stroh was born 26 January 1800 and died 25 April 1874. Ezra Light Grumbine, *Stories of Old Stumpstown; A History of Interesting Events, Traditions and Anecdotes of Early Fredericksburg, Known for Many Years As Stumpstown; Read Before the Lebanon County Historical Society in Three Installments on Oct. 15, 1909, on June 17 and on Aug. 19, 1910* (Lebanon, PA: Lebanon County Historical Society, 1910), "Cakes and Beer—Mammy Stroh," vol. 5, 37.

[5] Thos. S. Stein, "Granny Forney's Cake and Beer Shop," paper read before the Lebanon County Historical Society 14 January 1927, 245–46. Mary Martin Forney was born in August 1794 and died 17 April 1872.

[6] Besom is a broom, probably a hickory splint model.

[7] These estate papers are filed in a folder labeled "Mary Baldy 1788" in the Register of Wills Office in Reading, PA.

[8] Recollections of Wm. H. Norton in the *Reading Gazette and Democrat*, 3 July 1875. 'Mam Bright' was Barbara Miller born in 1783, married Michael Bright and died in 1870.

[9] The recipe titled "Mrs. M. Brights Soft Ginger Bread" is preserved on page 115 in Louisa B. Schoener's manuscript collection of recipes. Louisa lived with her family at what is now 125 North Fourth Street in Reading about four blocks from Mam Bright's cake shop on

Penn Street below Third. These two women were contemporaries, but Louisa was more than a generation younger.

[10] Louisa B. Schoener recipes, 24.

[11] Don Yoder, *The Picture Bible of Ludwig Denig A Pennsylvania German Emblem Book* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 27. Yoder is quoting Henry Lee Fisher's centennial of Franklin County speech given 9 September 1884 in Chambersburg. The speech with the reminiscence of his first visit to Chambersburg was published in the *Valley Spirit*, 17 September 1884 and contained in a scrapbook at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania called *Franklin County, Pennsylvania Newspaper Clippings*.

[12] *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 4, no. 13 (April 1953): 16.

[13] From George Heller's reminiscences of seventy years ago recorded in 1880 in the A. S. Jones scrapbook vol. 1, 111, Berks County Historical Society.

[14] In the Shoemaker "pie" file at Ursinus is a note that he found this comment in a Lewis Miller volume at the York County Historical Society. This illustration is not contained in Shelley's published edition of Lewis Miller's works.

[15] A. S. Brendle, Esq., *A Brief History of Schaefferstown* (York, PA: 1901), 33.

[16] The Catharine Mock manuscript cookbook is in the collection of Historic Schaefferstown.

[17] George Lauck's weaving draft book dated 1825 is in the Smithsonian Institution, the Museum of American History, textile division.

[18] Mrs. J. Max Hark [Milla Theresa (Crosta) Hark], "Cooking Utensils and Cookery of Our Grandmothers" (Lebanon: Lebanon County Historical Society, 1914), vol. 6, 230

[19] Graeff manuscript [12].

[20] Manuscript recipe circa 1820, from Newmanstown, PA. Included in the papers and account book of Sem Person, tavern keeper and one time mason.

[21] *Leb Kuchen von Frau Knausin Mann nimt 1 Quart Malasses 1 Pint dike oder Butter Milch 2 Ess löffel Rahm 1 onz Pottasche 1 Thee Löffel Ingber 1 Thee Löffel gebranten allaun Letztere 2 Artikel werden in Milch aufgelöst ¼ lb Butter zergehen lassen aus einem Ey das Gelbe. Die Pottasche in Milch aufgelöst. Der Malasses, die Milch mit dem Rahm die Pottasche und das Gelbe vom Ey werden zu erst in einen Hafen gethan der wenigstens ein Galle Halt, und guth durch ein ander gerührt, dann Komt der Ingber und allaun hinein und nun rührt mann es, Zulezt thut man den warm gemacheten Butter hinein. Und dann rührt man es so lange bis es recht schaumt, hernach thuth mann mehl nach Gutdünken daran, und rühret es dass es einen rechten klaren Teig gibt, jedoch nicht zu steif; nun stelt man diesen Teig in den Keller an einen kühlen Ort. Den andern Morgen roelt man solches Fingers dick aus, und modelt solche nach Blieben, ehe die Kuchen in den Ofen Kommen, werden sie mit Malasses und wasser bestrichen. Man Probiert den offen auf folgende art, man thut ein oder zwey Kuchen in den offen: sind solche gut gebacken so muss eine Daze die man mit den Finger macht wieder heraus gehen, wann diss nicht geschiehet, so sind solche nicht gar.* Elisabeth Noetling's nee Zulauf Manuscript recipe book 1830–32 of Tuscarora Valley, Mifflin County, Pennsylvania (later that section became Juniata County). Elisabeth Zulauf was born in Newberry Township, York County, Pennsylvania about 1798 a daughter of Johannes Zulauf and his wife Margaret Spahr. Elisabeth lived in Milford Township, Mifflin County when she married Dr. William Noetling about 1830. Her mother, Margaret Spahr (1767–1841) was from Alsace Township, Berks County according to *History of St. Claire County, Illinois* (Philadelphia: Brink, McDonough & Co., 1881), 220–21. Elizabeth's birth date comes from an approximation by Rev. Nelson R. Sulouff on his web site on the "Sulouffs and Suloffs in America" on the internet. Rev. Nelson Sulouff says Johannes and Margaret Zulauf lived in Robeson Township Berks County after they were married, before moving west, first in 1792 to Newberry Township, York County and then north to Juniata County in about 1802. The 206 acre Zulauf farm was on the north bank of the Tuscarora Creek.

[22] George Lauck's weaving draft book dated 1825. The recipe in the original says; "*Peffer nis 1 Punt zucker 2/4 Punt butter Ein fadal Kwart siese Milch Ein teläffel vol Pottesche 2 aäer.*" Catharine Mock's recipe from the same era and village is nearly identical, except Catherine's calls for potash "the size of a hazelnut." Catharine Mock Recipe Book, 8.

[23] Sarah Yeats manuscript, 180.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Katherine Carte Engel, "The Strangers' Store Moral Capitalism in Moravian Bethlehem, 1753–1755," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 120.

[26] The information in this section was extracted from the Heinitsh account books, in a private collection.

[27] Simon P. Eby, "John Beck, A Pioneer Educator of Lancaster County," *Christian Culture,* 1 August 1890.

[28] Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, 24 December 1858, quoted in Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study* (Kutztown, PA: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959), 107.

[29] *Moravian Cook Book of Tried Recipes*, 2d ed. (Lancaster, PA: Achey and Gorrecht, 1910), 125.

[30] John May, Rev. Richard S. Edes and illustrative notes by Wm. M. Darlington, *Journal and Letters of Col. John May, of Boston: Relative to Two Journeys to the Ohio Country in 1788 and '89; with a Biographical Sketch* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1873), 110.

[31] John Gibson, *History of York County* (1886), 623–40.

[32] Amanda Nace, *Receipts for Culinary Purposes* [1826] (Hanover, PA: Hanover Area Historical Society).

[33] From the Peter Miller manuscript recipe book from Orwigsburg, 1830s.

[34] William Woys Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees*, 189. This is a description of the mead made by the Widow Housum in Chambersburg around 1840.

[35] Anonymous recipe book ca. 1825, which once belonged to J. E. Stamm, 149–50.

[36] From Melchior Kriebel's 1775 manuscript recipe book at the Schwenkfelder Library.

Walter Sauer

Der Schtruwwelpitter: Heinrich Hoffmann's *Struwwelpeter*, Dutchified by Earl C. Haag

The *Struwwelpeter* stories

Dr. Heinrich Hoffmann's classical nineteenth century children's book *Der Struwwelpeter* still enjoys great popularity in its "homeland" Germany, where it first appeared in 1845. Although it was well known in America up to the middle of the last century, it no longer belongs to the established canon of children's books in the United States.

A brief introduction to, and summary of, the stories contained in the *Struwwelpeter* book will provide orientation for the reader unfamiliar with it.

The book, in English usually called *Shockheaded Peter* or *Slovenly Peter*, is a collection of cautionary tales in verse accompanied by the author's own illustrations. They generally follow the simple pattern of "misdeed and punishment," a favorite nineteenth century genre of children's literature with a long lineage in the moral tale, presenting negative examples not to be followed by children if they want to avoid the terrible consequences shown.

The book starts with a "Preface," in which well-behaved children, those who eat their soup and bread, play quietly with their toys, and hold Mommy's hand when out for a walk, are promised goodies and a picture book as Christmas gifts. On the next page we find the book's main protagonist, *Struwwelpeter*, with his unmistakable attributes, a shock of hair and long fingernails, uncut for almost a year. The verses in the first English translation of 1848 start like this:[1]

> Look at Peter! There he stands
> With his nasty hair and hands . . .

It is to him that the book owes its name. Next in line we have *Cruel Frederick*—

A naughty, wicked boy was he,
He caught the flies, poor little things,
And then tore off their tiny wings;
He killed the birds, and broke the chairs
And threw the kitten down the stairs,

but got into real trouble when he hit and kicked a dog, getting his just deserts. Meanwhile the dog rewards himself with Frederick's meal of cake, liverwurst and wine—what a combination. *Pauline* is the book's only girl character. She plays with matches, although warned not to by her parents and two kittens, and meets a terrible end leaving only her two shoes and a pile of ashes. The next story of the *Black Boys* is a remarkable anti-racist example, showing us three youngsters poking fun at a black boy because of the color of his skin. They do not heed Nikolas's (in the English version: Great Agrippa's) warnings, get dunked in an oversize inkwell and come out "blacker than the black-a-moor."

The story of the *Wild Huntsman* represents an exception to the usual cautionary plots. Using the motif of the world turned upside-down, it tells of a hunter, who becomes himself hunted by a hare. In the tale of *Little Suck-a-Thumb,* poor Conrad, left alone by his mother, loses both thumbs at the hand of a giant tailor, who "always comes to little boys that suck their thumbs." Next we meet *Caspar,* who would not eat his soup. In an exemplary case of anorexia he ends up in his grave after only five days. Hoffmann's interest as a doctor in children's pathology is also reflected in the next story of *Fidgety Philip*, who obviously suffers from hyperactivity. Philip keeps rocking on his chair, loses his balance, is buried beneath the tablecloth and what's left of the food, spoiling the dinner for his whole family:

"Poor Papa and poor Mama
Look quite cross, and wonder how
They shall make their dinner now."

Johnny Head-in-air is only interested in looking up at the sky. On his way to school he stumbles over a dog, and just barely gets rescued from drowning in the river, while three little fishes make fun of him. Finally we have *Flying Robert*, who takes off with his umbrella in a storm and does not return, because he did not stay inside as he should have: "Where the wind blew him away, no one here on earth can say."

Soon after his "birth," Struwwelpeter began conquering the world. A first translation into Danish appeared in 1847, and within the next two years versions in English, Swedish, Dutch and Russian followed. In the United

States, the book was present from 1849 on and immensely popular for many decades. By now, the *Struwwelpeter* stories have been translated into approximately 120 different languages and dialects.

Struwwelpeter in Pennsylvania German

As a specialist in the editorial history and world-wide reception of *Struwwelpeter*, I had long noted the regrettable absence of a Pennsylvania German (PG) version of the book and started to look for a competent translator even in the 1980s. At the time, my efforts did not meet with success. Another attempt at finding a "Dutchifier" was made in 2002, when the Pennsylvania German review *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* published a request for readers to send in a PG version of one of the stories.[2] It was hoped that among the contributions there would be one whose translator might also be interested in translating the other nine stories with the view of publishing his or her translation in book form. Unfortunately, there was only one single immediate response. It could, however, not be pursued, since its author, while writing good PG, was not familiar with the basic rules of prosody and versification.

To our great surprise, an additional response coming from Pottsville, Pennsylvania, reached us in 2007. Its sender was Earl C. Haag, "Der Alt Professer." The quality of his sample translation written by hand was beyond reproach and I immediately contacted him encouraging him to translate the rest of the book. Over the following months there ensued between us a most pleasant and fruitful exchange of letters, in the course of which Earl sent me all the stories, revised and re-revised them until we were both entirely satisfied. And we were hopeful that, given Haag's reputation as an outstanding scholar of PG and impeccable speaker and writer of the dialect, publication of the book would be possible with "Edition Tintenfaß," which already had five PG titles in its program. *Hiwwe-wie-Driwwe* therefore appealed to its readership twice inviting subscriptions for the book by publishing two of the stories and its pictures.[3] The response to this appeal remained minimal. Only two readers from Pennsylvania expressed interest and ordered the book in advance. Understandably, such prospects did not allow us to go ahead with the printing. Other attempts by both Earl and myself to secure some kind of financial support for the publication of the book also failed.

It is with some relief and with great joy that this Festschrift now affords me the opportunity of publishing Earl's fine translation in the form of an article. For the benefit of comparison, both the PG version and the German original are printed side by side.[4]

Der Schtruwwelpitter
Gschpassiche Gschichde un lecherliche Pickders
Iwwersetzt ausem Hochdeitsche ins Pennsylvaanisch Deitsche vum Earl C. Haag (Der Alt Professer)

Heinrich Hoffmann
Der Struwwelpeter
Lustige Geschichten und drollige Bilder

Vorwatt
Wann die Kinner sich bedraage
Kummt's Grischtkindel in die Naahe.
Wann sie ihre Milchsupp esse
un aa's Brot nie net vergesse,
schpiele unne Leerm, net yachtich,
hocke zamme, schtill un sachtich,
beim schpaziere uff der Schtrooss
losse Mammis Hand nie los,
bringt der Saendi Klaas ne sicher
eens vun denne Pickderbicher.

Vorspruch
Wenn die Kinder artig sind,
kommt zu ihnen das Christkind;
wenn sie ihre Suppe essen
und das Brot auch nicht vergessen,
wenn sie, ohne Lärm zu machen,
still sind bei den Siebensachen,
beim Spaziergehn auf den Gassen
von Mama sich führen lassen,
bringt es ihnen Gut's genug
und ein schönes Bilderbuch.

Der Schtruwwelpitter

Guck emol, do kummt er widder,
seh en aa, der Schtruwwelpitter!
Schneidt sei Neggel eemol 's Yaahr,
schtreehlt nie net sei langes Haar,
wescht net, schtinkt wie Oxedreck,
('s dreibt sogaar sei Eldre weck).
"Saubu," rufe ihm die Leit,
"bischt yo net gans recht gescheit!"

Der Struwwelpeter

Sieh einmal, hier steht er,
pfui! der Struwwelpeter!
An den Händen beiden
ließ er sich nicht schneiden
seine Nägel fast ein Jahr;
kämmen ließ er nicht sein Haar.
»Pfui!« ruft da ein jeder:
»Garstger Struwwelpeter!«

Die Gschicht vum beese Fridderich

Der Fridderich, der Schnickelfritz,
('s iss waahr, kee Lieg, un gaar ken Witz!)
er fangt die Micke do im Haus
un reisst ne doll die Fliggel raus,
verschlaagt die Schtiehl, macht Veggel dot,
sogaar die Katze leide Not.
Un heert wie bees kann sei der Fritz:
er beitscht sei Lisbett mit re Fitz!

Datt owwe schteht en grooser Hund,
drinkt Wasser aus me Brunne rund.
Der Friddrich kummt, grickt groos en Hitz,
schniekt nuff zum Hund, hebt hoch die Fitz
un schenkt dem Dierche Briggelsupp.
Der Hund yaunst laut, schteht uff un—wupp!
Er beisst dem Lump graad nei ins Bee,
's fangt aa zu blude, bludt noch meh.
Un nau losst los der Fritz en Grisch
un brillt un dobt gans bidderlich.
Noh rennt des braave Dier, net faul,
nooch Heem, un draagt die Fitz im Maul.

Ins Bett muss nau der Nixnutz geh,
hot arig Schmatze in seim Bee;
der Dokder kummt am Middaag bei,
der Fritz nemmt biddre Droppe ei.

Nau hockt der Hund am Fritz seim Disch
un fresst en gangner Kuche frisch;
er luschdert feini Lewwerwascht,
en guder Wei lescht ihm sei Dascht.
Die Fitz, die hot er bei sich aa,
die kummt der Fritz nie nimmi draa!

Die Geschichte vom bösen Friederich

Der Friederich, der Friederich,
das war ein arger Wüterich!
Er fing die Fliegen in dem Haus
und riss ihnen die Flügel aus.
Er schlug die Stühl und Vögel tot,
die Katzen litten große Not.
Und höre nur, wie bös er war:
Er peitschte seine Gretchen gar!

Am Brunnen stand ein großer Hund,
trank Wasser dort mit seinem Mund.
Da mit der Peitsch herzu sich schlich
der bitterböse Friederich;
und schlug den Hund, der heulte sehr,
und trat und schlug ihn immer mehr.
Da biss der Hund ihn in das Bein,
recht tief bis in das Blut hinein.
Der bitterböse Friederich,
der schrie und weinte bitterlich.—
Jedoch nach Hause lief der Hund
und trug die Peitsche in dem Mund.

Ins Bett muss Friedrich nun hinein,
litt vielen Schmerz an seinem Bein;
und der Herr Doktor sitzt dabei
und gibt ihm bittre Arzenei.

Der Hund an Friedrichs Tischchen saß,
wo er den großen Kuchen aß;
aß auch die gute Leberwurst
und trank den Wein für seinen Durst.
Die Peitsche hat er mitgebracht
und nimmt sie sorglich sehr in acht.

Die drauerich Gschicht middem Schtreichhols

Die Palli waar deheem allee,
die Eldre fatt – ya, alle zwee.
Nau, wie sie in die Schtubb neigeht

Die gar traurige Geschichte mit dem Feuerzeug

Paulinchen war allein zu Haus,
die Eltern waren beide aus.
Als sie nun durch das Zimmer sprang

un danst herum mit Luscht un Frehd,
noh sehnt sie bletzlich ass datt schteht
en Schtreichholsschachtel; un net bleed,
do yauchzt sie laut, "Ich denk ich schpiel
mit denne Helser—na, ich fiehl
ass wann die Memm es oft so duht,
kann ich es aa, mit leichtem Mut."

Die Katze kumme Palli nooch
un hewe ihre Dowe hoch.
Sie drohe, wie sie sodde,
"Dei Daadi hot's verbodde!
Miau, bass uff! Miau, geb acht!
'S nemmt gaar net lang eb's Feier gracht!"

Die glee Grott heert die Katze net,
es Schtreichhols brennt wie Gensefett;
es rasselt luschdich, flickert wild,
yuscht graad wie's do iss abgebildt.
Die Palli awwer hupst mit Frehd,
hot viel Gschpass draa, iss net verleed.

Die Katze schpringe widder bei,
sie halde ihre Glooe frei,
vermahne, wie sie sodde,
"Dei Mammi hot's verbodde!
Miau, bass uff! Miau, geb acht!
eb's Feier dir en Schaade macht!"

Yetz guck uff's Bild: ihr Frack fangt Feier,
der Gschpass kummt ihr ball schtaerblich deier.
Ihr Gleeder sinn nau hell am Brenne;
die Pall versucht mol weckzurenne!

Die Katze greische widderum,
Ihr Faxe warre viel zu dumm.
"Miau, ihr Leit, miau, helft gschwind,
es Feier brennt des liewe Kind.
Miau, helft wann, miau, ihr kennt,
un rett die Pall, eb sie verbrennt."

Doch alles was mol Palli waar
iss uffgebrennt—Gleed, Haut un Haar.
Die Esch, zwee rode Schuh sin all
was iwwrich iss vun daere Pall.

Die Katze, die zwee gleene,
die glaage darich Dreene,
"Miau, o Leed! miau, o Weh!
ferwas waar Pall heit gans allee?"
Es Aagewasser schpritzt ne raus
un fliesst wie'n Grick die Wisse naus.

mit leichtem Mut und Sing und Sang,
da sah sie plötzlich vor sich stehn
ein Feuerzeug, nett anzusehn.
»Ei«, sprach sie, »ei, wie schön und fein,
das muss ein trefflich Spielzeug sein.
Ich zünde mir ein Hölzchen an,
wie's oft die Mutter hat getan.«

Und Minz und Maunz, die Katzen,
erheben ihre Tatzen.
Sie drohen mit den Pfoten:
»Der Vater hat's verboten!
Miau! Mio! Miau! Mio!
Lass stehn! Sonst brennst du lichterloh!«

Paulinchen hört die Katzen nicht!
Das Hölzchen brennt gar hell und licht,
das flackert lustig, knistert laut,
grad wie ihr's auf dem Bilde schaut.
Paulinchen aber freut sich sehr
und sprang im Zimmer hin und her.

Doch Minz und Maunz, die Katzen,
erheben ihre Tatzen.
Sie drohen mit den Pfoten:
»Die Mutter hat's verboten!
Miau! Mio! Miau! Mio!
Wirf's weg! Sonst brennst du lichterloh!«

Doch, weh! die Flamme fasst das Kleid,
die Schürze brennt; es leuchtet weit.
Es brennt die Hand, es brennt das Haar,
es brennt das ganze Kind sogar.

Und Minz und Maunz, die schreien
gar jämmerlich zu zweien:
»Herbei! Herbei! Wer hilft geschwind?
In Feuer steht das ganze Kind!
Miau! Mio! Miau! Mio!
Zu Hilf! Das Kind brennt lichterloh!«

Verbrannt ist alles ganz und gar,
das arme Kind mit Haut und Haar;
ein Häuflein Asche blieb allein
und beide Schuh, so hübsch und fein.

Und Minz und Maunz, die kleinen,
die sitzen da und weinen:
»Miau! Mio! Miau! Mio!
Wo sind die armen Eltern? Wo?«
Und ihre Tränen fließen
wie's Bächlein auf den Wiesen.

Die Gschicht vun de schwatze Buwe

En Neeger kummt vum Schteddel mol,
So dunkel wie en schwatzi Kohl.
Die Sunn scheint uff ihn, heiss un hell;
er schitzt sich mit seim Amberell.
Do kummt der Luddwich haergerennt,
haldt fescht sei Feehnli in de Hend.
Der Kaschber schpringt aa dabber bei
samt Bretzel aus der Beckerei.
Un guck, do kummt der Maani schunnt,
er hot en Reef, so schee un rund.
Die drei, mit laudem Lach un Gschrei,
die sehne wie der Schwatz laaft bei
mit Haut wie Bech—kennt's waerklich sei?

Noh kummt der gaschdich Nickelaas
mit seim arg groose Dindeglaas.
Do saagt er, "Buwe, heert gut zu,
nau losst der Neeger schee in Ruh!
Der aarme Dropp kann nix defor
ass aer net weiss gebore waar."
Die Buwe hen doch net gewollt;
sie hen der Nickles ausgescholt
un hen viel wieschder nau gelacht,
hen iwwer'n Schwatz meh Gschpass gemacht.

Der Belsenickel watt gans wild!
Yuscht guck mol graad uff des do Bild.
Er fasst die Buwe in sei Eerm
un haldt sie fescht wie gleene Weerm,
der Willi un der Maannewel,
der Kaschber aa—drei Dummkepp, gell?
Er dunkt die drei ins Dindefass,
mit Dinde sin sie nau batsch nass;
un widder in des kohlschwatz Glaas
dunkt sie der groose Nickelaas.
Do sehnscht die drei, so schwatz wie'n Grabb,
sie mache sich nau eilich ab,
der Schwatz voraa, sei Kopp iss hoch,
die Dindeblacke hinnenooch.
Ya, hedde sie net so gelacht,
hett sie der Nick net schwatz gemacht.

Die Gschicht vum wilde Haasehunder

Der wilde Yeeger macht sich draa
un ziegt sei Hunderreckli aa;
samt Gnappsack, Bix un Pulwerhann,
geht sehne was er hunde kann.

Er setzt sei Brill jetz uff die Naas,
vleicht kennt es sei, er sehnt en Haas.

Die Geschichte von den schwarzen Buben

Es ging spazieren vor dem Tor
ein kohlpechrabenschwarzer Mohr.
Die Sonne schien ihm auf's Gehirn,
da nahm er seinen Sonneschirm.
Da kam der Ludwig hergerannt
und trug sein Fähnchen in der Hand.
Der Kaspar kam mit schnellem Schritt
und brachte seine Brezel mit;
und auch der Wilhelm war nicht steif
und brachte seinen runden Reif.
Die schrien und lachten alle drei,
als dort das Mohrchen ging vorbei,
weil es so schwarz wie Tinte sei!

Da kam der große Nikolas
mit seinem großen Tintenfass.
Der sprach: »Ihr Kinder, hört mir zu,
und lasst den Mohren hübsch in Ruh!
Was kann denn dieser Mohr dafür,
dass er so weiß nicht ist wie ihr?«
Die Buben aber folgten nicht
und lachten ihm ins Angesicht
und lachten ärger als zuvor
über den armen schwarzen Mohr.

Der Niklas wurde bös und wild,—
du siehst es hier auf diesem Bild!
Er packte gleich die Buben fest,
beim Arm, beim Kopf, bei Rock und West,
den Wilhelm und den Ludewig,
den Kaspar auch, der wehrte sich.
Er tunkt sie in die Tinte tief,
wie auch der Kaspar: »Feuer!« rief.
Bis übern Kopf ins Tintenfass
tunkt sie der große Nikolas.
Du siehst sie hier, wie schwarz sie sind,
viel schwärzer als das Mohrenkind!
der Mohr voraus im Sonnenschein,
die Tintenbuben hintendrein;
und hätten sie nicht so gelacht,
hätt' Niklas sie nicht schwarz gemacht.

Die Geschichte vom wilden Jäger

Es zog der wilde Jägersmann
sein grasgrün neues Röcklein an;
nahm Ranzen, Pulverhorn und Flint
und lief hinaus ins Feld geschwind.

Er trug die Brille auf der Nas
und wollte schießen tot den Has.

Un guck! en Haas hockt datt un lacht,
"En Blinder geht scheins uff die Yacht!"

Yetz scheint die Sunn, doch viel zu viel;
es watt dem Schitz zu waarm, zu schwiel.
Er legt sich hie ins griene Graas;
des alles sehnt der gwixte Haas.
Un wie der Hunder schlooft, do schleicht
der Haas ihm heemlich zu, un leicht
grappscht er die Flindeschloss un Brill
un macht sich fatt, gans leis un schtill.

Der Haas, der dutt sich nau die Brill
selbscht uff die Naas, er ziehlt un will
der Hunder schiesse mit der Flint.
Der Schitz iss awwer annerscht gsinnt,
rennt dabber weck, un engschtlich schreit,
"Nau brauch ich Hilf, ihr liewe Leit!"

Der Yeeger flicht—sehnt alles schief—
un batzelt in en Brinnli dief.
Datt schteckt er fescht, iss in re Fix:
der Haas schiesst los die Kuggelbix.

Am Fenschder schteht em Schitz sei Fraa,
iss graad am Kaffidrinke draa.
Die Kuggel raast am Schitz verbei,
drefft's Koppli, schlaagt's in Schticker drei.
Do neegscht am Brunn en Heesli sitzt,
em Haas sei Bu, mit Ohre gschpitzt,
sehnt alles heemlich darich's Graas;
ihm droppst der Kaffi uff die Naas.
Er yohlt, "Waer hot mich do verbrennt?"
Un haldt en Leffli in de Hend.

Das Häschen sitzt im Blätterhaus
und lacht den blinden Jäger aus.

Jetzt schien die Sonne gar zu sehr,
da ward ihm sein Gewehr zu schwer.
Er legte sich ins grüne Gras;
das alles sah der kleine Has.
Und als der Jäger schnarcht' und schlief,
der Has ganz heimlich zu ihm lief
und nahm die Flint und auch die Brill
und schlich davon ganz leis und still.

Die Brille hat das Häschen jetzt
sich selber auf die Nas gesetzt,
und schießen will's aus dem Gewehr.
Der Jäger aber fürcht' sich sehr.
Er läuft davon und springt und schreit:
»Zu Hilf, ihr Leut! Zu Hilf, ihr Leut!«

Da kommt der wilde Jägersmann
zuletzt beim tiefen Brünnchen an.
Er springt hinein. Die Not war groß;
es schießt der Has die Flinte los.

Des Jägers Frau am Fenster saß
und trank aus ihrer Kaffeetass'.
Die schoss das Häschen ganz entzwei;
da rief die Frau: »O wei! O wei!«
Doch bei dem Brünnchen heimlich saß
des Häschens Kind, der kleine Has.
Der hockte da im grünen Gras;
dem floss der Kaffee auf die Nas.
Er schrie: »Wer hat mich da verbrannt?«
und hielt den Löffel in der Hand.

Die Gschicht vum Daumesuckler

"Kunraad," saagt die Memm zum Soh,
"ich muss fatt, doch du bleibscht do.
Sei mer gut un schick dich aa,
sei beheeft, un halt dich draa.
Kunn, ich saag dir nau graadaus,
Daume sin noch lang ken Schmaus.
Duscht sie suckle immermehr,
kummt der Schneider mit re Scher,
schneidt dei Daume graadwegs ab;
Kinner rufe dich en Lapp!"

Sie verlosst; un ungesund
hodder schunn sei Daum im Mund.

Bletzlich geht die Hausdier uff,
un der Schneider, wie im Suff,
schpringt graad in die Wuhnschtubb rei,

Die Geschichte vom Daumenlutscher

»Konrad!« sprach die Frau Mama,
»ich geh aus und du bleibst da.
Sei hübsch ordentlich und fromm,
bis nach Haus ich wieder komm.
Und vor allem, Konrad, hör!
lutsche nicht am Daumen mehr;
denn der Schneider mit der Scher
kommt sonst ganz geschwind daher,
und die Daumen schneidet er
ab, als ob Papier es wär.«

Fort geht nun die Mutter, und
wupp! den Daumen in den Mund.

Bautz! da geht die Türe auf,
und herein in schnellem Lauf
springt der Schneider in die Stub

un bis alles iss verbei,
schpritzt vun Daumeschtumbe 's Blut;
's nemmt em Kunni gschwind der Mut.
Ei, do greischt der Bu, "Haeryeh,
Sell dutt dunnerwedders weh!"

Wie die Mammi kummt zerrick,
drefft sie en farchbaari Blick;
Kunn schteht unnich Daume datt,
alle beed sin leblang fatt.

Die Gschicht vum Suppekaschber

Der Kaschber, der waar arig gsund,
en rechder Dicksack, fett un rund,
hot zu viel gesse, 's waar en Sinn,
besunners Supp mit Brocke drin.
Noh ee Daag fangt er aa un schreit,
"Die Brieh do will ich gaar net heit.
Ich ess kee Supp, ich gleich sie net!
Ich will kee Supp, vleicht macht sie fett!"

Am neegschde Daag—na, guck mol haer—
viel dinner schunn, sei Maage leer.
Un widder fangt der Schnippler aa,
"'S iss leppich Supp, will nimmi draa!
Ich will kee Supp, ich gleich sie net!
Ich ess kee Supp, vleicht macht sie fett!"

Am dridde Daag—ya, graad yuscht drei—
wie dinn der Bu, meen's kennt net sei.
Doch wie die Supp kummt uff der Disch,
do losst er los en deiwlich Grisch,
"Die Supp schmeckt gaar net wie sie sett!
Ich will kee Supp, ich gleich sie net!
Ich ess kee Supp, vleicht macht sie fett!"

Am vierde Daag iss aer so dinn
wie'n Bensilschtrich, 's iss yo en Sinn!
Er wiegt fascht nix, iss in der Not.
Am fimfde Daag geht aer schunn dot!

Die Gschicht vum Zawwel-Phillip

"Phillip," saagt der Daedd zum Soh,
"ich deet gleiche ass du do
am Familyedisch schtill sitzscht
un net immer rutschich bischt."
Un die Memm guckt yuscht herum,
saagt ken Watt, bleibt ewwe schtumm.
Doch der Phillp heert widder nix,
finnt sich schunn ball in re Fix.
Er rickt
un er schtrawwelt,

zu dem Daumen-Lutscher-Bub.
Weh! Jetzt geht es klipp und klapp
mit der Scher die Daumen ab,
mit der großen scharfen Scher!
Hei! Da schreit der Konrad sehr.

Als die Mutter kommt nach Haus,
sieht der Konrad traurig aus.
Ohne Daumen steht er dort,
die sind alle beide fort.

Die Geschichte vom Suppen-Kaspar

Der Kaspar, der war kerngesund,
ein dicker Bub und kugelrund,
er hatte Backen rot und frisch;
die Suppe aß er hübsch bei Tisch.
Doch einmal fing er an zu schrein:
»Ich esse keine Suppe! Nein!
Ich esse meine Suppe nicht!
Nein, meine Suppe ess ich nicht!«

Am nächsten Tag, – ja sieh nur her!
da war er schon viel magerer.
Da fing er wieder an zu schrein:
»Ich esse keine Suppe! Nein!
Ich esse meine Suppe nicht!
Nein, meine Suppe ess ich nicht!«

Am dritten Tag, o weh und ach!
wie ist der Kaspar dünn und schwach!
Doch als die Suppe kam herein,
gleich fing er wieder an zu schrein:
»Ich esse keine Suppe! Nein!
Ich esse meine Suppe nicht!
Nein, meine Suppe ess ich nicht!«

Am vierten Tage endlich gar
der Kaspar wie ein Fädchen war.
Er wog vielleicht ein halbes Lot –
und war am fünften Tage tot.

Die Geschichte vom Zappel-Philipp

»Ob der Philipp heute still
wohl bei Tische sitzen will?«
Also sprach in ernstem Ton
der Papa zu seinem Sohn,
und die Mutter blickte stumm
auf dem ganzen Tisch herum.
Doch der Philipp hörte nicht,
was zu ihm der Vater spricht.
Er gaukelt
und schaukelt,

er kickt
un er zawwelt.
Gnarrt der Vadder zu seim Bu,
"Bringscht mich glei noch aus der Ruh!"

Kinner, guckt zum Pickder nuff;
saagt mol, was sehnt ihr datt druff?
Phillip schockelt viel zu viel;
Eerm un Bee all im Gewiehl,
schmeisst er rickwaerts, grickt ken Halt,
will sich rette eb er fallt,
grappscht es Dischduch, reisst es mit;
Deller falle, Supp watt gschitt.
'S Brot ass Daedd hot esse wolle
Sehnt mer uffem Boddem rolle.
Un die Memm guckt yuscht herum;
saagt ken Watt, bleibt ewwe schtumm.

Guckt, der Phill iss nau verschteckt,
middem Dischduch gans gedeckt.
Schnitz un Gnepp ass Daeddi freie
nau unabbedittlich leie
uffem Boddem sammt der Schunke;
's Wei watt aa nie net gedrunke.
'S Dischgschaerr iss aa vellich hie,
's bleiwe yuscht noch Schaerwe, Brie.
Die Eldre warre zannich, bees;
sie wisse nau, was macht ne hees!

er trappelt
und zappelt
auf dem Stuhle hin und her.
»Philipp, das missfällt mir sehr!«

Seht, ihr lieben Kinder, seht,
wie's dem Philipp weiter geht!
Oben steht es auf dem Bild.
Seht! Er schaukelt gar zu wild,
bis der Stuhl nach hinten fällt;
da ist nichts mehr, was ihn hält;
nach dem Tischtuch greift er, schreit.
Doch was hilft's? Zu gleicher Zeit
fallen Teller, Flasch' und Brot,
Vater ist in großer Not,
und die Mutter blicket stumm
auf dem ganzen Tisch herum.

Nun ist Philipp ganz versteckt,
und der Tisch ist abgedeckt.
was der Vater essen wollt,
unten auf der Erde rollt;
Suppe, Brot und alle Bissen,
alles ist herabgerissen;
Suppenschüssel ist entzwei,
und die Eltern stehn dabei.
Beide sind gar zornig sehr,
haben nichts zu essen mehr.

Die Gschicht vum Hans Guck-in-die-Heeh

Geht der Hans zu Grickeschul,
guckt er nuffwaerts—'s iss sei Ruul—
sehnt yuscht Decher, Amschle, Wolge—
immer widder koscht's ihm Folge.
Vor de Fiess, net weit eweck,
sehnt er neddemol der Dreck.
Yeder ruft aus, groos un glee,
"Datt geht Hans Guck-in-die-Heeh!"

Kummt en Hund dohergedratt,
Hans guckt blos, wie immerfatt,
in die Heeh,
immermeh,
basst net uff—glei dutt's em Leed.
Noh was gscheht?
Bums! do leie nau die zwee,
Hund un Hans Guck-in-die-Heeh!

Noh kummt Hans zum Dollbehack—
Schulbuch gut bewaahrt im Sack—
guckt nadierlich in die Heeh,
sehnt die Veggel, net viel meh;

Die Geschichte vom Hans Guck-in-die-Luft

Wenn der Hans zur Schule ging,
stets sein Blick am Himmel hing.
Nach den Dächern, Wolken, Schwalben
schaut er aufwärts, allenthalben.
Vor die eignen Füße dicht,
ja, da sah der Bursche nicht,
also dass ein jeder ruft:
»Seht den Hans Guck-in-die-Luft!«

Kam ein Hund dahergerannt;
Hänslein blickte unverwandt
in die Luft.
Niemand ruft:
»Hans! gib acht, der Hund ist nah!«
Was geschah?
Pauz! Perdauz!—da liegen zwei!
Hund und Hänschen nebenbei.

Einst ging er an Ufers Rand
mit der Mappe in der Hand.
Nach dem blauen Himmel hoch
sah er, wo die Schwalbe flog,

dappt enwennich zu neegscht naah
an dem Grickliufer draa.
Denke Fischlin (sehnscht die drei?),
"Guckt er net, do fallt er rei!"

Noch en Schritt, un blatsch! der Hans
schtatzt ins Wasser, dummi Gans!
Fischlin griege noh en Schreck,
schwimme gans vergelschdert weck.

Doch zum Glick do kumme zwee—
waare yuscht do in der Neeh—
hen mit Gadde ihn verwischt,
hen ihn eefach rausgefischt.

Sehnt, do schteht er gans batsch nass!
Ei, des is en wieschder Gschpass!
Wasser laaft ihm aus de Haar—
kann net sehne nimmi glaar—
vun de Eerm un aus de Gleeder,
's watt ihm sicher friere schpeeder.

Un die Fischlin, alle drei,
schwimme haddich widder bei,
schtrecke Kepp vum Wasser raus,
schpodde Hans mol hatzlich aus.
Lache sich ball voll die Seck,
Un der Schulsack segelt weck.

Die Gschicht vum fliegende Yockel

Wann Gewidderschtarme hause,
Wedderleeche runnersause,
sedde Kinner sicher bleiwe
un im Haus ihr Schpieles dreiwe.
Doch der Yockel denkt, "O nee!
Ich deet gleiche nauszugeh!"
Nemmt sei Amberell un Hut,
batscht herum wie in re Flut.

Nau viel wieschder rauscht der Schtarm,
biegt die Beem, hot ken Erbarm.
Guckt, ihr Kinner, was bassiert,
wie der Wind der Yok drackdiert,
bloost der Schpitzbu hoch un weit
(kennt ihr heere wie er schreit?).
Yokel haldt sei Ambrell fescht,
doch der Hut fliegt schtarrig wescht.

Darch die Luft schteigt yetz der Yockel—
was en Gwackel, was en Gschockel!—
un sei Hut fliegt vannenaus.
Middem Yockli iss es aus!
Nimmand sehnt ihn niemols widder;
Yakob reit sei Gschpass im Gwidder.

also dass er kerzengrad
immer mehr zum Flusse trat.
Und die Fischlein in der Reih
sind erstaunt sehr, alle drei.

Noch ein Schritt! und plumps! der Hans
stürzt hinab kopfüber ganz!—
Die drei Fischlein sehr erschreckt
haben sich sogleich versteckt.

Doch zum Glück da kommen zwei
Männer aus der Näh herbei,
und die haben ihn mit Stangen
aus dem Wasser aufgefangen.

Seht! Nun steht er triefend nass!
Ei! das ist ein schlechter Spaß!
Wasser läuft dem armen Wicht
aus dem Haaren ins Gesicht,
aus den Kleidern, von den Armen;
und es friert ihn zum Erbarmen.

Doch die Fischlein alle drei
schwimmen hurtig gleich herbei;
strecken 's Köpflein aus der Flut,
lachen, dass man's hören tut,
lachen fort noch lange Zeit;
und die Mappe schwimmt schon weit.

Die Geschichte vom fliegenden Robert

Wenn der Regen niederbraust,
wenn der Sturm das Feld durchsaust,
bleiben Mädchen oder Buben
hübsch daheim in ihren Stuben.
Robert aber dachte: »Nein!
Das muss draußen herrlich sein.«
Und im Felde patschet er
mit dem Regenschirm umher.

Hui, wie pfeift der Sturm und keucht,
dass der Baum sich niederbeugt!
Seht! den Schirm erfasst der Wind,
und der Robert fliegt geschwind
durch die Luft so hoch, so weit;
niemand hört ihn, wenn er schreit.
An die Wolken stößt er schon,
und der Hut fliegt auch davon.

Schirm und Robert fliegen dort
durch die Wolken immer fort.
Und der Hut fliegt weit voran,
stößt zuletzt am Himmel an.
Wo der Wind sie hingetragen,
Ja! das weiß kein Mensch zu sagen.

Remarks on Earl C. Haag's *Schtruwwelpitter*

The literature of the Pennsylvania Germans includes few translations from other languages. To my knowledge J. William Frey and John Birmelin's translations of Wilhelm Busch's *Max und Moritz*[5] have been the only attempts at translating a major literary work from German into PG. With a hiatus of over sixty years Earl C. Haag now presents another German children's book in a PG translation.

It is indeed in the footsteps of these two great Pennsylvania Germans that the "Alt Professer" is now following. His *Schtruwwelpitter* is a faithful rendering of Heinrich Hoffmann's original, staying close to the German text but also conveying its spirit in a most congenial way.

The dialect Haag uses is that of his generation of "non-sectarian" speakers of PG,[6] most of whom did not themselves grow up speaking PG in their homes, but learned it from their grandparents or neighbors. Activists among them are intent on maintaining its use against the danger of its dying out in their social group because, with few exceptions, the language has not been handed down to the young generation for decades and the speakers themselves are mostly over seventy years old.

Contrary to the socio-linguistic situation among "sectarians" (i.e., Old Order Amish and conservative Mennonites), who still retain PG as their first language and with whom the dialect is "alive and well," and evolving, this variety of PG may at the beginning of the twenty-first century be called a historical dialect or at least a dialect on the way to becoming one. This is evidenced by a distinctly conservative linguistic attitude among most of its outspoken proponents, their insistence on "correct" PG grammar, especially the use of the dative case, as handed down through generations, and their aversion against using "unnecessary" English words in the dialect, which they fear would erode it.

Within the framework of this variety, Haag's translation is a fine example of traditional literary PG. As can be expected, he is consistent in spelling, generally using the so-called Buffington-Barba system, follows established grammatical rules, and uses few English loans.

As far as Haag's translation techniques are concerned, I would like to make a few comments on his vocabulary and cultural adaptation. In this, we are fortunate to be able to refer to Haag's own words, which he wrote in correspondence with me during the translation process.[7]

In general it would seem that Haag's approach to Dutchifying "Struwwelpeter" evolved over the weeks and months of his work. He remarks himself:

> When you asked me to give it a shot, I decided to try. It became an obsession with me! Day after day I worked at it, at first simply translating words

> quite literally, but then translating thoughts and ideas, not just words. The latter was especially true when you told me that some of my better lines were *not* the literal translations of Hoffmann's lines. And I think I started to get the knack of translating ideas rather than just words.

And in another letter:

> I'll bet you know what's happening! . . . Every time I take another look at the poems, I think of another way of saying things. I'm getting freer in my translations, no longer relying on the words of the original Hoffmann version, and thinking of more and more idiomatic expressions to take the place of weak, less idiomatic, rather common PG words.

With regard to his preference of German rather than English words Haag is very outspoken, and makes his point several times, maintaining that he is using "the true PG dialect," avoids "totally unnecessary English words" and shuns "English words uffgemixt with the dialect." As he wrote: "I would like to keep English to a *very bare* minimum."

A typical Haagian sense of humor speaks from the following quote: "I'll not use English if a PG words exists—with certain exceptions that have really established themselves ever since the beginning of mankind." And after we had discussed this at some length, he rounded it off by writing: "I do hope you are not too angry with me for airing my views on anglicized PG. Perhaps it's my age. On the other hand, . . ."

His traditionalist attitude is also reflected in the following comment: "Perhaps my problem is that I think of the works of Moll, Birmelin and Funk as constituting the Golden Age of PG poetry/literature, and would rather emulate them than 'modern" translations . . ."[8] This certainly is an attitude which one cannot but respect.

Haag indeed stayed true to his promise. His text contains few English terms, a total of little more than a dozen, and while these have not "established themselves ever since the beginning of mankind," they certainly belong to the vocabulary used by PG poets for decades. These are: *Pickder (*and *Pickterbicher), schnieke (schniekt), hunde, Hunder (Haasehunder, Hunderreckli), Bensil(schtrich), Daedd(i), Memm, beheefe (beheeft), Fix, Koppli, Grick(li) (Grickeschul, Grickliufer), Ruul, dradde (dohergedratt).*

As is most fitting for a trans-cultural translation, in many passages Haag also strove to give his verses a distinct Dutch flair so as to situate the stories in a PG cultural environment. This is reflected in his renaming or adapting the names of some of the characters. Peter becomes Pitter, Pauline Palli or Pall, Gretchen is renamed Lisbett, Wilhelm figures as Maani or Mannewel, Konrad as Kunni, and Robert as Yockel (or Yok, Yakob, Yockli), which nicely rhymes with "Gschockel." In his "Vorwatt" he added to the concept of the

German Christkind ("Grischtkindel") that of the American Santa ("Saendi Klaas").

His cultural adaptation is, however, most clearly in evidence in "Die Gschicht vum Hans Guck-in-die-Heeh." After revising this story Haag proudly related how he went about making Hans into a Pennsylvania German schoolboy:

> A good example of what I'm trying to say would be the story of Hans Guck-in-die-Heeh. At first I thought I should keep his wanderings very general, not just on his way to school. But I then realized I was missing a chance to connect with Henry Harbaugh's very first poem, "Das Schulhaus an der Grick." Thus, die *Grickeschul* . . . . Early on in the history of PG poetry, poets "latched on" to Harbaugh's subject matter; 20 to 30 poems about school were the results of this infatuation with Harbaugh's various poetic interests.

Consequently this brings Haag to the rhyme "Schul/Ruule": "Harbaugh rhymed *Schul* and *Ruul* (E "rule"), so it's hard to find a 'school poem' that doesn't do the same." While this places Haag's version within the history and rhyming tradition of PG poetry, it was a clever idea of his to have Hans fall into the "Dullbehack." He writes:

> In a very important PG area . . . the Tulpehocken Creek is well known not only for its fish but, more importantly, for the fact that it was the path by which German families came into what is now Berks County. . . . Happily, the Tulpehocken is a creek, so it is certainly in keeping with the Harbaugh poem.

In the same episode Haag translates "Schwalben" freely as "Amschle," because "*Amschle* are very dear to the heart of the PGs, who have given this name to the common robin." This is another congenial choice.

Further on in the poem, Haag finds another way to truly Dutchify the tale by asking himself: "Wouldn't it be logical that Hans' two rescuers would 'fish' him out of the water with *fishing poles*?" Consequently he chose this wording: ". . . hen mit Gadde ihn verwischt."

As stated before, Haag over a long period of time kept working on, and constantly improving his translation. He once wrote: "My guess is that till the day I die, I'll be thinking of different ways to say what I've already said." And this he apparently did with much pleasure, or else he would not have said: "I am getting a big kick out of it."

It is to be hoped that all readers of his PG rendering of Heinrich Hoffmann's classical children's book will get an equally "big kick" out of reading it.

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Notes

[1] English quotations are from *The English Struwwelpeter or Pretty Stories and Funny Pictures for Little Children,* After the Sixth Edition of the Celebrated German Work of Dr. Heinrich Hoffmann (Leipzig: Friedrich Volckmar, 1848). Its text is still in print today; e.g., *The English Struwwelpeter: Pretty Stories and Funny Pictures for Little Children,* Bilingual Edition: English and German (Neckarsteinach: Edition Tintenfaß, 2008).

[2] *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* 6, no. 1 (2002): 4.

[3] "Gedanke Schliwwere," *Hiwwe wie Driwwe* 12, no.1 (2008): [3]; and 12, no. 2 (2008): 7.

[4] The German text is taken from *The English Struwwelpeter* (see no.1), 32–36.

[5] J. William Frey, *Jake un Johnny: 'n Buweg'schicht in siwwe Schtreech* (Lancaster, 1943) and John Birmelin, "Hans un Yarick: 'n Buwe'gschicht in siwwe Schtreech," *The Morning Call* (Allentown), 25 November to 9 December 1944. Birmelin's version is available in a reprint: Wilhelm Busch and John Birmelin, *Hans un Yarick: Max un Moritz,* Bilingual Edition by Walter Sauer (Neckarsteinach: Edition Tintenfaß, 2002).

[6] For the distinction between sectarian and non-sectarian speakers of PG see Achim Kopp, *The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna UP, 1999), 25–31.

[7] Earl's letters are generally undated and, unfortunately, I did not note the dates when they reached me.

[8] A nice case in point for such a "modern translation" would be Mark L. Louden's excellent rendering of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince,* actually the first PG translation of any work of French literature. It is consistently written in the PG variety currently used by the Old Order Amish and conservative Mennonite communities and therefore realistically makes liberal use of English loan words and phrases and does not always follow traditional rules of grammar. See Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Der glee Prins. Iwwersetzt aus's Frentsche in's Pennsylfaanisch-Deitsche* vum Mark L. Louden (Neckarsteinach: Edition Tintenfaß, 2008).

William D. Keel

An 1857 Version of the *Schnitzelbank*-Song from Basel, Switzerland

In 1937, Thomas Brendle and William Troxell recorded Mabel Keeney at Rehrensburg, Berks County, Pennsylvania, singing a *Schnitzelbank*-type song entitled "Di Lichputscher" with the refrain: "Ei du scheene, ei du scheene, ei du scheene Lichputscher. Di Lichputscher." Although a different object is utilized for the refrain—*eine Lichtputzschere* instead of *eine Schnitzelbank*—all aspects of the song are quite similar to those of the well-known "classical" version of the *Schnitzelbank*-song—a call and response type sing-along that typically is sung while pointing to objects on a colorful chart depicting a set of rhyme words.

The twelve couplets of the Berks County variant insert the rhyming words following the pattern of "Is des net . . . ? Ja des is . . . !"[1] The first verse introduces an item to rhyme with the principal word of the refrain:

Is des net des Hie un Her? Ja, des is des Hie un Her!
Des Hie un Her, un di Lichputscher.
Ei du scheene, ei du scheene, ei du scheene Lichputscher. Die Lichputscher.

Subsequent verses add in rhyming pairs of items following the pattern above:

Is des net des Kaz un Lang? Ja, des is des Kaz un Lang!
Is des net des Feierzang? Ja, des is des Feierzang!

All items are then repeated in reverse order followed by the refrain:

Des Feierzang, un des Kaz un Lang, un des Hie un Her, un di Lichtputscher!
Ei du scheene, ei du scheene, ei du scheene Lichputscher. Die Lichputscher.

The song continues adding the following items in pairs and building up the refrain into a longer and longer piece.

Is des net des Grum un Grâd
Is des net en Wajjerâd?

Is des net ein Eijeschnawwel?
Is des net en Offegawwel?

Is des net en Seijebock?
Is des net en armer Drobb?

Is des net des Kaes un Budder?
Is des net di Hambargs Mudder?[2]

For those familiar with the traditions of the Pennsylvania German ground hog lodges, the *Fersommling* held annually would not be complete without a robust singing of a Pennsylvania German version of the *Schnitzelbank*. Dick Beam of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville, Pennsylvania, kindly provided me with two versions of the *Schnitzelbank* in Pennsylvania German from the 1990s. The first version is from the 1999 meeting of the Ground Hog Lodge "Nummer Ains on da Lechaw" (see Fig. 1), using the refrain "Ei, du scheeni, ei du scheeni, ei du scheeni Schnitzelbank" and containing sixteen images:[3]

Iss des net en Schnitzelbank? - Ya, des iss en Schnitzelbank?
Iss des net en Kurz un Lang? - Ya, des iss en Kurz un Lang!
Iss des net en Hin un Haer? - Ya, des iss en Hin un Haer!
Iss des net en Lichtputzschaer? - Ya, des iss en Lichtputzschaer!
Iss des net en Krum un Grad? - Ya, des iss en Krum un Grad!
Iss des net en Wagenrad? - Ya, des iss en Wagenrad!
Iss des net en goldener Ring? - Ya, des iss en goldener Ring!
Iss des net en schoenes Ding? - Ya, des iss en schoenes Ding!
Iss des net en Hinkel Feder? - Ya, des iss en Hinkel Feder!
Iss des net en Donner Wedder? - Ya, des iss en Donner Wedder!
Iss des net en gute Wurst? - Ya, des iss en gute Wurst!
Iss des net en grosser Dursht? - Ya, des iss en grosser Dursht!
Iss des net en Houfa Mischt? - Ya, des iss en Houfa Mischt!
Iss des net en alte Kischt? - Ya, des iss en alte Kischt!
Iss des net en Oxa Schwans? - Ya, des iss en Oxa Schwans!
Iss des net en fetti Gans? - Ya, des iss en fetti Gans!

The second version from Pennsylvania differs from the first example by using eighteen couplets with the "*Ei du scheeni*" refrain (see Fig. 2). Its dialect spellings are less influenced by the Standard German orthography and it introduces a number of new objects. In the case of the "*Ring*," it uses the dialect form of the "classical" version's "*Hochzeit Ring*" introduced below:[4]

Iss des net en Schnitzelbank? - Ya, des iss en Schnitzelbank?
Iss des net en groosser Shank? - Ya, des iss en groosser Shank?[5]
Iss des net en Kurz un Lang? - Ya, des iss en Kurz un Lang!
Iss des net en Rossel Schlong? - Ya, des iss en Rossel Schlong![6]

An 1857 Version of the Schnitzelbank*-Song from Basel, Switzerland*

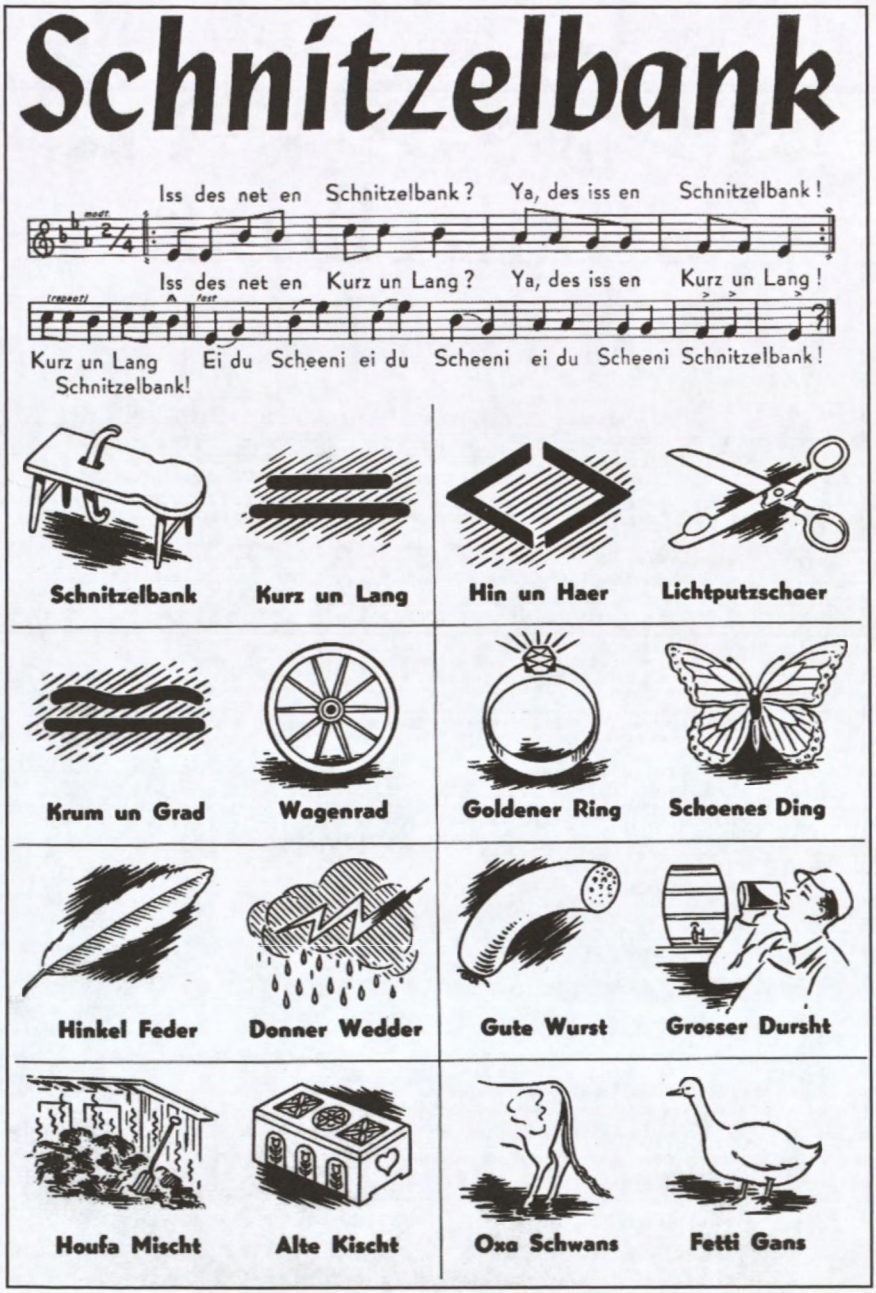


Figure 1. Courtesy of C. Richard Beam, Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville, Pennsylvania.

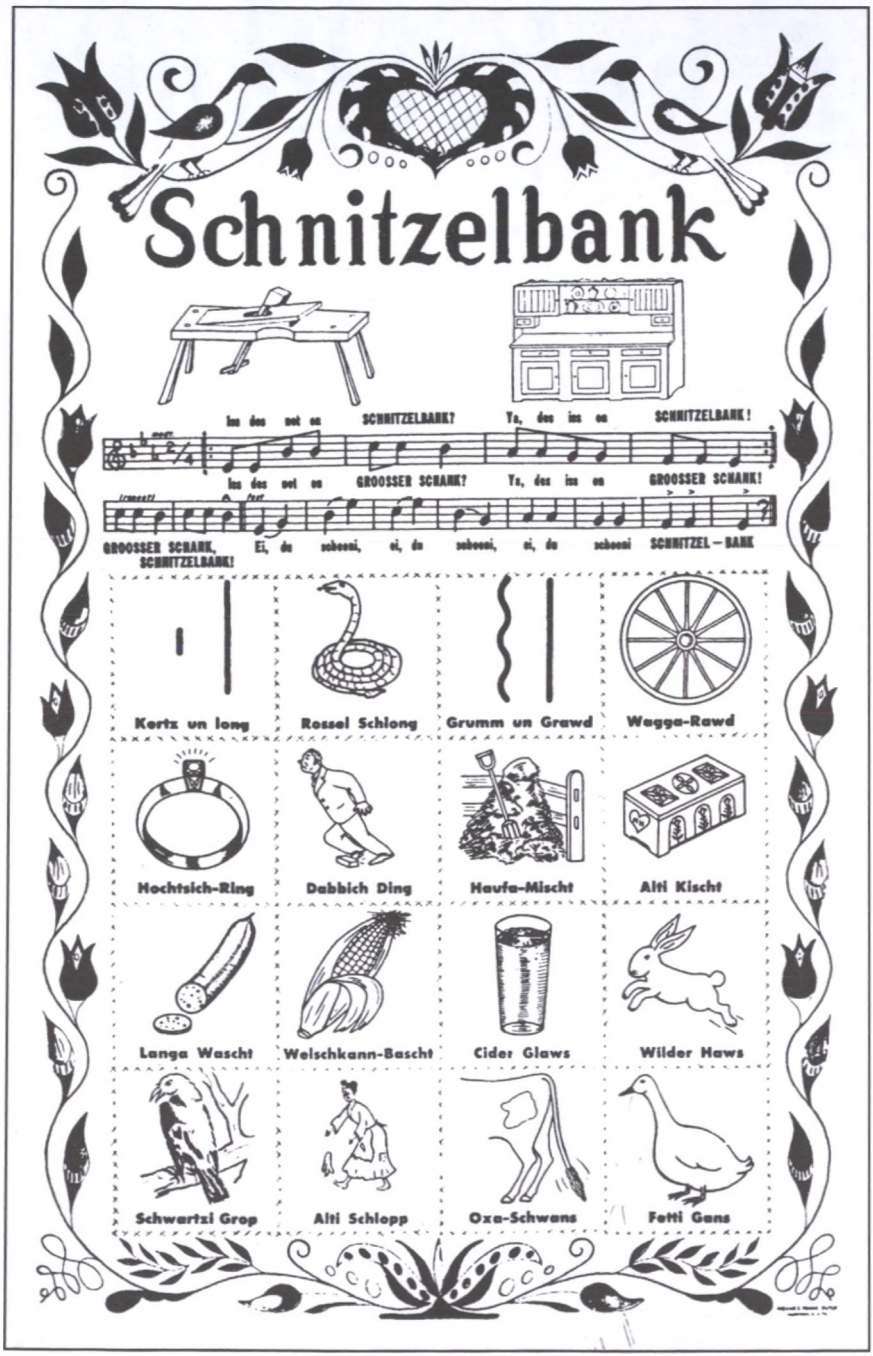


Figure 2. Forty-ninth Jacksonville Church *Fersommling* "Schnitzelbank," 1992. Courtesy of C. Richard Beam, Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville, Pennsylvania.

Iss des net en Grumm un Grawd? - Ya, des iss en Grumm un Grawd!
Iss des net en Wagga-Rawd? - Ya, des iss en Wagga-Rawd!
Iss des net en Hochtsich-Ring? - Ya, des iss en Hochtsich-Ring!
Iss des net en dabbich Ding? - Ya, des iss en dabbich Ding![7]
Iss des net en Haufa Mischt? - Ya, des iss en Haufa Mischt!
Iss des net en alti Kischt? - Ya, des iss en alti Kischt!
Iss des net en lange Wascht? - Ya, des iss en lange Wascht!
Iss des net en Welschkann-Bascht? - Ya, des iss en Welschkann-Bascht![8]
Iss des net en Cider Glaws? - Ya, des iss en Cider Glaws!
Iss des net en wilder Haws? - Ya, des iss en wilder Haws!
Iss des net en schwartzi Grop? - Ya, des iss en schwartzi Grop![9]
Iss des net en alti Schlopp? - Ya, des iss en alti Schlopp![10]
Iss des net en Oxa Schwans? - Ya, des iss en Oxa Schwans!
Iss des net en fetti Gans? - Ya, des iss en fetti Gans!

A nearly identical version in Pennsylvania German is reprinted in a 1972 article in the German weekly *Die Zeit*.[11] Again we find eighteen objects paralleling those above with the following changes: The appearance of the pair "*Hochtsich-Ring/dabbich Ding*" occurs eight couplets later; the pair "*Kurz unn Lang/Rossel Schlong*" and "*schwartzi Grop/alti Schlopp*" are deleted; and four new couplets appear in their place:

Iss des net en Schnickel-Fritz? - Ya, des iss en Schnickel-Fritz!
Iss des net en Wunner-Fitz? - Ya, des iss en Wunner-Fitz![12]
Iss des net en Grischtdawgs-Bawm? - Ya, des iss en Grischtdawgs-Bawm![13]
Iss des net en wieschter Drawm? - Ya, des iss en wieschter Drawm!

The newspaper author humorously asserts that the *Schnitzelbank*-song, which he calls "jener hierzulande nur noch selten erklingende oberdeutsche Gesang," is the most famous piece of German poetry in the United States. He goes on to note that tourists, who purchase such *Schnitzelbank* picture charts on New York's 60th Street containing a charming mixture of German dialect, English, neologisms, and downright typos, consider the song to be the epitome of what is German.[14]

Published collections of Pennsylvania German folk songs also feature *Schnitzelbank*-type songs. Phares H. Hertzog includes a twelve-couplet version essentially like the first Pennsylvania German variant mentioned above through the first ten couplets, if one ignores minor spelling variations. The eleventh and twelth couplets are different:[15]

Iss des nicht en Geisenbock? - Yah, des iss en Geisenbock!
Iss des nicht en Reifenrock? - Yah, des iss en Reifenrock!

On the following page, Hertzog displays the music to the song framed by twelve images, however, these twelve do not coincide with those in the text

provided, nor are they arranged in rhyme pairs. The images include the following in order from the top of the page: *Welschkann-Bascht; Alti Kischt; Langi Wascht; Wilder Haws; Schnitzelbank; Wagenrad; Kurz und Lang; Goldener Ring; Schnickel-Fritz; Fetti Gans; Grischtdawgs-Bawm;* and *Oxa-Schwans.*[16]

However, the *Schnitzelbank* and similar songs are not only quite common among the Pennsylvania Germans, they have also gained widespread acceptance throughout many communities with large German-American populations and have also entered American popular culture. On the other hand, the mention of the *Schnitzelbank* in American or German academic circles invariably elicits the response that it is a creation of German-American culture. Some attribute it to attempts by parents to get their children to speak German. Others claim it was created at a German restaurant in Milwaukee. Most native Germans swear to have never heard of it in Europe, as is essentially confirmed in the newspaper account that appeared in *Die Zeit* cited above.

What I call the "classical" version known throughout the United States has the following verses with many variations in the spellings (see Fig. 3):

Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank? - Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank!
Ist das nicht ein Kurz und Lang? - Ja, das ist ein Kurz und Lang!
Ist das nicht ein Hin und Her? - Ja, das ist ein Hin und Her!
Ist das nicht ein Kreuz und Quer? - Ja, das ist ein Kreuz und Quer!
Ist das nicht ein Schies Gewehr? - Ja, das ist ein Schies Gewehr!
Ist das nicht ein Wagen Rad? - Ja, das ist ein Wagen Rad!
Ist das nicht ein Krum und Grad? - Ja, das ist ein Krum und Grad!
Ist das nicht ein grosses Glas? - Ja, das ist ein grosses Glas!
Ist das nicht ein Oxen Blas? - Ja, das ist ein Oxen Blas!
Ist das nicht ein Hauffen Mist? - Ja, das ist ein Hauffen Mist!
Ist das nicht ein Schnickel Fritz? - Ja, das ist ein Schnickel Fritz!
Ist das nicht eine dicke Frau? - Ja, das ist eine dicke Frau!
Ist das nicht eine fette Sau? - Ja, das ist eine fette Sau!
Ist das nicht ein langer Man? - Ja, das ist ein langer Man!
Ist das nicht ein Tanenbaum? - Ja, das ist ein Tanenbaum!
Ist das nicht ein Hochzeit Ring? - Ja, das ist ein Hochzeit Ring!
Ist das nicht ein gefahrliches Ding? - Ja, das ist ein gefahrliches Ding![17]

As a refrain, most picture charts for the song include the following words to be sung after each pair of couplets while repeating the complete series of rhyme words in reverse order:[18]

Oh, die Schönheit an der Wand! - Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank![19]

Or, simply:

Oh, du schöne Schnitzelbank!

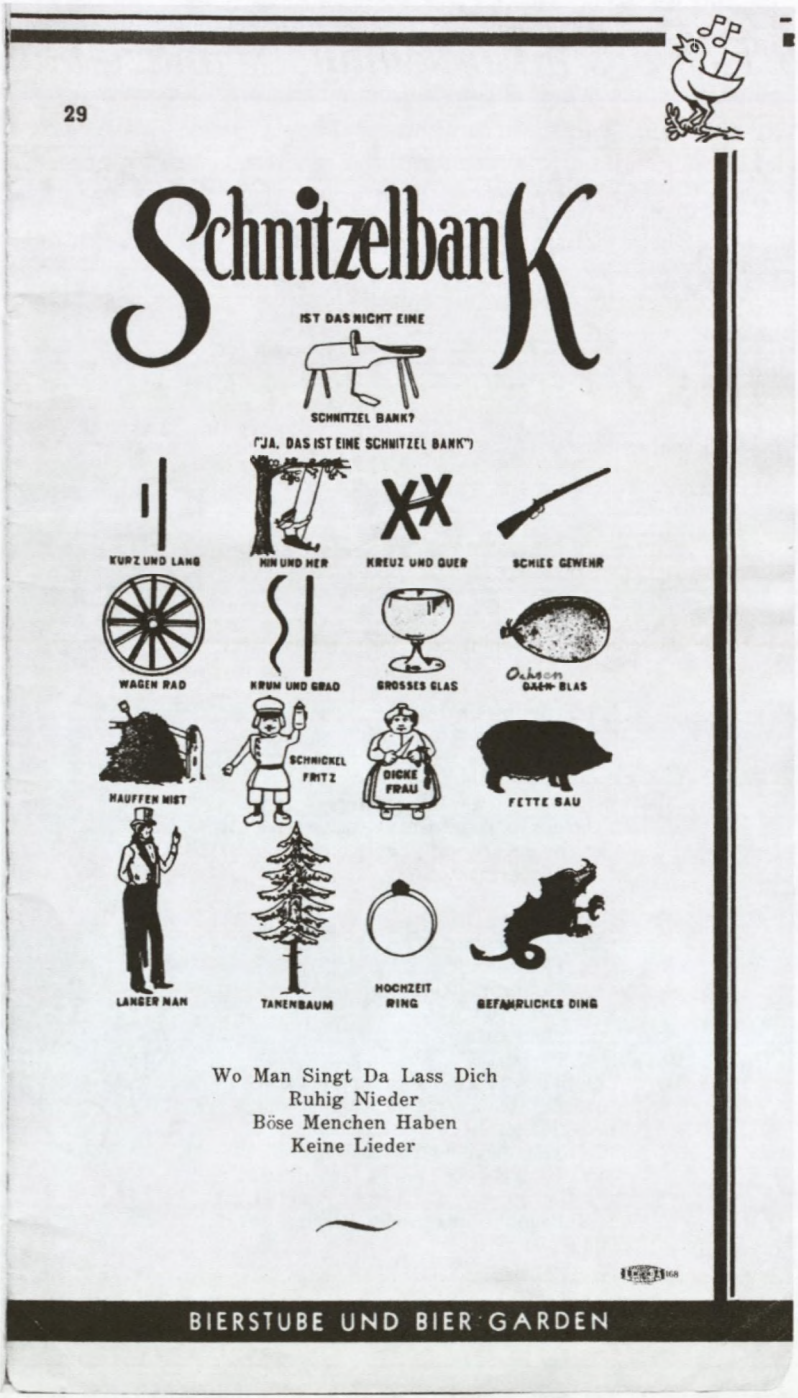
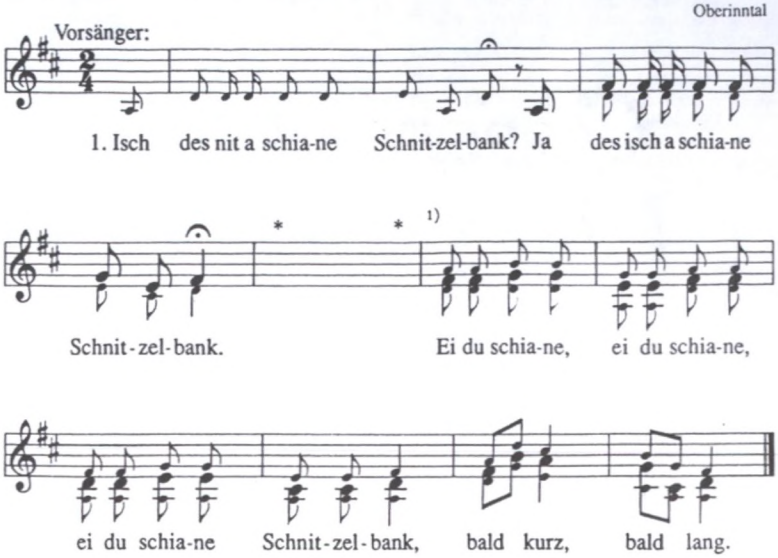


Figure 3. The Black Forest Restaurant (St. Louis, Missouri) *Bierstube Songbook*, ca. 1935. Courtesy of Helen Fitzgerald.

99 *Isch des nit a schiane Schnitzelbank*

Oberinntal



2. V: Isch des nit a schianes Kurz und Langs?
   A: Ja, des isch a schianes Kurz und Langs,
   * und a Schnitzelbank *. Ei du schiane...

3. V: Isch des nit a schianes Krumps und a Grads?
   A: Ja, des isch a schianes Krumps und a Grads,
   * und a Kurz und a Langs und a Schnitzelbank. *
   Ei du schiane ...

4. V: ... Hin und Her?
5. V: ... Liachtputzscher?
6. V: ... Fleischhackbeil?
7. V: ... Taschenpfeil?
8. V: ... Kellerstiagn?
9. V: ... Kinderwiagn?
10. V: ... Fingerring?
11. V: Isch des nit a schianes Jungfraunding?
    A: Ja, des isch a schianes Jungfraunding,
    * und a Fingerring, und a Kinderwiagn,
    und a Kellerstiagn, und a Taschenpfeil,
    und a Fleischhackbeil, und a Liachtputzscher,
    und a Hin und Her, und a Krumps und a Grads,
    und Kurz und a Langs und a Schnitzelbank. *
    Ei du schiane ...

1) ** hier werden nacheinander die Elemente der vorangehenden Strophen eingefügt. Siehe 2. und 3. Strophe!

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Figure 4. Courtesy of Wolfgang Stanicek, Niederösterreiches Volksliedarchiv, St. Pölten, Austria.

However, some investigation reveals the existence of *Schnitzelbänke* not only throughout the United States where there were heavy concentrations of German settlement such as New York, Pennsylvania and the Midwest, but also in German-speaking areas of Europe as well, from Schleswig-Holstein to Tyrol. Especially in the Alemannic dialect region—Switzerland, Alsace, Baden and Swabia—we find frequent mention of *Schnitzelbank*-type songs.

"Den Refrain 'ei du scheene, ei du scheene, ei du scheene Schnitzelbangg' kennt die ganze Schweiz. Tatsächlich sind Schnitzelbängg das beliebteste Basler Fasnachts-Happening bei den übrigen Eidgenossen."[20] This Swiss or Alemannic connection to the *Schnitzelbank*-song has been recently ellucidated in a collection of some 1,600 *Schnitzelbänke*—"geistreiche, treffende, liebenswerte und auch beißende Verse zum politischen, kulturellen und sozialen Leben Basels und der Welt"[21]—that was published in 2002 under the title *"Ei du scheene . . .": Das 20. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Basler Schnitzelbänke.*[22] The collection documents the long tradition of the post-Shrovetide custom in Basel (and in many other cities of this region) of *Schnitzelbank* clubs (*Schnitzelbankgesellschaften* or *Schnitzelbank-Comités*) singing humorous ditties at pubs during the seventy-two hours of merrymaking beginning at 4:00 AM on the Monday following Ash Wednesday. The songs poke fun at politicians and other important figures and are traditionally accompanied by charts with colorful pictures depicting the subject of the songs. The traditions of *Fasnacht* in Basel are unthinkable without the many *Schnitzelbängg-Cliquen.* For *Fasnacht* 2008, the citizens of Basel and visitors to the city were entertained by some sixty-six *Schnitzelbank* clubs.[23]

In Baden Württemberg, the city of Ellwangen an der Jagst (Swabia) celebrated the 150th anniversary of a unique secret society there in 2001 with the publication of *Geheimsache Schnitzelbank.*[24] Since 1851, a group of men, whose identities are a "strictly guarded secret," has preserved the tradition of venting popular criticisms at authority figures on the Sunday before Ash Wednesday. The throng, dressed in black and wearing masks, marches by torchlight through the town, entering a number of pubs where the public waits to hear which politician, pastor or teacher will be the object of their musical barbs.

Researching the history of this secret society in Ellwangen, Jens Kohring defines a *Schnitzelbank* as an old Shrovetide custom in which local happenings and political events were represented on picture charts and portrayed in satirical verses sung to popular folk tunes. Kohring also notes that this custom is probably rooted in singing the news on the medieval market square and in the patter ditties of the *Bänkelsänger.*[25] An additional source for the *Schnitzelbank* may be found in an ancient wedding custom in which the wedding guests are entertained by humorous pictures about the wedding couple

accompanied musically by satirical verses—the names for this custom varied but included *Lichtputzschere, Snydersbank, Hobelbank* and *Schnitzelbank.*[26]

Materials in the folk song archives in Germany and Austria clearly document the European origins of this type of song, popular throughout the German-speaking world during the nineteenth century and undoubtedly brought by German-speaking immigrants to the New World. The song known as the *Schnitzelbank* is documented for all of Germany and the neighboring German-speaking countries as well as in southeast European German speech islands, the Netherlands and the United States. Its ultimate origin, however, is unknown.

The earliest transcriptions (the collections of Ludwig Erks in the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg, Germany) are from about 1840 in the regions of Hesse, Silesia, North-Rhine Westphalia, and the Palatinate. A copy of a similar song "*Das ist klein und das ist groß, und das ist 'ne Gartenros*" has been assigned the date of 1830 (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv).[27]

The song is equally well known in Tyrol in several versions (Niederösterreichisches Volksliedarchiv).[28] The following variant in South Bavarian dialect is from the Upper Inn Valley in western Austria (see Fig. 4):

Isch des nit a schiane Schnitzelbank? - Ja, des isch a schiane Schnitzelbank.
Ei du schiane, ei du schiane, ei du schiane Schnitzelbank, bald kurz, bald lang.

The verses in this Tyrolean version use the following words:

a schianes Kurz und Langs
a schianes Hin und Her
a schianes Krumps und a Grads
a schiane Liachtputzscher
a schianes Fleischhackbeil
a schianes Taschenpfeil
a schiane Kellerstiagn
a schiane Kinderwiagn
a schianer Fingerring
a schianes Jungfraunding

The music of the refrain is also in three-part harmony typical of the Alpine folk music. The text and overall pattern are quite similar, though, to the American versions discussed earlier.

A somewhat different variant is found throughout Germany. It begins as follows using *Hobelbank* instead of *Schnitzelbank* or *Lichtputzschere* as its prinicpal word:

Das ist kurz, und das ist lang, und das ist ne Hobelbank.
Kurz und lang, Hobelbank. O, du schöne, o, du schöne, o, du schöne Hobelbank.

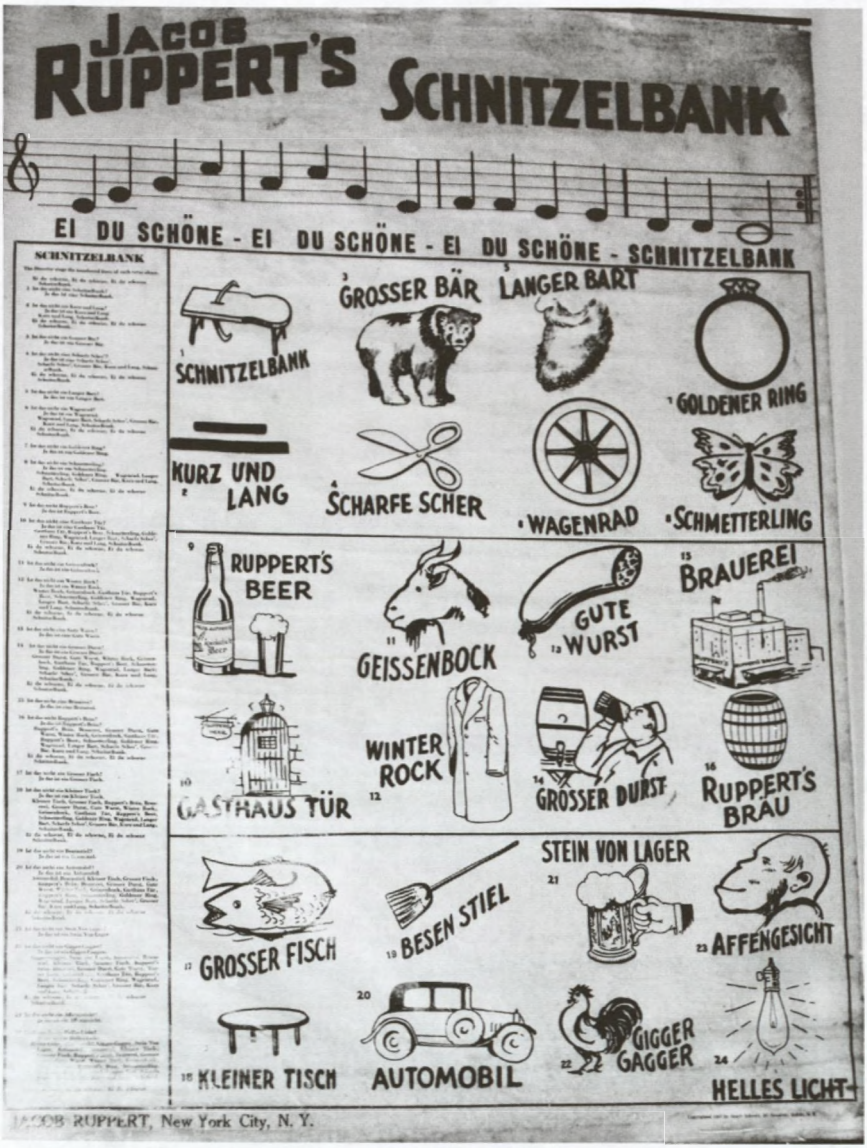
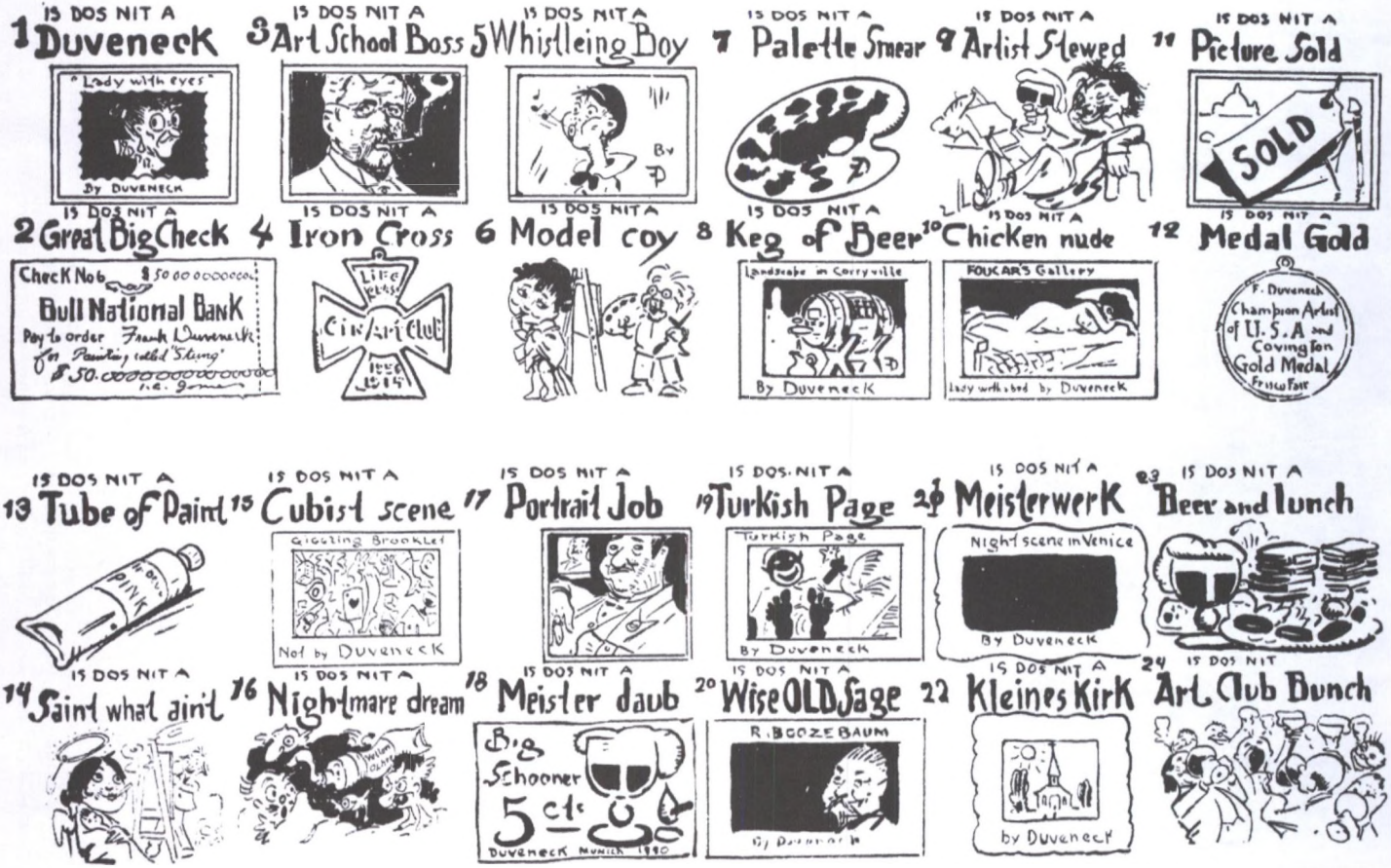


Figure 5. Courtesy of Randall Donaldson, Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland.

Figure 6 (following page). Courtesy of Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati, Ohio, and by permission of the Mary R. Schiff Library and Archives—Cincinnati Art Museum.


IS DOS NIT A
1 Duveneck
"Lady with eyes"
By Duveneck
IS DOS NIT A
2 Great Big Check
Check No 6
$ 50.00
Bull National Bank
Pay to order Frank Duveneck
For Painting called "String"
$ 50.00
IS DOS NIT A
3 Art School Boss
IS DOS NIT A
4 Iron Cross
LIFE CLASS
CINCINNATI ART CLUB
IS DOS NIT A
5 Whistleing Boy
By FD
IS DOS NIT A
6 Model coy
IS DOS NIT A
7 Palette Smear
IS DOS NIT A
8 Keg of Beer
Landscape in Corryville
By Duveneck
IS DOS NIT A
9 Artist Stewed
IS DOS NIT A
10 Chicken nude
FOUCAR'S Gallery
Lady with bird by Duveneck
IS DOS NIT A
11 Picture Sold
SOLD
IS DOS NIT A
12 Medal Gold
F. Duveneck
Champion Artist
of U. S. A and
Covington
Gold Medal
Festwoche
IS DOS NIT A
13 Tube of Paint
PINK
IS DOS NIT A
15 Cubist scene
Giggling Brooklet
Not by Duveneck
IS DOS NIT A
17 Portrait Job
IS DOS NIT A
19 Turkish Page
Turkish Page
By Duveneck
IS DOS NIT A
21 MeisterwerK
Night scene in Venice
By Duveneck
IS DOS NIT A
23 Beer and lunch
IS DOS NIT A
14 Saint what ain't
IS DOS NIT A
16 Nightmare dream
IS DOS NIT A
18 Meister daub
Big Schooner
5 cts
Duveneck Munich 1890
IS DOS NIT A
20 Wise OLD Sage
R. BGOZE BAUM
IS DOS NIT A
22 Kleines Kirk
by Duveneck
IS DOS NIT
24 Art Club Bunch

The remaining three verses again show similarities and differences to the previously discussed versions:

Das ist hin, und das ist her, und das ist ne Schneiderscher
Das ist krumm, und das ist grad, und das ist ein Wagenrad.
Das ist eine Ofengabel, und das ist ein Storchenschnabel.

Instructions at the bottom of the song text indicate that additional items may be added at pleasure and according to the circumstances of the moment. The items should be drawn skillfully with chalk on a table or board.[29]

Although we do not know precisely when or how the European versions of the *Schnitzelbank*-song were transmitted to the New World, it appears to be incontrovertible that the origins of the song are in Europe and that it was brought to the United States (and elsewhere) by immigrants from German-speaking areas of Europe. In the United States, in particular, the song developed into an icon in popular culture. The song was popularized during the era of Vaudeville and entered an amazing variety of venues from the stage, to literature, to radio, to television, to film.[30]

Among the many versions of the song we find those used to advertise beer (see Fig. 5 for Ruppert's Beer, New York, 1907), those that "roast" a prominent individual (see Fig. 6 about the career of the German-American painter Frank Duveneck of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1915), those that advertise a phonograph recording (see Fig. 7 from Odeon Records, 1922), or those used to advertise a book publisher (see Fig. 8 from the Pennsylvania-Dutch Cookbook Publishers, 1935). Its continuing popularity is evidenced by the many breweries that began using the song as an advertising jingle in the post-Prohibition days (see Fig. 9 for Gunther's Beer). The well-known or "classical" version of the song appears to have been popularized at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition in 1933.[31] The earliest attested version of the "classical" text was copyrighted in 1914 by the Vaudeville act known as Alphonse and Gaston.[32]

However, a recent discovery may indicate the possible origin of this song in Europe and again points back to Basel in Switzerland where the tradition of singing *Schnitzelbänke* lives on during *Fasnacht*. After finding a reference to a 1971 publication in the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Völkerkunde* mentioning the origin of a forgotten *Schnitzelbank* tradition, I contacted the author, Martin Staehelin, professor of musicology at the University of Göttingen.[33] Professor Staehelin graciously shared his views on the *Schnitzelbank*-song with me:[34]

> Die Praxis des "Schnitzelbank"-Singens ist heute ein wesentlicher Teil dieser Fasnacht [in Basel]. Die "poetische" und strophische Form des "Ei du schöner . . . Schnitzelbank" ist heute flankiert von mehreren anderen

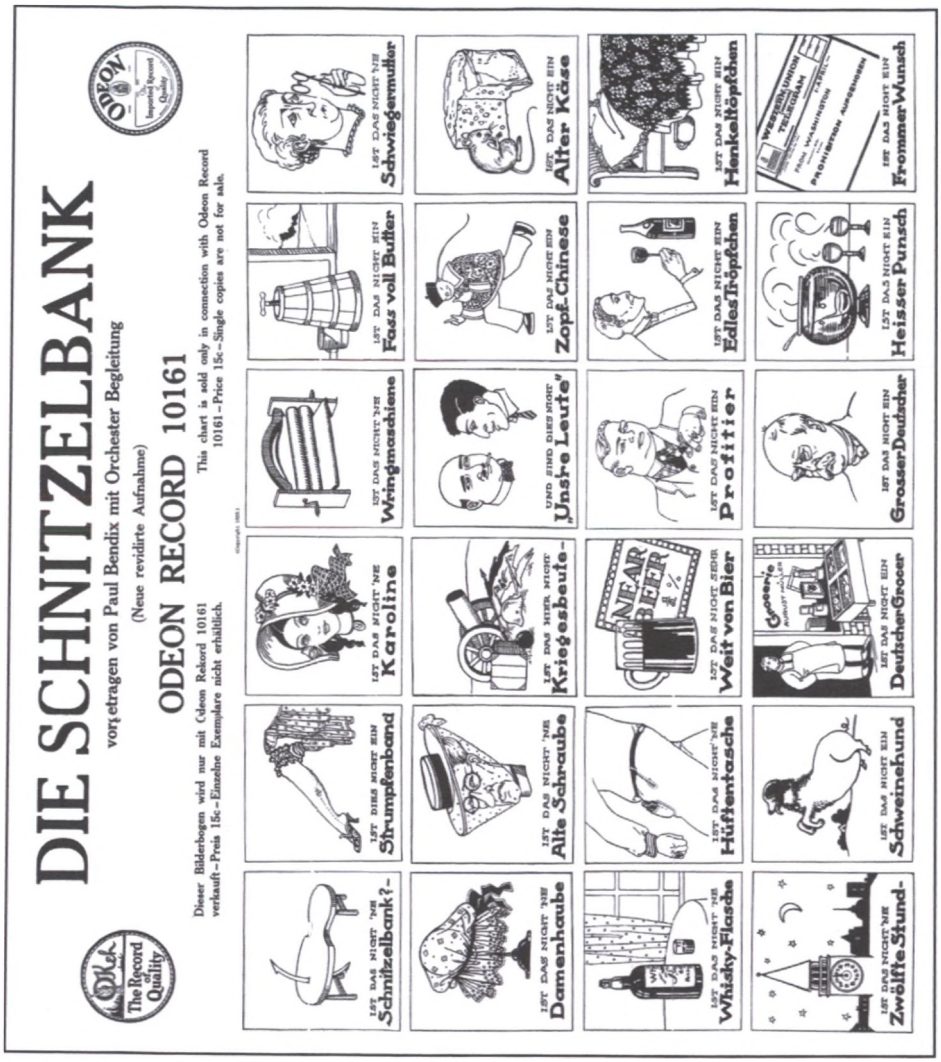
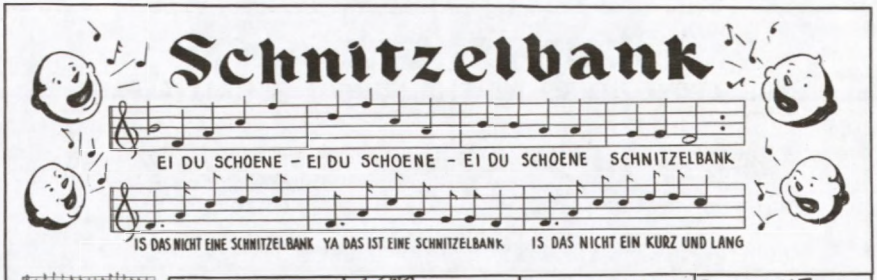
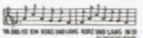


Figure 7. **Courtesy of Ronald L. Flick, Jasper, Indiana.**

Figure 8 (following page). **Courtesy of Ronald L. Flick, Jasper, Indiana.**





Schnitzelbank

(The leader sings the lines beginning "Is das Nicht" alone)

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

1 Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank?
Ya das ist eine Schnitzelbank.

2 Ist das nicht ein Kurz und Lang?
Ya das ist ein Kurz und Lang.

Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

3 Ist das nicht ein Hin und Her?
Ya das ist ein Hin und Her.

4 Ist das nicht eine Fraulein Fair?
Ya das ist eine Fraulein Fair.

Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

5 Ist das nicht eine Vinegar Puss?
Ya das ist eine Vinegar Puss.

6 Ist das nicht ein Sasses Kuss?
Ya das ist ein Sasses Kuss.

Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

7 Ist das nicht ein Hochzeit Ring?
Ya das ist ein Hochzeit Ring.

8 Ist das nicht ein Schoenes Ding?
Ya das ist ein Schoenes Ding.

Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

9 Ist das nicht ein Bar Behind?
Ya das ist ein Bar Behind.

10 Ist das nicht ein Citrone Rind?
Ya das ist ein Citrone Rind.

Citrone Rind, Bar Behind, Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

11 Ist das nicht ein Geisenbock?
Ya das ist ein Geisenbock.

12 Ist das nicht ein Überrock?
Ya das ist ein Überrock.

Überrock, Geisenbock, Citrone Rind, Bar Behind, Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

13 Ist das nicht eine Leber Wurst?
Ya das ist eine Leber Wurst.

14 Ist das nicht ein Grosser Durst?
Ya das ist ein Grosser Durst.

Grosser Durst, Leber Wurst, Überrock, Geisenbock, Citrone Rind, Bar Behind, Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

15 Ist das nicht ein Schandlich Ding?
Ya das ist ein Schandlich Ding.

16 Ist das nicht ein Bing-Bang-Bing?
Ya das ist ein Bing-Bang-Bing. (Loud)

Bing-Bang-Bing, Schandlich Ding, Grosser Durst, Leber Wurst, Überrock, Geisenbock, Citrone Rind, Bar Behind, Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

17 Ist das nicht eine Dicke Frau?
Ya das ist eine Dicke Frau.

18 Ist das nicht eine Fette Sau?
Ya das ist eine Fette Sau.

Fette Sau, Dicke Frau, Bing-Bang-Bing, Schandlich Ding, Grosser Durst, Leber Wurst, Überrock, Geisenbock, Citrone Rind, Bar Behind, Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

19 Ist das nicht eine Schoene Feel?
Und wie (Loud) das ist eine Schoene Feel.

20 Ist das nicht ein Automobile?
Ya das ist ein Automobile.

Automobile, Schoene Feel, Fette Sau, Dicke Frau, Bing-Bang-Bing, Schandlich Ding, Grosser Durst, Leber Wurst, Überrock, Geisenbock, Citrone Rind, Bar Behind, Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

21 Ist das nicht ein Pickinniny?
Ya das ist ein Pickinniny.

22 Ist das nicht ein Madchen Skinny?
Ya das ist ein Madchen Skinny.

Madchen Skinny, Pickinniny, Automobile, Schoene Feel, Fette Sau, Dicke Frau, Bing-Bang-Bing, Schandlich Ding, Grosser Durst, Leber Wurst, Überrock, Geisenbock, Citrone Rind, Bar Behind, Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

23 Ist das nicht ein Nutzlich Buch?
Ya das ist ein Nutzlich Buch.

24 Ist das nicht eine Taschentuch?
Ya das ist eine Taschentuch.

Taschentuch, Nutzlich Buch, Madchen Skinny, Pickinniny, Automobile, Schoene Feel, Fette Sau, Dicke Frau, Bing-Bang-Bing, Schandlich Ding, Grosser Durst, Leber Wurst, Überrock, Geisenbock, Citrone Rind, Bar Behind, Schoenes Ding, Hochzeit Ring, Sasses Kuss, Vinegar Puss, Fraulein Fair, Hin und Her, Kurz und Lang is-er Schnitzelbank.

Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene, Ei du schoene Schnitzelbank.

Figure 9. Courtesy of Theodore J. Potthast, Jr., Baltimore, Maryland.

> Strophen- und Melodieformen; allerdings ist deutlich, dass nach den ältesten Belegen für den Basler "Schnitzelbank" eben die "Ei du schöner . . ." -Form die mit Abstand früheste und auch in der Folge lange Zeit dominierende Form gewesen ist. . . . "früh" heißt in absoluten Daten in Basel die Jahre etwas vor und um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts.

The comments of Martin Staehelin parallel the information provided to me by the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg whose earliest attested versions of a *Schnitzelbank*-type song date from the period after 1830–40 in the German lands. Indeed, Staehelin related that a resident of Basel who died in 1913 was able to recall hearing a *Schnitzelbank* there in the early 1840s. Staehelin is convinced this was the familiar "Ei du schöne"-form of the song.

Staehelin also provided me with a copy of an 1857 *Schnitzelbank* from Basel that is introduced as follows:[35]

> Schnitzelbank.
>
> Dieses bei Alt und Jung in Basel übliche Reimspiel geht den bestimmten Gang, der unten soll gezeigt werden; die einzelnen Gegenstände aber, die darin genannt werden, sind der Willkür dessen überlassen, der die Schnitzelbank gerade vorträgt, gewöhnlich beziehen sich einige davon satirisch auf zunächst liegende Verhältnisse und Begebenheiten des Tages, auf Stadtneuigkeiten u. dergl. Hier sollen bloß die allgemeinen durch langjährigen Gebrauch stereotyp gewordenen Reime gegeben werden, um den Verlauf des ganzen darzustellen. Die Schnitzelbank ist von ganz beliebiger Länge, je nach dem Reimvorath des jedesmaligen Verfassers; gewöhnlich ist das Herunterleiern derselben mit dem Vorzeigen einer bildlichen Darstellung der genannten Gegenstände begleitet; Knaben zeichnen die Sachen auf einen Streifen Papier, Ältere malen sie auf eine große in Quadrate eingetheilte Tafel; das Herumtragen einer solchen ist besonders während der Fastnacht üblich; oft genug werden solche Reime auch ohne Bilder zur Lust abgesungen.

The above description of the singing of a *Schnitzelbank* corresponds in all respects with the tradition known throughout the United States in German-American communities as discussed earlier. The objects presented in the 1857 sample of the song, while providing some new items, including some obviously specific to Basel, nevertheless is amazingly close to the variant in Pennsylvania German from Berks County introduced at the beginning of this essay.

The 1857 song is also sung in question and answer fashion using the rhyme words as follows:

> *Isch das nit e Spahlethor? Jo das isch e Spahlethor.*[36]
> *Isch das nit en Eselsohr? Jo das isch en Eselsohr.*

Followed by the refrain [with *Schnitzelbank* reflecting masculine gender in the Swiss German dialect of Basel]:

Ei du schöner, ei du schöner, ei du schöner Schnitzelbank.

Additional rhyme words become more and more familiar to those of us in the United States and are remarkably similar to those found in the Berks County version and others cited in this essay:

Isch das nit e hin und e her? Jo das isch e hin und e her.
Isch das nit e Liechtputzscheer? Jo das isch e Liechtputzscheer.

All rhyme words are then repeated in reverse order until we again hear the refrain:

Und e Liechtputzscheer
Und e hin und e her
Und en Eselsohr
Und e Spahlethor
Ei du schöner, ei du schöner, ei du schöner Schnitzelbank.

More rhyme words follow in question and answer format as above and then in reverse order with the refrain—ultimately leading all participants to exhaustion—as confirmed by the last verse "jetz isch's genueg" [that's enough]:

der Lindemeyer
drei Ostereier

der Lällekönig[37]
erschreckli wenig

e krumm und e grad
e Wagerad

e kurz und e lang
"Mach nit lang."

förchtig Thier
guet Glas Bier

Tigeraff
Dicke Pfaff

Hoscheho[38]
Salomo

Wasserkrueg
Jetz isch's genueg.

Again, by comparing the style of singing the verses and the refrain, we find the form of the song very close to that of the variant from Berks County in Pennsylvania German.

But can we say that we have found the proverbial "missing link" between the European and American versions of the song? It would be tempting to argue that the song came to Pennsylvania with the ancestors of the Pennsylvania Germans from the southwestern area of the Germany and Switzerland. But it could also be the case that the *Schnitzelbank*-songs—as attested in the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg—were widespread in German-speaking Europe and that the versions popularized in Basel as well as in the United States have their ultimate origins elsewhere in German-speaking Europe.

Commenting on my research on the German-American versions of the song, however, Martin Staehelin believes that there is a clear connection between the *Schnitzelbank* and the early-modern *Bänkelsang* in Europe as noted above. Staehelin also believes that the German-American varieties with their ever-present picture charts maintain the tradition of the *Bänkelsang* to a greater degree than do their counterparts in modern-day Basel:

> In Basel sind in jüngerer Zeit Meinungen laut geworden, dass der "Schnitzelbank," wie er in Basel geübt worden ist und geübt wird, mit dem "Bänkelsang" nichts zu tun habe, vielmehr mit irgendwelchem Volksglauben. Wer Ihre Bilder sieht [images of U.S. *Schnitzelbank* charts], kann das wirklich nicht glauben: da ist das demonstrierende Bild zum Text gleichsam konstituierender Teil des "Schnitzelbanks," und die Verbindung mit dem Bänkelsang scheint mir bei Ihnen [in the U.S.] noch viel deutlicher und langlebiger gewesen zu sein als in Basel selbst.[39]

Although this brief exploration of the connections between a Pennsylvania German folk song and the *Schnitzelbank* traditions in the U.S. and in Europe is now at an end—"jetz isch's genueg"—the story of the *Schnitzelbank* is truly never-ending. We wish our honoree, Professor Earl C. Haag, the very best on the occasion of the publication of this Festschrift. It is my wish that this essay may provide him some delight as well as some insight into one facet of Pennsylvania German culture.

University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas

Notes

[1] George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 80-82; orthography in all examples is unmodified and uses a variety of different systems for rendering words in German dialects as well as pseudo-Standard German.

[2] I interpret "*Hambargs Mudder*" as a modified version of the rhyme word "*Herbergsmutter*" that appears in several popular versions of the song at the beginning of the twentieth century. The phonetic changes do require the substitution of the nasal for the "r," but are otherwise quite plausible.

[3] Chart depicted on the inside of the back cover of the program for the 1999 meeting of the Ground Hog Lodge No. 1 of Allentown, PA. An identical version is printed on back cover of "Die Dreiundreissigschte Fersommling fon da Grundsow Lodsch Nummer Elfa an da Fireline Karbon Kounty, Freidaag, da 9te Harnung, 1990, am halwa siwa Uhr owets, Towamensing Township Feier Kumpani, Trachsville, Pa." (9 February 1990); both courtesy of Dick Beam, Millersville, PA.

[4] Chart on the back cover of "Die Nein-Unn-Fatzichscht Jacksonville Karich Fersommling," 2 May 1992, Jacksonville, PA.

[5] Pennsylvania German *Schank* does not contain the <r> of the corresponding Standard German *Schrank*.

[6] Image is of a rattlesnake.

[7] Image of a sad sack (fellow).

[8] Image of a corn cob.

[9] Image of a black bird.

[10] Image of an old hag.

[11] Chart depicted in the article by Timothy Buck, "Donner und Blitzen: Nicht nur das Deutsche importiert Englisches – auch der englische Wortschatz nimmt immer mehr deutsche Brocken auf," *Die Zeit* (19 May 1972), 20.

[12] Image of a curious fellow.

[13] Image of a Christmas tree.

[14] Timothy Buck, "Donner und Blitzen: . . . ."

[15] Phares H. Hertzog, *Songs, Sayings and Stories of a Pennsylvania Dutchman* (Lebanon, Pennsylvania: Applied Arts Printing, 1966), 8.

[16] Ibid., 9.

[17] Other variations substitute the following in standard orthography: *Schiessgewehr; Wagenrad; Ochsenblas; Haufen Mist; langer Mann; Tannenbaum; Hochzeitsring; gefährliches Ding* and other minor variations.

[18] The widespread method of singing the *Schnitzelbank* in the U.S. is to sing two rhymed couplets followed by repeating in reverse order all of the rhyming words and at the end singing the refrain. This normally functions well when there is an even number of images on the chart. On the "classical" chart, however, there are an odd number of images—there are three couplets rhyming on "*Her*" - "*Quer*" - "*Gewehr*"; Jim Bestman of Jimmy's Bavarians (a band in Chicago) believes the "*Schiess Gewehr*" should be omitted when singing the song to get it right [personal communication 2001].

[19] This refrain is attested for the following: "Maders Internationally Famous Schnitzelbank" copyright 1969, Milwaukee, WI; "Amana Schnitzelbank," Amana Colonies, IA; "Schnitzel Bank," *Famous Beer Songs: A Collection of Favorite German, Scotch and English Drinking Songs* (Evanston, IL: Baker Publications, 1933); the "Hermann Schnitzelbank," Hermann, MO, and "Schell's Deer Brand Beer" *Schnitzelbank* chart from New Ulm, MN (photograph courtesy of Wolfgang Rempe, Flensburg, Germany). No refrain is indicated for the "Bier Stube Song Book" of the Black Forest Restaurant, St. Louis, MO, ca. 1935, or for the "Schaller Brewing Company Schnitzel Bank," Cincinnati, OH; however, the images on these two charts are identical with those of Milwaukee, Amana, Hermann and *Famous Beer Songs*.

[20] Schnitzelbängg <http://www/grunzgaischter.ch/Fasnacht/HTML/Vereine%20Schnitzelbangg.htm> accessed 1 May 2004.

[21] "Ei du scheene . . .": Das 20. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Basler Schnitzelbänke <http://www.schwabe.ch/docs/neu02-03/1924-5.htm> accessed 20 February 2004.

[22] Marcus Fürstenberger and Emelyn González, *"Ei du scheene . . .": Das 20. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Basler Schnitzelbänke* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2002); Dolores Hoyt, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, brought this title to my attention.

[23] A typical *Schnitzelbank* from *Fasnacht* in Basel 2006 is the following by the group Peperoni:

Wo's im Vatikan bim Papschtroulett
der Benedetto droffe het,
schreye d'Schwoobe: "Wir sind Papst!"
Jetz goot's dängg nimme lang,
Denn herrscht fir d'Schwyzergarde z'Rom
—e Lääderhoosezwang!

[24] *Geheimsache Schnitzelbank* (Ellwangen: Stadt Ellwangen, 2002).

[25] Jens Kohring, "Brauchtum: Der moralische Schatten," in ibid., 10-25.

[26] Kohring, 13.

[27] Personal communication from Waltraud Linder-Beroud, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg, Germany, 12 December 2000.

[28] Personal communication from Wolfgang Stanicek, Niederösterreichisches Volksliedarchiv, St. Pölten, Austria, 21 December 2000.

[29] Personal communication from Doris Dippold, Lawrence, Kansas, and Ingeborg Degelmann, Beratungsstelle für Volksmusik in Franken, Bayreuth, Germany, 22 November 2000. This version of the song appears in the popular songbook *Der Kilometerstein* edited by Gustav Schulten (Potsdam: Voggenreiter, 1934).

[30] See William D. Keel, "*Was ist eine Schnitzelbank?*: The Tradition behind the Popular German-American Sing-Along," *Missouri Folklore Society Journal* 24 (2002): 21-35; "A German-American Icon: *O, du schöne Schnitzelbank!*" *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 38 (2003): 221-53; "From *Bänkelsang* to *Schnitzelbank*: A Never-Ending Story," in *"Er ist ein wol gevriunder man": Essays in Honor of Ernst S. Dick on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Karen McConnell and Winder McConnell (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2009), 213-36.

[31] According to James Bestman, Chicago band leader, the images for the "classical" version originated with the duo "Herr Louie and the Weasel" at the Chicago Exposition in 1933. Personal communication from James Bestman, 3 March 2001.

[32] Ronald L. Flick of Jasper, Indiana, sent me images of sheet music copyrighted in 1914 in Cincinnati, OH. Words and music for this *Schnitzelbank* song are by "Alphonse and Gaston." Personal communication 24 March 2010.

[33] Martin Staehelin, "Ein Basler Soldatenlied des 19. Jahrhunderts und der Ursrpung einer vergessenen Schnitzelbank-Tradition," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 67 (1971): 174-78, cited on p. 25 in Lutz Röhrich, "'. . . und das ist Badens Glück': Heimatlieder und Regionalhymnen im deutschen Südwesten: Auf der Suche nach Identität," *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 35 (1990): 13-25.

[34] Personal correspondence from Martin Staehelin dated 13 February 2008.

[35] *Baslerische Kinder- und Volksreime aus der mündlichen Überlieferung gesammelt* (Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1857), 64-68, photocopy courtesy of Martin Staehelin, Musikwissenschaft, Universität Göttingen.

[36] The Spahlentor, formerly one of the city gates of Basel, was erected in 1400.

[37] A figure on one of the city gates in Basel with a crown that stuck out its tongue to mark the hours from the mid-seventeenth century until the Napoleonic era. *Lälli* = tongue in local dialect.

[38] A loud shout to get someone's attention or to call them to the door without using a knocker or bell.

[39] Personal correspondence from Martin Staehelin dated 13 February 2008.

Leroy T. Hopkins, Jr.

Revisiting Aunt Hannah: African-American Folk Humor in Nineteenth-Century Lancaster County

Lancaster County is generally considered the heart of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. As such it offers a treasure trove of the products, practices, and perspectives associated with the German and Swiss German settlers who found a new *Heimat* near the Susquehanna River after 1700. Despite its commercialization beginning in the twentieth century by the tourism industry, Pennsylvania German culture has enjoyed a history of nurture, collection, and analysis by several generations of dedicated scholars. One aspect of Lancaster County's culture which has received only minimal attention is the existence of an African-American culture that has coexisted with Lancaster County's Pennsylvania-German culture.

African Americans and Germans have been, at times, uneasy neighbors in Lancaster County since at least 1726. Few scholars have, however, examined the ramifications of this coexistence. In 1937 Heinz Kloss recommended the analysis of this relationship as a future direction for German-American Studies but also warned against a too facile or superficial approach.[1] Among scholars of German-American history it is generally accepted as a given that the German settlers of Pennsylvania were opposed to slavery as demonstrated in the Germantown Protest of 1688 and the extensive missionary work among African slaves, freedmen, and Native Americans done by representatives of various German Pietists. Overlooked are the admittedly scattered but undeniable German ownership of slaves and German involvement in the urban riots of the Antebellum Era that were intended to eliminate free Africans as economic competitors.[2] German complicity in slavery and discrimination against African Americans should not, however, diminish or denigrate the important contributions of German Americans such as Carl Adolph Douai (1818–88),[3] Carl Schurz, and others to the abolition cause. Also it is important to note, as I have indicated elsewhere,[4] African-American intellectuals have had a special affinity to the German-speaking world when its values and

perspectives coincided with their own hopes and aspirations. The relationship between local African Americans and German Americans is not easily reduced to a common denominator.

A productive area for inquiry is folk culture. German folkways including customs, language, and crafts have had an impact on Lancaster's African-American population. Extensive genealogical investigations will undoubtedly reveal intersections of local racial and ethnic communities but spatial proximity has also had an impact. One aspect of local German-American culture that holds a special attraction is folk medicine. Powwowing is a practice that, even in our skeptical age, still attracts scholarly attention. Eminent folklorist Don Yoder has identified in powwowing the confluence of African, Native American, and European healing traditions.[5] It is noteworthy that a powwower of the last century who gained a reputation in Lancaster County was an African-American.

Harriet Sweeny (1816–88) was a resident of Conestoga Township in Lancaster County and long-time residents of that area recalled a number of stories about her exploits over a century after her death. Her medical skills were used not just for her own profit. Sweeny became a philanthropist who supported her church, Conestoga's African Methodist Episcopal Church. As is the *modus operandi* for powwow doctors Doctress Sweeny, as she was called, taught others her skills.

The subject of this essay, however, is another nineteenth-century doctress. Columbia Boro's Hannah Prosser Bosley (1812–95). Her medical skills are documented in testimonials published by *The Columbia Spy* in 1857 that attested to the efficacy of her:

HEALING SALVE
For Chronic Ulcers, Abscesses, Burns, Scalds, and the
Radical cure of Corns, Bunions, & c

SPICED LIQUORS
For the Speedy Cure of Diarrhea, Dysentery, Summer
Complaint, Cholera Morbus, and other disorders of the Digestive
Organs generally,

COUGH MIXTURE
For the Speedy Cure of Coughs, & c

Not for her medical skills but for her wit Hannah Bosley achieved a certain degree of celebrity. In 1912, seventeen years after her death, a series of articles was published in Hampton Institute's *Southern Workman* bearing the title "The Aunt Hannah Stories."

The editor of these stories was Ellen Dickson Wilson, the self-proclaimed literary executor of Hannah Bosley. In her foreword Wilson introduces Aunt Hannah:[6]

> Aunt Hannah, or 'Ole Pross,' as she was familiarly called, was born a slave on Passaic Island, Maryland, in 1812. She and her mother were the property of Commodore John Rodgers, who gave her to Mrs. Polly Goldsboro of Havre de Grace. She married Thomas Prosser, also a slave. They purchased their freedom in 1841 and moved to Columbia, Pennsylvania, where she died at the age of eighty-three.

Managing Hannah Bosley's literary estate was obviously a task which Wilson relished since she characterized Prosser's sayings as "wise and beautiful and witty" and regretted that she had not transcribed more. Real affection speaks out of Wilson's description of Prosser:[7]

> Like most gifted people, she had no small self-consciousness, and she took it placidly for granted that her 'spe'ances' would be useful to other wayfarers. It is with no apology, nay, rather with pride to have had a share in their preservation, that I offer her cheerful and pungent observations on men and things to a discerning public, and dedicate them to the black people of our land, whom I love and in whom I believe.

This statement places Hannah Prosser and her literary executor in an interesting historical context. Before examining that context, however, more information about Hannah Bosley can be found in her obituary which appeared on 12 July 1895 in *The Columbia Spy*.

There we learn that Bosley died at her home, 508 Union Street in Columbia, after a lengthy illness. Unusual for a former slave, her birthday is identified as 7 June 1812. Her marriage to Thomas Prosser, their purchase of their freedom, and removal to Columbia are dutifully reported but also that after Thomas's death, Hannah married Isaac Bosley on 9 January 1853. From the third of the texts published in the *Southern Workman*, "Mendin' My Faith," it is clear that this second marriage was one of convenience and proved to be unpleasant. In her characteristic wit Hannah summed up the relationship thusly:[8]

> I jest hed to marry dat man fer to git rid ob him. My husbn' he borrow' two hun'ed dollahs f'om him to buil' our house. Atter my husban' died dar wa'n't no papers fer to show dat he hed borrow' dat money. I study hit over a bit. I know'd dat 'cordin' to de law de right owner couldn't lay no claim to hit. Den I study mo' 'bout de Jedge dat don' need no papers to tell wedder money's yo'rn or anudder man's. An' I know'd dat de Almighty was de Jedge I was boun' to keep my' Counts clar wid.
>
> Well, dat man come an' seen how de lan' lay, an' he tol' me he'd take de debt out in boa'din wid me. Dar I was wid a fambly of chillens and' me

> trying' to bring 'em up modes' and 'spectabul, an' a man no kin to nob'dy livin' wid us. Dat couldn' be, Mis', I had to marry dat man fer to settle up dat bill and make things straight in de sight o' de Lawd. Atter 'bout eight yeahs, w'en de Lawd seen I couldn' stan him no mo,' He tuck him outen my way. No, honey, No 'ooman ever gits two husban's; maybe she marry fo' men, de Husban may be de fus' ur de las', but de res' 'll be *jes men*. Don' tell me nothin' 'bout marryin', honey, I done has had de 'spe'ance uv it.

Hannah Bosley's worldly wisdom permeates this description of her second marriage.

Isaac Bosley apparently was quite an adept criminal who was also known as "Laughing Isaac." In the 1860s he was arrested several times because of numerous robberies.[9] Although he had ostensibly lent money to Thomas and Hannah Prosser and she married him to cover that debt, there was little love in their arrangement. Hannah's obituary mentioned that Isaac died in the county hospital. In 1890 when Hannah apparently spoke about her life and made the memorable remarks about her second marriage she ventured that Isaac had been dead about thirty years which would place his death after 1865.

The final bits of information that can be culled from her obituary give an impression of the life style she created for herself. She was survived by four children, Rev. George T. Prosser of Georgetown, Kentucky, Mrs. H. E. Jones, of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, Sarah Bosley, of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Mary R. Richards, of Columbia. She also had ten grandchildren, and one great grandchild. In her will Hannah requested that after her debts were settled that her estate be divided into sixteen parts.[10] The obituary's final statement is an candid summation of Hannah's life:

> 'Doctor' Bosley was intimately and favorably known here and in Philadelphia. She was a chiropodist and worked principally in the latter city. She was greatly interested in the welfare of Mt. Zion A.M.E. church, and was one of its main stays, and the congregation will feel her loss greatly.

This is a fitting summation to a life which as the caption to the obituary read:

Born A Slave
She Bought Her Freedom and Has Done Much Good

With that background information it possible to begin an examination both of the "Aunt Hannah Stories" and the significance of their place of publication.

Ellen Dickson Wilson was not an African-American. She was an Irish-American resident of Philadelphia and the widow of Colonel William Potter Wilson. A Civil War era officer who had served at Fort Union, New Mexico, an important outpost during the Indian Wars. Wilson died on 26 January 1914

and her obituary printed in *The Southern Workman* provides a modest and tantalizing glimpse of this extraordinary woman's life.

It states that after her husband's death she settled in Philadelphia where she joined Holy Trinity Church and:[11]

> Largely owing to the influence of its then rector Dr. McVickar, she became deeply interested in the Hampton School. Although she had never known General Armstrong, the story of his soldierly life attracted her strongly and she became the devoted friend of his children. She was the guest of Mr. Ogden on a number of his Southern trips, when her Irish wit and wonderful story-telling power added greatly to the pleasure of her fellow-travelers. As long as her health allowed it, she was an annual visitor at Hampton where she was a universal favorite. Her 'Aunt Hannah Stories,' which have since been published in the *Southern Workman*, she was accustomed to tell at Hampton to the great entertainment of both teachers and students.

Also:[12]

> She seldom went North from Hampton without carrying with her to a Northern hospital, some lame or deformed Negro boy or girl who needed care. She not only gave her help to these afflicted children, but to a wonderful degree she gave herself.

And finally:[13]

> When she became too ill to take much part in the social life around her, her thoughts dwelt largely on Hampton. Like Bishop McVickar, she was continually endeavoring to persuade people to go and see Hampton. It was largely through her influence that Mrs. Grover Cleveland and other Friends visited the school. In her death Hampton Institute has lost a devoted friend.

This obituary provides some interesting clues to the identity of Ellen Dickson Wilson. Names such as General Armstrong, Rev. McVickar, and Mr. Ogden connect her to important figures of Post-Civil War America. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839–93) had created Hampton Institute in 1868 and was the pioneer in using manual labor training as a technique to expedite the socialization of the freedmen and Native Americans. The "Hampton Model" was perfected by Booker T. Washington, a Hampton graduate, at Tuskegee. The model's emphasis on accommodation over social equality incensed intellectuals such as W. E. B. DuBois who believed that through educating a "Talented Tenth" social equality was attainable for African Americans.

The impact of Armstrong and his peers (e.g., Richard Henry Pratt at the Carlisle Indian School) was even more disastrous for Native Americans. Their children were not only uprooted from their communities but also underwent

an indoctrination designed to remove every vestige of their native culture. The psychological damage inflicted by this coerced Americanization and the living conditions Native Americans endured after the Civil War and the end of the Indian Wars have their results in the deplorable conditions on today's reservations that radicalized Native Americans to take a stand at Wounded Knee in 1973.

The Rev. McVickar mentioned in Wilson's obituary was Rev. Dr. William Neilson McVickar (1843–1910) who had been rector of Holy Trinity Church in Philadelphia before being installed in 1898 as the bishop coadjutor of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Rhode Island. According to his obituary in the June 1911 issue of *The Southern Workman* Bishop McVickar had been a member of the board of Hampton Institute since 1886. Therefore, it is probable that Ellen Dickson Wilson's visits to Hampton date from the late 1880s. Her other companion, Mr. Ogden, played a key role in the creation of educational opportunities for African Americans in the South.

Robert C. Ogden (1836–1913) was a noted New York merchant and philanthropist who mobilized the support of Northern capitalists for institutions such as Hampton and Tuskegee. Besides Ellen Dickson Wilson Ogden had also convinced John Rockefeller, Jr., to accompany him on a trip to Hampton where Ogden served on and also chaired the board of directors for a number of years. Ogden's support of the Hampton Model and its pro-accommodation stance were criticized by W. E. B. DuBois as support for "inferior education."[14]

Wilson herself apparently had an important role in mobilizing support for Hampton. Her success at getting the wife of a president (Mrs. Grover Cleveland) interested in Hampton is evidence of important social contacts. In fact, her sister-in-law, Catherine, was the wife of Pennsylvania's Civil War era governor Andrew G. Curtin. Her husband's great-grandfather was General James Potter (1729–89), who served as vice-president of Pennsylvania (1781–82) and for whom Potter County, Pennsylvania, was named. Ellen Dickson had married into this family in 1869 and apparently lived in Trenton, New Jersey, as late as 1886.[15] She most likely met Hannah Bosley in Philadelphia.

There is no evidence, other than her selection of Ellen Dickson Wilson as her literary executor, that Hannah Bosley had any expectations of literary celebrity. The title of "Aunt Hannah Stories" is likely the invention of Wilson who most probably wanted to have the texts read in a specific context. To understand that context it is important to remember Hampton Institute's mission and the role of *The Southern Workman*.

According to an article published on 11 April 1903 in *The New York Times* General Armstrong created the journal in 1872 and it was:

> devoted to what may be called the current literature of those races [negroes and Indians], and to the description and discussion of their nature, their work, their needs, their life.

A desire to pursue what can be broadly described as an anthropological study of two marginalized groups motivated the authors of the journal. The selection of the title for Hannah Bosley's texts presents two possible interpretations. The pseudo-honorific title of "aunt" or "uncle" was frequently applied to African Americans to express a degree of affection colored by paternalistic presumption of social inferiority. A literary example that was put into a new context during America's Civil Rights Movement after World War II is, of course, Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom." Another possible literary antecedent and one that seems most fortuitous given *The Southern Workman's* mission is "Uncle Remus."

Joel Chandler Harris (1848–1908) published *Uncle Remus: His Sons and His Sayings* in 1880 with the intent:[16]

> to preserve the legends . . . in their original simplicity, and to wed them permanently to the quaint dialect—if, indeed it can be called a dialect—through the medium of which they have become a part of the domestic history of every Southern family; and I have endeavored to give the whole a genuine flavor of the old plantation.

Although Harris denied any interest in ethnological research,[17] his motives for publishing the stories and tales of the plantation South were similar to those researchers at Hampton who in 1893 organized the Hampton Folklore Society.

Organized by Alice Bacon, a Hampton teacher, the Hampton Folklore Society existed for six years and through the efforts of its members, students, alumni, and Hampton teachers collected African-American folklore from the communities in which they lived and worked. As Daphne Lamanthe asserts the difference between the work of the Hampton group and individuals such as Joel Chandler Harris was the emphasis on scientific investigation and scholarly presentation.[18] Lamanthe and Donald Waters underscore that such research resulted in a tight-rope walk since the very premise of education at Hampton was the backwardness of the African American; African-American folk culture could thus be interpreted as further evidence of that primitive state or as the legitimate expression of a folk culture.[19]

There seems to be no evidence that Ellen Dickson Wilson belonged to the Hampton Folklore Society but she had to be aware of its work from her many visits to Hampton. The publication of the "Aunt Hannah Stories" in *The Southern Workman* suggests a comparison to the work of the emerging

field of folklore research. Lawrence Levine places Hannah Bosley's stories in the tradition of a humor of absurdity that:[20]

> worked through a straight-faced assumption of the rationality of the system and the belief structure upon which it rested. Events could then be unfolded which exposed the system and its underlying beliefs by accepting them with complete and faithful literalness.

The system which lent itself best to this type of humor, according to Levine, was segregation and he cites as proof one of Hannah Bosley's vignettes from the Antebellum Era when public conveyances in Pennsylvania were segregated.

Hannah related, how on a train trip to Media, Pennsylvania, in the winter she ignored a sign that directed all persons of color to take a seat either at the rear end of the passenger car or the front of the baggage car. Instead, she decided to warm herself at the stove placed in the middle of the passenger car. When the conductor confronted her, chastised her for ignoring the sign, and asked her destination, she replied "Media, sir." The exchange that resulted was classic Hannah Bosley:[21]

> 'All right,' says he, 'you mus' take de reah end o' de passenger cyar ur de fo'ard end ob de baggage cyar.' I jumps right up an' collec's my basket jes as quick as I kin, an' I tole dat conductor-man I'm 'bleeged fer his kin'ness in warnin' me. I tol' him I done s'posed bot ends ob de cyar wen' to Media, but ef its only de reah end, in co'se I'll take it.

This vignette is, of course, an excellent example of absurdist humor but it hardly subsumes the full range of Hannah Bosley's wit.

From the conductor's perspective, depending on his own intellectual gifts or the nature of his attitude towards people of color, Hannah's rejoinder might have been accepted as the typical buffoonery of a marginalized group. Her wit also had a barb as documented by her advertisement in the *Chester County Times* reprinted in the 12 November 1859 issue of *The Columbia Spy*.

> Hannah Bosley desires to return thanks to the citizens of West Chester, for their liberal patronage, during her stay in this Borough. If Africans were not excluded from every place but the Kingdom of Heaven, she would vote for Hon. John Hickman for President, not only for his kindness in introducing her to customers in this place, but for his goodness and benevolence generally. She hopes Mr. Hickman will excuse her rude manner of returning thanks; they are prompted by a grateful heart.
>
> Hannah Bosley

Hannah's target is not only segregated Northern society but explicity the disenfranchisment of Black Pennsylvanians in the decades before the Civil War. In 1839, the new state constitution restricted the vote to white males. It was

not until the 15th amendment was ratified in 1870 that Black men in Pennsylvania could vote again. Hannah speaks here with the impunity of the court jester whose apparent deferent manner blunts the edge of her barbed remarks.

The editor of the *Spy* appreciated this side of Hannah Bosley and appended the following remarks to her ad:

> The 'Doctor' is a character. Every one gives her credit for abundant mother wit,—in repartee. Bosley is equal to almost any occasion—but bare appreciation of her intellectual parts, does her charactr but scant justice. In the midst of a shiftless, worthless, abandoned negro population as ever [a.] town was cursed with, Hannah Bosley works faithfully to support two or three families in decency, and such comfort as her varying success justifies. When away from home she invariably remits money for maintenance of her parents and children, and when at home it is not her fault if any member of her family is not decent and orderly. Faithful and honest endeavor among her class and color is so rare (and shall we wonder at its rarity when we consider its encouragement?) that it deserves commendatory notice.

Because of her moral character Hannah's comments are somewhat blunted and relegated to the realm of witticism or quirk. The editor's obvious ambiguity about Columbia's Black population—he implies that the source of their degradation is external to their control—allows him to accept Hannah's wit.

Ellen Dickson Wilson may have wanted to draw attention to Hannah Bosley's particular wit by inviting the comparison to Uncle Remus. Even a superficial comparison of the two reveals the fundamental difference between the benevolent and almost color-blind humor of the Uncle Remus' tales and Aunt Hannah's sometimes acerbic commentaries on human foibles and inequities. The "Aunt Hannah Stories" deserve closer examination both as a document of the times and as a manifestation of an almost Eulenspieglian commentary on race relations in an area not known for its African-American traditions.

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Notes

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

[2] Cf. my article "The Germantown Protest and Afro-German Relations in Pennsylvania and Maryland Before the Civil War," *The Report: A Journal of German-American History* 61 (1990): 23–32.

[3] Douai published the abolitionist *San Antonio Zeitung* (1853–56) until he was forced to sell his share in the newspaper and leave the state. Before he settled in Boston, African

Americans in Philadelphia reportedly offered to buy him a printing press so he could continue his campaign against slavery.

[4] Cf. my articles "Spiritual Fatherland: African-American Intellectuals and Germany, 1850-1920," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 31 (1996): 25–35; "Black Prussians: Germany and African-American Higher Education from James W. C. Pennington to Angela Davis, 1849–1967," in *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998), 65–81.

[5] Don Yoder, "Hohmann and Romanus: Origins and Diffusion of Pennsylvania German Powwow Manuals," in *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium*, ed. Wayland D. Hand (Berkley: University of California Press, 1976), 244.

[6] Ellen Dickson Wilson, "The Aunt Hannah Stories," *The Southern Workman* 41 (January 1912): 40.

[7] Ibid.

[8] "The Aunt Hannah Stories," *The Southern Workman* 41 (March 1912): 164f.

[9] Cf. reports in *The Lancaster Intelligencer* for 23 April 1861 (Court of Quarter Sessions, April term) and in *The Columbia Spy* on 23 April 1864 and 25 November 1865. At least four arrests are recounted in these newspaper reports.

[10] According to her will (Lancaster County Wills, Book L, Vol. 2, 293) Hannah Bosley was survived by five children and 11 grandchildren.

[11] *The Southern Workman* 43 (March 1914): 129.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] *The Correspondence of W. E. B. DuBois: Volume. I Selections 1877–1934*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 194.

[15] William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies: Scotch-Irish and Germans* (Harrisburg, 1886), 679.

[16] Joel Chandler Harris, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* (New York: Heritage Press, 1957), xiii.

[17] Ibid., xiv.

[18] Daphne Lamanthe, *Inventing the New Negro* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 24.

[19] Ibid. and also in Donald J. Waters, *Strange Ways and Sweet Dreams: Afro-American Folklore from the Hampton Institute* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983).

[20] Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery To Freedom* (Oxford University Press, 1977), 310.

[21] "Aunt Hannah Stories," *The Southern Workman* 41 (January 1912): 43.

Elisabeth Knipf-Komlósi

Wortfindungsprobleme im Sprachgebrauch von Minderheitensprechern

Der folgende Aufsatz behandelt ein bei Minderheitensprechern häufig vorkommendes Phänomen, das der Wortsuche oder auch Wortfindung. Dabei soll auf die Ursachen, die soziale und interaktive Dimension der Wortfindung eingegangen werden und an Belegen gezeigt werden, wie dieser Prozess bei Sprechern der ungarndeutschen Minderheit abläuft.

Auf die im Allgemeinen als Wortschatzlücken genannten Phänomene in der mündlichen Kommunikation, die bei einsprachigen Individuen genauso vorkommen wie bei Mehrsprachigen, soll schon deshalb näher eingegangen werden, weil durch ihre Untersuchung wichtige Erkenntnisse in verschiedene Dimensionen des Sprechablaufs von Minderheitensprechern gewonnen werden können.

In der internationalen Fachliteratur finden sich zur Beschreibung des betreffenden Phänomens unterschiedliche Bezeichnungen. So spricht Iványi (1998) über "Wortsuchprozesse," Auer/Rönfeldt (2002) über "Wortfindungsprozesse- oder schwierigkeiten," Gósy (2005) über "aus Unsicherheit entstandene Verzögerungen (stockende Erscheinungen)" (bizonytalanságból eredő megakadásjelenségek), in der Methodik ist auch der Ausdruck "lexikalische Zugangsschwierigkeiten" im Umlauf.

Die im Folgenden analysierten Belege mit Wortschatzlücken sind eigentlich als "Begleitprodukte" entstanden, die im Laufe von dialektologischen und soziolinguistischen Erhebungen zur Sprache und zum Sprachgebrauch von deutschen Minderheitensprechern in Ungarn, in interaktiven sprachlichen Äußerungen von zwei Generationen (älteste und mittlere Generation), in Interviews, in ungesteuerten spontanen Gesprächen, auch durch teilnehmende Beobachtung gesammelt und registriert wurden.[1]

In der gesprochenen Sprache kommt es im phonetischen und lexikalischen Bereich zu verschiedenen im Sprechablauf auffallenden Verzögerungen

und Lücken, die insbesonders häufig bei Sprachminderheiten auftreten, die in einem Dauerkontakt mit anderen Sprachen und Kulturen stehen. Erste Ansätze zu Untersuchungen dieses Problems gibt es bereits bei Minderheiten-Sprechergruppen,[2] ausführlich untersucht wurden diese Erscheinungen jedoch vor allem bei Fremdsprachensprechern, bei Aphasikern und teils bei bilingualen Individuen.[3]

Minderheitensprecher stellen eine spezifische Gruppe von mehrsprachigen Sprechern dar, die zwar über ein erweitertes, größeres Repertoire sprachlicher Muster und sprachlicher Verhaltensoptionen verfügen als monolinguale Sprecher, doch meistens nicht als balancierte zweisprachige Individuen betrachtet werden können, denn bereits in der Planungsphase von Gesprächssituationen kommt es bei ihnen häufig zu verschiedenen Wortfindungsschwierigkeiten.

Zur Aufdeckung der dahinter stehenden Probleme und zum besseren Verständnis der auftauchenden Lücken im Wortschatz dieser Sprecher sollen kurz die Umstände ihres Spracherwerbs skizziert werden. Hinsichtlich eines idealen Spracherwerbsprozesses sind hier eher negative Tendenzen zu sehen: Grundsätzlich verläuft seit den 50er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts die primäre Sozialisation der Nachkommen der deutschen Minderheit in Ungarn einsprachig, nämlich in ungarischer Sprache (bis auf einige Ausnahmen in Südungarn[4]). Die als prototypisch geltende ältere Generation der Ungarndeutschen auf dem Lande ist mit ihrer dialektalen primären Sozialisation—selbst heutzutage—noch als funktional zweisprachig zu betrachten, mit einer noch aktiven Kompetenz des Ortsdialektes und den damit verbundenen noch ansehnlichen Reservoir kommunikativer Praktiken, obgleich die meisten Domänen ihres Alltags, ihr kommunikatives Umfeld in der Regel in die Landessprache und deren Narrativen eingebettet ist. Damit ist zu erklären, dass auch bei dieser Generation lexikalische Entlehnungen insbesondere für Sachmodernismen, selbst zum Meistern der Alltagskommunikation, als notwendig, ja unabdingbar erscheinen.

Die in ländlicher Umgebung lebende mittlere Generation ist bereits als unbalanciert zweisprachig zu betrachten, mit ihrer primären Sozialisation evtl. noch unter passivem Einfluss des Ortsdialektes, alle anderen Sozialisationsstufen jedoch mit einer Dominanz des Ungarischen. Diese Generation verfügt über verhältnismäßig wenig aktive kommunikative Praktiken im deutschen Ortsdialekt, die Präferenz des Ungarischen überwiegt sowohl im privaten als auch in ihrem Erwerbsleben.[5] Typisch für ihre Sprechweise sind häufige Sprachmischungsphänomene, doch eine noch vorhandene Redebereitschaft in Deutsch, die durch einen Deutschunterricht in der Schule, durch Reisen ins deutschsprachige Ausland und evtl. Arbeitsmöglichkeiten in diesen Ländern, gestärkt wurde und wird.

Die primäre wie auch die weiteren Sozialisationsprozesse erfolgen bei der jungen Generation der Ungarndeutschen in der Landessprache, gegebenenfalls verbunden mit noch passiven Erlebnissen eines deutschen Ortsdialektes (z. B. durch Besuche bei Dialekt sprechenden Großeltern). Falls überhaupt bei dieser Generation noch über Zweisprachigkeit gesprochen werden kann, so ist es eine auf gesteuertem Wege erworbene Lernervarietät des Deutschen, eine landessprachedominante Zweisprachigkeit, mit einer in der Regel geringen Redebereitschaft in Deutsch.

Infolge dieser unidirektionalen Spracherwerbsform dieser Sprachminderheit kann mit unterschiedlicher generationsbedingter Sprachdominanz, mit diversen Transfererscheinungen und Formen des Code Switching und Mixing gerechnet werden.

So können bei allen Generationen der Ungarndeutschen, die wir heute als multilinguale Sprecher identifizieren, im fließenden Gespräch Engpässe, Wortschatz-und Nominationslücken in Form von Verzögerungen auftreten, deren Untersuchung Aufschlüsse über den Arbeitsmechanismus des mentalen Lexikons geben kann.[6]

Welchen Grund diese Wortschatzlücken auch haben mögen,[7] sie werden vom Sprecher entsprechend der Situation—zur Aufrechterhaltung der Interaktion—mit verschiedenen der gegebenen Situation angepassten Strategien überbrückt.

Die interaktive Dimension der Wortfindung

Minderheitensprecher sind eingebunden in kleinere oder größere Gemeinschaften, die—wie alle menschlichen Gemeinschaften—bestimmte Erwartungen, soziale Normen und Verhaltensweisen aneinander herantragen. Individuen wie Gemeinschaften wollen diesen Normen entsprechen, und dadurch ihr—im Sinne des face-Konzepts (Goffman 1959)—Gesicht wahren. In Abhängigkeit ihrer Ziele und Intentionen treffen die Sprecher die Wahl von den Möglichkeiten, wie sie diese Wortfindungsprobleme lösen. So kann es nicht wundern, dass Minderheitensprecher—wie die Untersuchungen zeigen—durch die Wahl ihrer Strategien in den meisten Fällen darauf bedacht sind, ihr Gesicht zu wahren, d.h. durch ihre Sprache, ihren Sprachmodus unangenehme, heikle Gesprächssituationen zu vermeiden, ihre Äußerungen der "rituellen Ordnung" (Goffmann 1981, 278) des Gesprächs und den Erwartungen entsprechend zu gestalten.

> "Grundsätzlich ist jeder sprachliche Lapsus, Fehler, jeder Versprecher, jedes Zögern gesichtsbedrohend, weil sein Produzent in den Verdacht gerät, ein falsches Bild entworfen zu haben, also mehr sein zu wollen als er tatsächlich ist" (Auer/Rönfeldt 2002, 82).

Die einzelnen Schritte unserer sprachlichen Produktionen, die Wortwahl, der Aufbau grammatischer Strukturen unserer Äußerungen, die Wahl der Varietäten und des Stils sowie die phonologische Kodierung bilden integrierte Bestandteile unserer gesamten Sprachproduktion (vgl. Navracsics 2007, 148). Der Sprecher kann seine eigene Sprachproduktion mit Hilfe eines Kontrollmechanismus (Monitor) überwachen (vgl. Levelt 1989), seine Fehler wahrnehmen und erkennen, er kann sie verheimlichen oder aufdecken, auch der Öffentlichkeit oder dem Gesprächspartner zeigen.

Nach Grosjean (1995) gibt es bei mehrsprachigen Sprechern mehrere Sprachmodi, die sie situationsgemäß einsetzen können. Der einsprachige wie auch der mehrsprachige Sprachmodus spielen beim Monitoring eine wichtige Rolle. Minderheitensprecher mit koexistierenden Sprachen verfügen über ein kooperatives Potenzial ihrer Sprachen, wodurch sich ein Kontinuum von Mischformen eröffnet, welches jedoch zu keinen Verstehensschwierigkeiten führt, solange es um Sprecher der gleichen Sprache, d. h. hier um Sprecher mit gleichem multilingualen Sprachmodus geht. Verläuft jedoch die Interaktion in einem monolingualen Sprachmodus[8] mit einsprachigen (ungarischen) Sprechern, so muss das Monitoring der multilingualen Sprecher sehr aktiv sein, dass sie in ihrem Sprachgebrauch z. B. keine Dialektwörter verwenden, die der andere nicht verstehen könnte. In einem zweisprachigen Modus kann das Monitoring etwas 'nachlassen', lockerer sein, weil man sich gewiss ist, dass man vom Interaktionspartner in beiden Sprachen gut verstanden wird, was wiederum erlaubt, die Sprachen zu wechseln[9] oder auch zu mischen. Die Wahl der Sprache und des Sprachmodus durch den Sprecher ist nicht ganz funktionslos, es kann nämlich durch diese Wahl seine soziale Verortung in der Situation oder mit dem Gesprächspartner, seine Gesichtwahrung, angezeigt werden.

Die Voraussetzung für eine Untersuchung von interaktiven sprachlichen Äußerungen von Minderheitensprechern ist das Nebeneinander, die Koexistenz, von zwei oder mehr Sprachen im mentalen Lexikon der Sprecher. Der Besitz mehrerer Sprachen bedeutet natürlich nicht immer eine friedliche Koexistenz, es kann auch zu einer Rivalität zwischen den Sprachen kommen, wie das z. B. beim gleichzeitigen Aktivieren von lexikalischen Einheiten zu sehen ist. Eine weitere Möglichkeit ist eine rational organisierte Arbeitsteilung zwischen den Sprachen/Varietäten wie in der klassischen Diglossie-Situation, wofür auch bei Minderheitensprechern Beispiele vorhanden sind.

Da mehrsprachige Sprecher in ihrem multilingualen Sprachmodus ihre Sprachen naturgemäß öfter mischen, entsteht im Laufe des Wechsels eine nicht-bewusste Aufgabenteilung von Objekt- und Metasprache, es wird "eine Art Metadiskurs ermöglicht, d.h., dass im bilingualen Kontext objekt-und metasprachliche Aufgaben von unterschiedlichen Sprachen übernommen werden können" (Tracy/Stollberg 2008, 93).

In der fließenden Rede, die aus zwei Teilprozessen, der Planungs- und der Durchführungsphase besteht, gibt es bestimmte Signale, die akustisch wahrnehmbare Wortschatzlücken einleiten: Solche sind Pausen unterschiedlicher Länge, Hesitationen, ein Stocken im Gespräch oder Verzögerungen in der Artikulation, ein mehrmaliger Anlauf und Wiederholungen eines Wortes, eines Satzanfangs, die Kombination von Pause und Wiederholung, das gehäufte Auftreten von sprachlichen Hecken und Füllwörtern, plötzlich formulierte metasprachliche Äußerungen sowie das intensivere Einsetzen von Mimik und Gestik zur Überbrückung solcher Lücken. Die im natürlichen Gespräch auftauchenden Lücken, Verzögerungen, Versprecher oder gar 'Sprachfehler' sind deshalb von Interesse, weil sie auf bestimmte Prozesse und auf das Funktionieren der Rede hinweisen, über die wir—im Normalfall—eigentlich keine direkten Informationen erhalten würden (vgl. Gósy 2005, 95ff., übersetzt vom Verfasser). Obwohl der Mechanismus des Sprechens kein sprachspezifisches Phänomen ist, sind die Wortschatzlücken und Versprecher dennoch typische Erscheinungen in den Einzelsprachen. Daher kommt es, dass es verschiedene Klassifikationen dieser Erscheinungen gibt, je nach Position oder Funktion dieser Phänomene.

Bei der Explikation der Wortfindungsprobleme bei Minderheiten ist m. E. ein wichtiger Aspekt, dass die tiefe Verflechtung von inner-und außersprachlichen Aspekten, d.h. die Zusammenhänge der sprachlichen Interaktion und des "sozialen Selbst" (vgl. Auer/Rönfeldt 2002, 80) näher beleuchtet werden, um die gesamte interaktive Situation, die Phasen und Hintergründe des Sprechablaufs besser zu verstehen.

Im Sinne des face-Konzepts von Goffmann können zwei Arten der sog. face-work (Gesichtswahrung) unterschieden werden, die das Handeln mit dem sozialen Aspekt in Übereinstimmung bringen. Vermeidungsprozesse (avoidance process) versuchen heikle Situationen zu verhindern, die zu einer Gesichtsbedrohung führen können (vgl. Auer/Rönfeldt 2002, 81).

Die korrektiven Prozesse haben wiederum die Aufgabe, den Gesichtsverlust zu verhindern. Tritt ein gesichtsbedrohendes Ereignis auf, kippt das Gleichgewicht unter den Kommunikationspartnern um, das dann durch die Phasen einer Ausgleichshandlung wieder hergestellt werden kann. Die Ausgleichshandlung besteht wiederum aus einem substantiellen und einem rituellen Teil, wobei letzterer die Selbstkorrektur, die Erklärung, Entschuldigung etc. beinhaltet, erstere die Reperatur selbst.

Im Folgenden wird der Versuch unternommen, Wortfindungprobleme in sprachlichen Äußerungen von Minderheitensprechern im Zusammenhang der sprachlich-interaktiven und der sozialen Dimension gleichzeitig zu untersuchen.

Analyse der Ursachen

Lücken im Wortschatz von Sprechern sind reale oder vermeintliche Defizite. Bezieht man das Phänomen auf Fremdsprachen, können diese Lücken vielfach auch sach- oder kulturgeschichtliche Ursachen haben, denke man nur an die Ursachen von Neologismen, Historismen, Archaismen, die alle als potentielle Indikatoren beim Entstehen von Wortschatzlücken betrachtet werden können. Darüber hinaus können auch momentane psychische Störungen (z. B. Lampenfieber, Angst), Unsicherheiten des Sprechers in einer Situation sowie wahrnehmbare Störungen im Redefluss herbeiführen. Ganz oft können die konkreten Ursachen gar nicht angegeben werden.[10]

Die Wortsuchprozesse sind für die Gesprächsbeteiligten eine Herausforderung, denn man will die Interaktion, das referentielle Handeln nicht abbrechen, denn das Ziel und die Intention ist doch, sich mitzuteilen, sich zu verständigen, die Interaktivität durch Redebeiträge aufrecht zu erhalten. Daher tauchen diese Phänomene nur in Kommunikationssituationen auf, die auf Redebeiträge aufbauen und nur in diesen Situationen aufgedeckt werden[11] können.

Als Explorator, der auf den genauen Ablauf des Gesprächs sowie auf die Formulierung von sprachlichen Äußerungen fokussiert, horcht man in solchen Fällen natürlich sofort auf und sucht nach Ursachen der Verzögerungssignale. Durch Signale wird etwas angedeutet, entweder eine momentane Störung, ein Gedächtnisleistungsproblem[12] oder gar ein Systemdefizit. Fälle der Systemdefizite werden in erster Linie im Fremdsprachenlernbereich untersucht oder sind Gegenstand anderer Forschungsgebiete, wie der Translatologie, der Konversationsanalyse oder—wie in diesem Fall—der Mehrsprachigkeits- und Minderheitenforschung. Aufgrund meiner empirischen Forschungen zur Sprache und zum Sprachgebrauch von Minderheitensprechern des Deutschen in Ungarn sowie anhand von Beleganalysen der empirischen Daten können folgende Ursachen von Wortschatzlücken bei Minderheitensprechern angenommen werden:

1. Lexikalische Mängel entstehen durch die Unsicherheit der Sprecher, die durch den instabilen Aufbau des Lexikons herbeigeführt wird. Mit Wortschatzlücken ist im Allgemeinen dann zu rechnen, wenn das Lexikon des (Fremdsprachen) Lerners noch nicht vollständig ausgebaut ist, während es sich bei Sprachminderheiten vor allem darum handelt, dass ihr Lexikon in der Minderheitensprache—aus Gründen des Dauerkontaktes, Sprachabbaus, Sprachwechsels etc.—nicht mehr vollständig ausgebaut ist, dem zufolge in ihrer Sprachproduktion bestimmte Wortschatzeinheiten nicht stabil gespeichert, daher nicht immer parat stehen und nicht gleich abrufbar sind.

Die narrative Welt des Alltags gestaltet sich für diese Sprecher—schon seit geraumer Zeit (nach 1945)—in Ungarisch, wodurch bestimmte ihr Mikro- und Makroumfeld umgebenden lexikalischen Bezeichnungen nur in der Landessprache bekannt und gebräuchlich geworden sind. Lexeme für neue Handlungen, Entitäten, Gegenstände, Berufe, Sachmodernismen, die im Wortschatz des Ortsdialektes fehlen, führen automatisch zu Unsicherheiten des Sprechers in der Planungsphase. Nach einer eindeutig wahrnehmbaren Verzögerung und Hesitation wählt der Sprecher die für ihn wohl einfachste und plausibelste Lösung, die L2 zur momentanen Lösung des Wortfindungsproblems. So erfolgt die Interaktion in einem bilingualen Sprachmodus, es werden gleichzeitig zwei Objektsprachen aktiviert und eine rituelle Phase—ein Metakommentar, ein Zeichen eines lauten Denkens, eingeschaltet. Da ähnliche Situationen mit großer Häufigkeit vorkommen, haben viele Sprecher in solchen Situationen ihre Verzögerungen und Hesitationen längst "abgestreift." Besonders bei dialektbewussten Sprechern kommt es immer noch zu spontan geäußerten, metakommunikativen Kommentaren, Ergänzungen, die die durch Hesitationen entstandenen Lücken überbrücken helfen, gleichzeitig auch die Wortsuche offen legen:

(1) *Mai Engelskind is . . . is* ***egyetemista*** *und der wert a . . .* - wie sagt mr des deitsch- . . . *a* ***közgazdász.*** . . .(Frau 78 J.)
(Mein Enkelskind ist . . . ist Student, der wird—wie sagt man das Deutsch—ein . . . Ökonom)

(2) *Alli Mittwoch kummt der . . .* —na wie haast'n der Auto to— . . . ***szemetesautó,*** *no muss mr alles nausstelle . . .*
(Jeden Mittwoch kommt der—na wie heißt denn das Auto da—. . . das Müllauto/die Müllabfuhr, dann muss man alles hinausstellen . . .)

Bei der Gestaltung des Wortschatzes dieser Sprecher vollzieht sich ein Prozess, in dem die momentane Lücke zwar mit dem Transfer-Substantiv geschlossen wird, doch diese Transfer-Elemente (meistens Inhaltswörter) werden Teil des indigenen Wortschatzes dieser Sprecher. Diese ungarischen Wortschatzeinheiten, die Bausteine erscheinen zunehmend häufiger und fungieren als Schibboleths der Sprache der Ungarndeutschen. Auf diese Weise entsteht eine neue Mischvarietät,[13] in der Elemente des Dialektes sowie die von L2 feste Bestandteile des Wortbestandes dieser Sprecher geworden sind. Diese Erscheinung ist nicht identisch mit dem bilingualen Sprachmodus und einer einfachen Vermeidungsstrategie, sondern es geht vielmehr um die Festigung einer Sprachmischung als einer eigenständigen Wortschatzschicht.

An Beleg (3) sind die wahrnehmbaren Vorzeichen des Wortsucheprozesses nachzuweisen. Noch vor dem Erscheinen der Wortschatzlücke kommt es

zu mehrmaligen Wiederholungen (*sie hen gewisst, hen sie halt*) und Einsetzen von Füllwörtern (*saches, halt*), um anzudeuten, dass die Planungsphase noch nicht beendet ist, doch für den Sprecher noch nicht alle lexikalischen Elemente parat sind. Mit dem "schnellen" Einsetzen des ungarischen Lexems (*pihenő*) wird in der Planungsphase etwas Zeit gewonnen, die dazu genutzt wird, gleich anschließend den fremden Baustein ergänzt um ein Füllwort (*halt*) in einer Verbform in der Mundart zu umschreiben. Das ist eigentlich eine Reperatur, ein substantieller Schritt, vom bilingualen Sprachmodus geschieht die Umkehr in einen monolingualen Modus. Die Strategie ist also einfach überschaubar: In der Matrixsprache fehlt ein wichtiges Inhaltswort, das schnell von der L2 geliefert wird, und im gleichen Satz erfolgt—zur Gesichtswahrung—die deutsche Umschreibung des gleichen Begriffs:

(3) *Ei, sie hen halt gschriewe, dass sie kumme. Aw'r wuhi das sie kumme, hemm'r net gwisst, sie hen gwisst, sie hen gwisst, halt wie die Bahne gehn und saches . . . Na wie sie in Italien glege ware, dort is dr feierspeiedi Berg, dort ware sie in der Näch glege, dort hen sie halt. . . . hen sie halt . . . ene* ***pihenő*** *khat, da hen sie halt* ***ausgruht*** *. . .* (Frau 89 J. über Kriegserlebnisse ihres Mannes, I.WK. Aufnahme: 1981)

(Ei, sie haben halt geschrieben, dass sie kommen. Aber wohin dass sie kommen, haben wir nicht gewusst, sie haben gewusst, sie haben gewusst, halt wie die Bahnen gehen und solches. . . . Na, als sie in Italien geweilt haben, dort ist der feierspuckende Berg, dort waren sie in der Nähe gelegen, dort haben sie halt . . . haben sie halt . . . ihr Ausruhen gehabt . . . , da haben sie halt ausgeruht)

2. Bestimmte rituelle Formen in Kommunikationssituationen und Diskursen dieser Minderheitensprecher sind dermaßen auf einen bilingualen Sprachmodus eingestellt, dass kommunikative Formeln, Konjunktionen, Diskurselemente, Füllwörter, Interjektionen nicht (mehr) in der Minderheitensprache ausgdrückt werden (können), weil sie nicht mehr geläufig sind. Es ist interessant zu sehen, dass es in diesen Fällen in der Regel zu keinen metakommunikativen Kommentaren, oft am Satzanfang stehend—auch zu keinen Verzögerungen des Sprechers kommt:

(4) A: Wisst'r net wu die Rezi néni is?
B: ***Hát szerintem***, die is um die Zeit schun im . . . im . . . **öregek otthon**, do is sie Aushelfern un jetz is ja glei' Mittag.
(A: Wisst ihr nicht, wo Tante Resi ist?
B: Also, meines Wissens ist die um diese Zeit im . . . im . . . Seniorenheim, da ist sie Aushelferin und es ist ja gleich Mittag) (Frau 79 J. 2001)

(5) **Hát**, *die hen sich halt welle zaige. Wal vieli Hajoscher Madl ware a da gedient, un nacht hen sie a ekschtres, am owre Daref hen sie a ekschtres Haus rausgnumme, des war de Hajuscher ihre Tanzhaus. Un mir, was die Nadware ware, die hen hunne am Doref* **vagy** *ba dem Madl* **vagy** *bam anre Madl hen mir getanzt.*(Frau 88 J., 1993)
(Ja, die wollten sich halt zeigen. Weil die Hajoscher Mädel waren da gedient und dann haben sie ein extra, im oberen Dorf haben sie ein extra Haus rausgenommen, das war das Hajoscher Tanzhaus. Und wir, die wir Nadwarer waren, die haben unten im Dorf entweder bei einem Mädl oder bei dem anderen Mädl haben wir getanzt.)

Folgender Beleg ist ein Beispiel für die Arbeitsteilung der beteiligten Sprachen im mehrsprachigen Sprachmodus, in dem L2 eine Nominationslücke der Objektsprache schließt und L1 noch einmal als Metasprache eintritt. Nach einer kleinen Pause erfolgt die Erklärung, der Selbstkommentar (rituelle Phase) zur objektsprachlichen Äußerung:

(6) *Fahr nar in die Richtung, net in die aner, dr Radio hot gsagt, do gibt's . . .* ***elterelés****, hát so . . .* ***kerülőút****, un no vrliere mr die Zeit un dai Mami wart schun . . .* (beobachtetes Gespräch, Frau 82 Jahre, 2008)
(Fahr nur in diese Richtung, nicht in die andere, das Radio sagte, dort gibt es viele . . . Umleitungen, also so . . . . Umwege und dann verlieren wir die Zeit und deine Mama wartet schon . . .)

Nach einer kurzen Pause und sichtbaren Überlegungen der Sprecherin erfolgte ihr Metakommentar zur Situation:

Ich red jo so wenig deitsch, ich vergess schun die Wertr.
(Ich rede ja so wenig Deutsch, ich vergesse schon die Wörter)

Die große Rolle der narrativen Umwelt geht aus diesem Beispiel eindeutig hervor. Es gibt fast keine Hesitationen mehr, die im Rundfunk gehörten Informationen über die Straßenverhältnisse werden mit den gleichen ungarischen Wörtern vermittelt als Teil des Wortschatzes der L1. Obgleich der Matrixsatz im Dialekt bleibt, werden die Schlüsselbegriffe in der L2 formuliert, d.h das Gespräch gleitet spontan über in einen multilingualen Sprachmodus.

3. In der Belegsammlung finden sich eine Reihe von Gesprächssituationen, in denen zwei hinsichtlich der Dialektkompetenz sehr unterschiedliche Generationen, die älteste und die junge Generation als Interaktionspartner auftreten. Hier ist zu beobachten, dass ältere Sprecher ihr Gespräch in einem einsprachigen Sprachmodus beginnen, nehmen aber oft an (oder wissen es vielleicht mit

Gewissheit), dass jüngere Generationen die im Ortsdialekt üblichen genuinen Mundartwörter wohl nicht mehr verstehen. Hierbei spielt die Situation und das Verhalten, das Streben nach Gesichtswahrung der Gesprächspartner eine ausschlaggebende Rolle: Folgt nicht der entsprechende Redebeitrag, versucht es der ältere Sprecher mit der Suche nach entsprechenden Synonymen, von denen er meint, dass sie besser verstanden werden. So treten Verzögerungen und Hesitationen ein, es kommt zur Sprachmischung, der Sprecher "fällt" in den multilingualen Sprachmodus und L2 wird als Objektsprache eingesetzt:

> (7) *Ja wu hoscht'n des* ***ridikil,*** *des . . .* ***teschkili*** *. . . hát des . . .* ***kistáska*** *. . . her?*
> (Ja woher hast du denn das Ridikül, das. . . . Täschchen, also die . . . kleine Tasche her?
> (aufgezeichnetes Gespräch zwischen der dialektsprechenden Großmutter (76 Jahre) und der nicht Dialekt sprechenden Enkeltochter (20 Jahre) (Aufnahme 2004).

Die ersten zwei Schlüsslebegriffe (*ridikil, teschkili*) sind zwar auch Entlehnungen in der Mundart,[14] dennoch gelten sie als Mundartwörter,[15] die von authentischen Dialektsprechern (ältere Generation) heute noch verwendet werden, von anderen Gesprächsbeteiligten evtl. nicht verstanden werden. Gefragt ist in diesen Fällen der Innovationsreichtum der Sprecher, wobei als einzige Lösung die L2 als Objektsprache erscheint, und damit ist das Verstehen gesichert. Hier geht es nicht um eine gegenseitige Anpassung der Gesprächsbeteiligten, um die Gesichtwahrung von beiden Seiten, sondern darum, dass sich die mehrsprachigen Sprecher—im Bewusstsein ihrer Sprachkompetenzen—der Situation und dem Partner leichter anpassen und sich—zur Geischtwahrung—auf den mulitilingualen Sprachmodus umstellen, um die Gesprächssituation aufrecht zu halten, zu retten.

Fazit

Von Sprechern einer Sprachgemeinschaft erwartet man eine durchgängig korrekte und fließende Kommunikation, d. h. die angemessene Verwendung der sprachlichen Ausdrucksmittel, des Wortschatzes. Dem ist jedoch nicht immer so, was auf viele Ursachen zurückzuführen ist. Die soziale Realität widerspiegelt sich im faktischen Sprachgebrauch (Günthner/Linke 2006, 47). Mehrsprachige Minderheitensprecher mischen ihre Sprachen mit unterschiedlicher Intensität, ausgelöst durch mehrere Ursachen, die jedoch zum Großteil bestimmt werden von dem ein-oder mehrsprachigen Sprachmodus, von dem Umstand, dass beim Fehlen von entsprechenden Wörtern auf die stützende und gleichzeitige Ersatzfunktion der im mentalen Lexikon abrufbaren vorhandenen (anderen) Sprache zurückgegriffen wird.

Die sprachlichen Äußerungen dieser Sprecher sind charakterisiert durch dynamische Prozesse, wobei die Diskurstraditionen dieser Sprecher heute bereits oft durch ungarische Muster geprägt sind, die Matrixsprache dennoch deutsch ist. Aus dieser 'Kollision' der Sprachen und Diskursmuster entstehen an gewissen Stellen Wortschatzlücken, Wortfindungsprobleme. Zitate aus der anderen Sprache (Dialoge, erlebte Rede) werden in der Regel—selbst von der ältesten Generation—im Original wiedergegeben. So zeigen unsere meisten Belege denn auch, dass für Sprachinselsprecher der multilinguale Sprachmodus der geläufigere, der natürlichere ist, wodurch die Sprachmischungen auch gerechtfertigt werden können.

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Anmerkungen

[1] Bei der Belegauswahl stütze ich mich auf eigene verschriftete Tonaufnahmen in Südungarn Baja und Umgebung (1989, 2002–03), auf das Korpus von Wild (Schwäbische Türkei-Branau, 1990er Jahre bis heute) und Knab (Nadwar, Nordbatschka, 1994) insgesamt 400 Seiten, bzw. auf das z. T. vorhandene auditive Material dieser Korpora.

[2] Vgl. Bei der ungarischen Minderheit in der Slowakei in Lanstyák (2006, 106, 130).

[3] Vgl. Iványi (1998), Auer/Rönfeldt (2002), Franceschini (1999).

[4] Vgl. Jäger-Manz (2007).

[5] Vgl. auch die Ergebnisse der Sprachgebrauchserhebungen der 90er Jahre: Knipf-Komlósi/Erb (1998).

[6] Vgl. die Untersuchungen von Gósy (2002) zu Verzögerungsphänomenen bei einsprachigen ungarischen Sprechern und Huszár (2005) über den Sprachprozess und dessen Fehlermöglichkeiten im spontanen Gespräch.

[7] Vgl. auch Gósy (2005, 96ff.).

[8] Der einsprachige Sprachmodus ist eher typisch für die mittlere und junge Generation.

[9] Das erklärt auch, warum es ungarndeutsche Sprecher der älteren und mittleren Generation nicht so leicht haben mit einsprachigen Deutschen (aus dem deutschen Sprachgebiet) eine Konversation zu führen, weil sie mehr an einen zweisprachigen Modus gewöhnt sind, unbewusst die Sprachen wechseln oder diese mischen, was in der Kommunikation mit einsprachigen Sprechern wiederum Probleme bringen kann. Auch in diesen Fällen gibt es das Monitoring, daher will sich der Sprecher schnell korrigieren, und so kommt es zu Verzögerungen im Gesprächsablauf.

[10] Ausführliches zum Thema siehe in Gósy (2005, 96–112), Schwitalla (2003), Huszár (2005).

[11] Vgl. Iványi (1998).

[12] Gedächtsnisdefizite werden hier ausgeklammert, sie gehören in den Bereich der Gedächtnis- und Aphasieforschung.

[13] Földes (2005) nennt diese Erscheinung Kontaktdeutsch.

[14] "Ridiköl" ist ein im Ungarischen und in den deutschen Ortsdialekten gebräuchliches französisches Lehnwort, "teschkili" ist eine eingedeutschte Entlehnung aus dem Ungarischen (táska).

[15] Vgl. Löffler (2002, 125–43).

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Helmut Protze

Frühes deutsches Stadtbuch, Landesgeschichte, Mundarten: Geistig-religiöse Strömungen in Europa vor der Entdeckung Amerikas

In der Reihe Germanistische Arbeiten zu Sprache und Kulturgeschichte Band 48, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand und anderen Gelehrten erschien im Internationalen Verlag der Wissenschaften Peter Lang (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, Bern, Brüssel, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2008) *Das älteste Zwickauer Stadtbuch (1375–1481) und seine Sprache: Nach Vorarbeiten von Karl Steinmüller unter Berücksichtigung sachlicher, sprachgeschichtlicher, lautlicher, grammatischer und syntaktischer Gesichtspunkte sowie durch Einbeziehung aller Personennamen*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Helmut Protze, 319 Seiten.

Der Bearbeiter, Prof. Dr. Helmut Protze, ist in Altendorf/Sächsische Schweiz 1927 geboren und hat zwischen 1947 und 1952 Germanistik und Geschichte an der Universität Leipzig studiert und seit 1954 dort Lehraufträge zur Historischen Grammatik, Sprachgeschichte, Mundart-und Sprachinselforschung sowie zur mittelhochdeutschen Literatur ausgetihrt und ist 1955 mit der Dissertation *Das Westlausitzische und Ostmeißnische,* Mitteldeutsche Studien, Bd. 20 (Halle/Saale, 1957) zum Dr. phil. promoviert worden. Im Rahmen seiner Anstellung an der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (1955–71) und an der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig (1972–92) hat er vor allem Mundart-und Sprachinselforschung betrieben und Südosteuropa bereist (Siebenbürgen, Zipsen). Neben zahlreichen beachtenswerten Publikationen zu Sprache und Geschichte ist er seit 1992 gewähltes ordentliches Mitglied der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission (Tübingen-Salzburg). Er hat das umfangreiche Manuskript zum ältesten Zwickauer Stadtbuch in jahrelanger Arbeit ehrenamtlich erstellt.

Sehr gern erinnert er sich an seinen Aufenthalt in den Vereinigten Staaten im Sommer 1995, als er mit seinem jüngsten Sohn Wolfram (der seit 1990 Sänger im Leipziger Opernchor und seit 2007 Vorsitzender des

Opemchorvorstandes ist) während der Autofahrt von New York nach Baltimore—Philadelphia—Washington—New York Anfang August 1995 (Tage darauf dann Flug nach Los Angeles und zur Teilnahme als Referent am 9. Weltkongress der Germanisten nach Vancouver/Kanada) in Millersville unangemeldet Prof. Richard Beam glücklicherweise zu Hause angetroffen haben. Es war ein Glücksfall, weil er und seine Frau Dorothy uns gleich auf mehrere Stunden währendder Autofahrt im heimischen pennsylvanischen Umland mit lieben Menschen in Verbindung brachten und wir das hochsommerliche Ernteleben und vieles mehr kennenlernen konnten. Seitdem verbinden uns Briefe und Büchersendungen in Freundschaft über den Atlantik u.a. seine hervorragenden 11 Bände des *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* oder *The Journal of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies*. Ich komme deshalb gern seinem Wunsch nach, für die Festschrift seines Freundes und Kollegen, Prof. Earl Haag, den auch ich schätze und beglückwünsche, einen kleinen Beitrag zu schreiben und nehme meine soeben erschienene Ausgabe des ältesten Zwickauer Stadtbuches (1375–1481) als Grundlage, weil diese frühe Zeit daran erinnern kann und soll, was in jenem frühen Jahrhundert in Deutschland und anderswo beispielsweise auch geschehen ist. Schließlich hat Christoph Kolumbus 1492 Amerika und am 5. Mai 1494 Jamaika entdeckt, überzeugt, in Kuba das Festland Asiens erreicht zu haben. Kolumbus war um 1446 in Genua geboren und ging Ende 1484 nach Spanien. Er ist am 21. Mai 1506 in Valladolid gestorben. 1513 wurden seine Gebeine nach Sevilla ins Kloster Santa Maria de las Cuevas überführt, 1537 in den Dom von Santo Domingo, 1899 wieder nach Sevilla.

Aber bleiben wir zunächst im meißnisch—sächsischen Zwickau jener frühen Zeit.

Das älteste Zwickauer Stadtbuch 1375–1481 enthält wichtige Einblicke in das letzte Viertel des 14. und Dreiviertel des 15. Jahrhunderts, als die Stadt zu den bedeutendsten Städten des Kurfürstentums Sachsen gehörte. Ihre Entwicklung steht im Zusammenhang mit der Erregung des Bergbaus auf dem Schneeberg. Schon seit 1475 entwickelt sich gut die Tuchmacherei. Der Export von Zwickauer Tuch geht im Osten vor allem zu den Märkten Krakau, Posen, Danzig und im Süden nach Regensburg, Linz, Wien und in die Steiermark. Hinzu kommt die starke Beschickung der drei Leipziger Märkte (Messen). Auch die Gewerbe der Schmiede, Schuster und Fleischer erfahren konjunkturelle Tendenzen. Und die positive ökonomische Stadtentwicklung hat Auswirkungen auf die soziale und demographische Entwicklung. Die Bevölkerungszunahme zwischen 1462 und 1496 ist beachtlich. Für 1532 liegt für Zwickau eine exakte Bevölkerungszählung vor mit 7677 Einwohnern, d.h. einer Überbevölkerung (Annaberg belegt 8000 Köpfe). In einer Denkschrift des Pfarrers Hausmann an den Rat (AxAB Nr. 28b Ordnungen

in Sterbensläuften 3: Eine treuliche Erinnerung unde warnunge an einen Erbaren Radth zu Zwikau 1536) wird anschaulich belegt:

> Dan das Volk in gemeine schir darumb bitt und hofft, gleich verlangen hat nach einem sterben. Dan idermann klagt, die stat sey gantz voll, der Jugend uberaus vill. Der frembden Leuthe von tage zu tage und armer hausgenossen, vil sich heimlich rein lesen [lassen], schicken in den kleinen heusem, leyt [liegt] ubereynander wie das krotengerick, das mir für mein person, auch den andern meinen brudern gleych begint zu grauen.

Doch die Bürger haben sich mitunter selbst geholfen, wie u. a. von 1536 gesagt wird, dass fünfzehn Häuser neu aufgebaut worden sind. Die soziale Struktur in Zwickau ist aus Türkensteuerlisten von 1530/32 und 1542, aus den jährlichen Geschossbüchern sehr gut herauszulesen.

Das wirtschaftlich gestärkte Bürgertum trat selbstbewusst gegen den Adel auf und veränderte Stück um Stück die mittelalterliche Ständeordnung, wobei im Bereich des Geisteslebens der Humanismus befreiend wirkte, wodurch Luthers Reformation vorbereitet und im ostmitteldeutschen Raum ihr der günstigste Nährboden gegeben war. Im Spiel der Kräfte der weltlichen Magnaten kam bekanntlich dem sächsischen Kurfürsten Friedrich dem Weisen eine Schlüsselrolle zu, der 1507 von Kaiser Maximilian zum Reichs-Generalstatthalter ernannt worden war, dann aber die ihm 1519 angebotene Kaiserkrone ausschlug, wodurch der Habsburger Karl V. und nicht der französische König Franz I. zum obersten weltlichen Gebieter gewählt worden ist. Sachsen war damals in seiner territorialen Ausdehnung vom Erzgebirge bis zum Harz und vom Thüringer Wald bis in die Nähe von Potsdam und in seiner wirtschaftlichen Macht bedeutend. Vor allem hat der Bergbau im Zeitalter der Reformation dazu beigetragen, dass Sachsen im europäischen Maßstab vorn lag. Mit dem Zinnbergbau um Altenberg und Geising wurde im Osterzgebirge um 1400 begonnen. Der Silberbergbau am Schreckenberge begann um 1490, wo es 1497 zur größten Stadtgründung jener Zeit, der von Annaberg kam. Aus der Bergbaugeschichte sind verschiedene Ereignisse bekannt, die zum Teil mit dem Goldrausch in Nordamerika vergleichbar sind. "Wo eyn man ercz suchen will, das meg her thun mit rechte," hatte der Markgraf von Meißen, Inhaber des Bergnutzungsrechts (Bergregal) zum ersten "Berggeschrey" nach reichen Silberfunden bei Freiberg 1168 den ins Land strömenden Siedlern zugestanden. "Alles kommt vom Berge her," ist heute noch im Erzgebirge gebräuchlich. Immer wenn der Bergbau ins Stokken geriet, lebte ab dem 16. Jahrhundert das Schnitzhandwerk auf. Wer kennt sie nicht, die liebevoll gestalteten Miniaturwelten aus gedrechseltem und geschnitztem Holz, die als Spielzeug Kindern seit Generationen eine eigene Welt eröffnen. Lichterbergmann und Lichterengel sind zwei "erztypische"

Weihnachtsfiguren. Die Engelsgestalt beschützt den Bergmann und leuchtet ihm den Weg in den Stollen.

Immerhin wohnten in Sachsen noch mehr als zwei Drittel der Menschen in Dörfern, die sich aus 50% Bauern mit ihren Familien, 5% "Gärtner" und "Häusler" und 13% "Gesinde und Hausgenossen," also 18% besitzarme bzw. besitzlose Einwohner verteilten (K.-H. Blaschke, *Reformationszeitalter*, S. 26). Aufgrund des ökonomischen Erstarken des Bürgertums kam es in der Zeit von Humanismus und Reformation innerhalb der Gesellschaft zum Hauptwiderspruch zwischen Bürgertum und Adel, wobei vor allem auf den zunehmenden Erwerb von Rittergütern und ganzen Grundherrschaften durch die Räte mehrerer Städte wie Leipzig, Zwickau (z. B. durch Familie Römer), Großenhain und Bautzen zu weisen ist. Zahlenmäßig stand der Adel in seinem Kampf gegen das Vordringen des Bürgertums einer fünfzigfachen Übermacht gegenüber, wie mit Hilfe der erhalten gebliebenen Steuerregister aus den Jahren um 1550 nachgewiesen werden kann.

Beachtlich waren zur Zeit von Humanismus und Reformation die Fortschritte auf dem Gebiet des Schulwesens. Als älteste Schule gilt in Sachsen die Meißner Domschule. Bald folgen die Kloster- und Stiftsschulen zu St. Afra in Meißen, in Bautzen, in Wurzen und das Leipziger Thomaskloster nahm schon im 13. Jahrhundert Leipziger Bürgersöhne in seine "äußere Schule" auf; während Dresden im 14. Jahrhundert die erste eigentliche Stadtschule besaß, der jene in Zittau bald folgte. Bis 1500 entstanden noch in Zwickau, Freiberg, Chemnitz und Oschatz Lateinschulen unter Leitung der Stadträte. Freilich kamen die Lehrkräfte noch aus dem Kreise der Kleriker. Aber der Humanismus veränderte auch den Inhalt des Lehrbetriebes. Die führenden Städte Sachsens gingen in der humanistischen Umgestaltung des Schulwesens voraus. In Zwickau gründete Sachsens bedeutender Humanist Dr. Georg Agricola 1518 neben der in Blüte stehenden, von Stephan Roth drei Jahre geleiteten Lateinschule eine griechische Schule. Der Leipziger Humanist Konrad Celtes war großer Anreger antiker Wissenschaftspflege, der auch ein Sprachwissenschaftler von Rang war. Der Zwickauer Schumachersohn Stephan Roth wirkte als Rektor der Zwickauer und Joachimsthaler Ratsschulen, als Wittenberger Prediger und Universitätsdozent und schließlich die längste Zeit seines Lebens als Zwickauer Oberstadtschreiber und Ratsherr. Man hat ihn mit Willibald Pirkheimer in Nürnberg und Konrad Peutinger in Augsburg auf eine Stufe gestellt. Luther, Spalatin, Bugenhagen, um nur einige zu nennen würdigten ihn ihrer Freundschaft. Der Briefwechsel, den er mit ihnen und anderen bekannten Persönlichkeiten unterhielt—es sind mehr als 1000 Briefe in der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek erhalten—beleuchten jene bewegte Zeit anschaulich genug.

Stephan Roth besuchte die strenge Zwickauer Lateinschule, die in seiner Schulzeit etwa 900 Schüler umfasste. Er ging 1512 auf die Universität Leipzig, wo seine Lehrer u.a. der berühmte Gräzist Petrus MosellanusS und Georg Helt waren. Schon 1516 schrieb ihm der verdiente Zwickauer Bürgermeister Mag. Lauremius Bärensprung von der geplanten Anstellung in seiner Vaterstadt Zwickau. Bärensprung hatte in Paris und Leipzig studiert und war der Enkel des Erasmus Bärensprung, der 1410 der erste Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät an der 1409 gegründeten Leipziger Universität gewesen war. Das Schulwesen zur Zeit des Humanismus stand vielerorts in Europa in Blüte. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auf die um 1380 in Hermannstadt (Siebenbürgen) gegründete erste Schule, die Vorgängerin der heutigen Brukenthalschule, hinzuweisen.

Das älteste Zwickauer Stadtbuch weist viele kulturhistorisch wichtige Daten und Belege auf, wie z. B. über Verpfändungen, Testamente, Urfehde und Mord (BI. 62, 1.12. 1425), Ablass, Frone 154 b, 1436, Teilungsbeleg über Meißen (43 b, 29.8. 1400), Hussiteneinfälle bis vor die Tore von Zwickau (130 b, 1431; 133, 1433), auf die wichtigen frühen Zwickauer Schulgesetze um 1400 (BI. 80 b bis 82 b), die ein geordnetes und niveauvolles Schulwesen bezeugen: vgl. "schulmeister lasen" [Lasan]: "Dicz synt der schule gesetze" u.a. betreffend die Abgaben der Barger für das Schulwesen (den Lehrern), den Lazehaller [Leseheller] (80 b), Geld zu Ostern, Weihnachten (BI. 31), Heizen der Schule (ein schit [Scheit] holtz), Mittagessen: "iclich tag eyn mal zu mitage"; Geld für Lichter (81); zum Advent "sanghaller" [Singheller]; "eyn iclich arm schueler, . . . er sy in der stad dovor, zu hure ader wone uf der schule, mag gen by tage unde des abends syngen noch dem almosen . . . daz ym der meister nach [noch] syne gesellen nicht weren schullen [sollen]" (BI. 81 b); Gottesfürchtigkeit, Würde und Respekt vor dem Rat und den Bürgern werden betont.

Außer den Schulgesetzen mit dem erwähnten geforderten Respekt vor dem Rat und den Bürgern weisen sehr sozial gedachte Belege auf die Fürsorge des Rates für die Bürger, z.B. in Notfällen (wie u.a. BI. 3 b, 18, vom 30. August 1376 bezeugt): ". . . wurde er krang adir wi daz queme [käme], das er von not wegen nicht gearbeiten mochte, so sol es an dem Rat ligen waz man ym geben sulle."

Edles menschliches Handeln bezeugen Bürger und Rat in guten und in schweren Zeiten, wie die Durchsicht des ältesten Stadtbuches der stets aufwärts strebenden großen Stadt an der Mulde der Nachwelt und den heutigen Menschen in Erfahrung bringen lässt. Bedeutsam ist die erste Urkunde mit der Namennennung "Zwiccowe" vom 1. Mai 1118 im Zusammenhang mit der an diesem Tage geweihten Marienkirche und einer bereits vorhandenen Zollstätte. Die Höhe der Zolleinnahme, die aus einer Urkunde von 1121

bekannt wird, weist auf die verkehrswirtschaftliche Bedeutung Zwickaus, da hier ein Durchgangszoll errichtet werden musste für Kaufleute, die nach dem Obergang über die Mulde das damals noch urwaldähnliche Erzgebirge durchqueren wollten, um ihre Waren nach Böhmen zu führen, und umgekehrt: Kaufleute, die aus Böhmen (Prag) kommend, ihren Weg von Zwickau aus nach Norden (Leipzig, Halle, Magdeburg) nahmen. Mit der nach dem Wert der Ware abgestuften zu entrichtenden Abgabe erwarben sie auch Anspruch auf den Schutz für ihre Person und ihre Güter. Praktisch erfolgte dieser durch das bewaffnete Geleit, das in jener Frühzeit den Kaufmannszügen gegeben werden musste, wollte man die Sicherheit auf den Straßen gewährleisten. Vielleicht hat die Zollstätte schon vor 1118 bestanden; eine Zollstätte in Leitmeritz an der Elbe wird schon 1057 erwähnt.

Von einer Stadt Zwickau kann freilich 1118 und auch Jahrzehnte danach noch keine Rede sein. Indem Kaufleute, Krämer und Handwerker im Bereich des alten "Zwiccowe" sesshaft werden, bildet sich der Marktort Zwickau heraus und wächst langsam heran im ursprünglich jüngeren slawischen Ausbaugebiet, einem slawischen Kleingau südlich des slawischen Altsiedelgebietes "Plisni" im Raum Altenburg-Schmölln. Vermutlich im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert haben die Slawen das Mulden-Territorium flussaufwärts erschlossen. Der Name Zwickau existierte als slawische Bildung wohl spätestens seit dem 10./11. Jahrhundert, und es ist das Verdienst von E. Eichler (*Erzgebirgische Heimatblätter*, H. 4, S. 97) onomatopoetische Namengebung durch die Slawen im Raum Zwickau (Gekreische von Schnepfen) erkannt zu haben. In dankenswerter Weise hat der Chronist E. Herzog 1839/45 im zweiten Teil seiner *Chronik der Kreisstadt Zwickau* (1845, S. 4) die ehemaligen Sorben des Zwickauer Gaues angemessen und liebevoll beurteilt. Er schreibt: "Grundzüge des Charakters der Sorben waren nach den unparteiischen Zeugnissen: Lebhaftigkeit, Frohsinn, Aufrichtigkeit, Ehrlichkeit, Mäßigkeit und Gastfreundschaft." Gustav Freytag beurteilt die Sorben in seinen "Ahnen" vor hundertvierzig Jahren ein klein wenig negativer. Etwa vom Jahr 1060 an muss mit einer planmäßigen und intensiven Besiedlung des Gaugebietes gerechnet werden. Als königlicher, also unter dem militärischen und rechtlichen Schutz des deutschen Königs stehender Markt entstanden, ist Zwickau wohl bis etwa 1192 als "königliche Stadt" zu bezeichnen, dann bis 1323 Reichsstadt, also bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, an dem sie in die Gewalt einer Territorialmacht der Markgrafen von Meißen gerät. Vorausgegangen waren die im 10. Jahrhundert seitens der Könige Heinrich I. und Otto I. gebildeten Grenzmarken, zu denen auch die Mark Meißen gehörte. Im Gebiet zwischen Mulde und Oder wurde schon 968 in Meißen ein Bistum ins Leben gerufen, und westlich davon war Altenburg mit seinem Territorium "Plisni" seit der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts in Königshand. Der spätere erste Bischof von Merseburg, Boso,

missionierte im Raum zwischen Zeitz und Altenburg. Schließlich schuf Otto I. innerhalb des 968 gegründeten Erzbistums Magdeburg gleichzeitig für das sorbisch besiedelte Gebiet im Elster—Mulde—Raum das Bistum Zeitz, dessen Sitz aber schon 1028 nach Naumburg verlegt wurde, und bei der erwähnten Weihe der Zwickauer Pfarrkirche 1118 durch den Naumburger Bischof wird die ausdrückliche Beziehung zum Kloster Bosau bei Zeitz erwähnt. Siedlung und Stadt Zwickau wuchsen so im Zeitraum der deutschen Hochkolonisation schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. und erst recht im 12. Jahrhundert, wie die erste Namennennung 1118 bezeugt. 1521 wurde die Reformation eingeführt. Luters Beschützer, Kurfürst Friedrich der Weise, nannte Zwickau die Perle in seinen Landen. Auf Empfehlung Luthers kam Thomas Müntzer als Prediger am 17. Mai 1520 an die Marienkirche, wo er den evangelischen Pfarrer Wildeuauer aus Eger, genannt Egranus, vertrat. Die erste Predigt Müntzers richtete sich gegen die Franziskaner, die in Zwickau die Macht der Kirche verkörperten. Er schalt sie "Heuchler" und trat überhaupt gegen die Bettelmönche auf. Doch die Franziskaner beschwerten sich beim Domkapitel in Naumburg, worauf der Kaplan des Bischofs von Naumburg sich beim Rat in Zwickau beklagte, dass Müntzer sich in seinen Predigten "fast weit und groblich verlaufen" habe. Es führte dazu, dass Müntzer am 1. Oktober 1520 an die Katharinenkirche wechselte, der Kirche der Armen. Nach der Rückkehr von Egranus aus Prag folgten Streitpredigten und die Entlassung Müntzers am 16. April 1521, der nach Prag ging. Das Stadtarchiv Zwickau besitzt als Dokument die letzte Gehaltsquittung von Thomas Müntzer, die über 25 Florinos lautet. Der bedeutende Philosoph Ernst Bloch hat Müntzer als "Theologen der Revolution" bezeichnet. Auf das Gelehrtenleben Georg Agricolas im Zeitalter der Reformation ist besonders hinzuweisen, der als Lehrer an der Zwickauer Stadtschule wirkte, die damals "rühmlich bekannt" war. Agricola war am 24. März 1494 in Glauchau geboren. Das Dokument in der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek nennt Dr. Georgius Agricola, sonst "Patter" genannt. Er hat auf Gebieten wie Mineralogie, Metall- und Hüttenkunde und des Bergbaus Grundlegendes geleistet, besuchte die Universität Leipzig, wo sein Lehrer Petranus Mosellanus gute Beziehungen zu Luther, Erasmus, Reuchlin und Hutten unterhielt. Goethe lobte Agricola im 2. Band seiner *Farbenlehre* (Tübingen, 1810, S. 236f.).

Die immer zahlreicher werdenden Besucher Zwickaus können viele historische Stätten besichtigen, wie z. B. das 1522–25 erbaute Gewandhaus, in dem die Tuchschau stattfand. Die Viermeister der Tuchmacherinnung prüften die von den Zwickauer Tuchmachern gefertigten Tuche. Das Marlin-Römer-Haus am Markt war das Wohnhaus des Handelsherrn, Ratsherrn, Berg- und Amtshauptmanns Martin Römer, der 1483 starb. Er wurde als Fundgrübner im Schneeberger Silberbergbau zum reichsten Mann im Kurf

rstentum, da er vom Landesherrn mit der Aufsicht über die gesamte Silbergewinnung und über Kauf und Verkauf betraut worden war. Seine Silberbarren lagerten sogar in Venedig. Auch das untere Kornhaus bei Schloss Osterstein hat Martin Römer um 1480 erbauen lassen und ist eines der ältesten seiner Art in Deutschland. Die Ratskapelle ist der älteste erhaltene Teil des nach dem Stadtbrand von 1403 errichteten Rathauses. Ab 1679 war das Ratsarchiv in ihr untergebracht. Die Katharinenkirche wurde zwischen 1212 und 1219 als Klosterkirche der Zwickauer Benediktinerinnen erbaut. Der große Flügelaltar von 1518 stammt aus der Werkstatt Lucas Cranachs d. A. Der Dorn zu St. Marien ist im letzten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts begründet und erhielt seine heutige Gestalt zwischen 1452 bis 1565.

Zwickau besaß das Bergamt, Gymnasium, viele Fach(ober)schulen; war führend im Steinkohlenbergbau, in der Maschinen-, Textil- und chemischen Industrie und besitzt ein reichhaltiges Stadtarchiv und die bedeutende Ratsschulbibliothek, die schon 1930 über 30000 Bände zählte. Ratsschulbibliothek genannt, weil der Einfluss des Rates der Stadt auf die Geschicke der Schule unverkennbar war. Sie ist auf das engste mit der sehr früh gegründeten Zwickauer Lateinschule verbunden. Sie gilt als älteste öffentlich-wissenschaftliche Bibliothek Sachsens. Zu den wertvollsten Beständen an Drucken, Handschriften und Briefen der Reformationszeit gehört die 1546 testamentarisch übereignete Privatbibliothek des Zwickauer Ratsherrn und Oberstadtschreibers Stephan Roth (1492–1546). Gegenwärtig verfügt die Bibliothek über 160000 Bände, über 200 mittelalterliche Handschriften, ca. 1200 Inkunabeln (Drucke vor 1501), 2000 alte Musikalien und umfangreiche Briefsammlungen.

Die Sprache des ältesten Zwickauer Stadtbuches steht noch in mittelhochdeutschen Bindungen auf mitteldeutscher Grundlage. Sie weist vorübergehend ostfränkische und südliche Einflüsse auf, z. B. *schol, schal* 'soll' und anlautendes *b-* statt mhd. *w-* um 1400. Im einzelnen konnten in der sprachlichen Analyse des Stadtbuches wichtige Beiträge zur frühneuhochdeutschen Sprachgeschichte im Ostmitteldeutschen geliefert werden, z. B. das Einsetzen der nhd. Diphthonge in allen *î, û, iu (mîn niuwes hûs)* genau verfolgt und damit ein Beitrag zur obersächsisch-ostmitteldeutschen Entwicklung beigesteuert werden. Die Beigabe aller Personennamen verdeutlicht die Entstehungszeit unserer Familiennamen.

Aber blicken wir aus der im ältesten Zwickauer Stadtbuch behandelten frühen Zeit in benachbarte sächsische und europäische Räume und denken sogar daran, dass Christoph Kolumbus beinahe zeitgleich 1492 Amerika entdeckt hat. In Europa erfolgte im März 1452 die letzte Kaiserkrönung in Rom mit der Krönung des Habsburger Herzogs der Steiermark Friedrich III. (1440–93) durch Papst Nikolaus V. und die Eroberung Konstantinopels am

29. März 1453 durch Sultan Muhammed II. hat einen gewaltigen Eindruck auf ganz Europa gemacht. Nach dem Niedergang des Deutschen Ordens begründet der Preußische Städtetag 1440 den Preußischen Städtebund, der der Willkür des Deutschen Ordens entgegentrat. Der Übergang der sächsischen Kur an die Wettiner erfolgte, nachdem die braunschweigischen und sachsen-wittenbergischen Herzöge lange um die Erbfolge im Herzogtum Lüneburg gestritten hatten. Unter Vermittlung von Karl IV. war es am 28. Oktober 1373 zu einem Vertrag über die Einsetzung einer gemeinsamen Regierung gekommen. Als Kurfürst Rudolf von Sachsen am 11. Juni 1419 starb, folgte ihm sein Bruder Albrecht III., der nach 1420 sich mit Orsika, der Tochter Herzog Konrads von Öls verheiratete, aber schon 1422 kinderlos starb. Um das erledigte Herzogtum bewarben sich der Pfalzgraf Ludwig III. bei Rhein für seinen Sohn Ruprecht und Friedrich I. von Brandenburg für seinen Sohn Johann. Beide waren ursprünglich Bundesgenossen des Königs gewesen, hatten aber in der Folge sich Sigmund entfremdet. Da der König (Sigmund) kaum Lust haben konnte, zwei Kurwürden in einer Familie zu vereinigen, belehnte er Friedrich den Streitbaren von Wettin am 6. Januar 1423 zu Pressburg mit dem Herzogtum Sachsen-Wittenberg und schloss mit ihm ein Schutz- und Trutzbündnis. Hatte er doch in dem Wettiner einen tapferen Bundesgenossen gegen die Hussiten, die mehr und mehr in Sachsen eingefallen waren, wie wir auch aus der Quelle des ältesten Zwickauer Stadtbuches erfuhren. Friedrich der Streitbare erhielt am 1. August 1425 in Ofen die feierliche Belehnung (vgl. Hinze, "Der Übergang der sächsischen Kur an die Wettiner," Diss. Halle, 1906). In Böhmen bildete sich unter der Geistlichkeit eine starke Partei, die, geleitet von einem streng reformatorischen Zug, zugleich die Interessen der böhmischen Nationalität tatkräftig vertrat. Eine starke kirchliche und nationale Erregung bewegte die Gemüter. Auch soziale Gegensätze zwischen dem grundangesessenen deutschen Bürgertum der Städte und den besitzlosen tschechischen Handwerkern, den adligen Großgrundbesitzern und den tschechischen Bauern verschärften sich. In diese Bewegung trat Johann Hus, geboren um 1370 zu Husinetz, ein. Er studierte in Prag, erwarb 1396 den Magistergrad und hielt seit 1398 Vorlesungen. 1402 wurde er zum Rektor der Universität Prag gewählt; das Amt eines tschechischen Predigers an der Bethlehemskirche gab ihm die Möglichkeit, auf die Massen Einfluss zu gewinnen. Es setzte eine tiefgehende Wandlung in Hus ein, veranlasst durch seine Bekanntschaft mit den Lehren des Engländers Johann Wiclef. Der englische Reformator war von der nationalen Gegnerschaft gegen das mit Frankreich verbündete Papsttum ausgehend, gegen die finanziellen und jurisdiktionellen Ansprüche der Kurie aufgetreten und hatte die radikalen Behauptungen aufgestellt, dass der Klerus arm sein müsse, und dass die Amtshandlungen des in Todsünde gefallenen Geistlichen nichtig

seien. Wiclefs Lehren waren in England verboten und seine Anhänger verfolgt worden. In Böhmen sollten diese Lehren die folgenreichste Erschütterung der mittelalterlichen Kirche herbeifahren. Hus kannte die philosophischen Werke des englischen Reformators schon früher. Aber jetzt wurden ihm auch Wiclefs theologische Traktate zugänglich gemacht, wohl durch böhmische Studenten, die in Oxford studiert hatten. In Wiclefs Worten hat Hus zuletzt Wiclefs Lehren verkündet, ging aber nicht soweit wie Wiclef. Hus erwies sich nicht nur als eifriger Sittenprediger gegen die verweltlichte Geistlichkeit, sondern auch als leidenschaftlicher nationaler Agitator gegen die in Kirche und Universität tonangebenden Deutschen. Und der Erfolg war ungeheuer. Äußere Umstände begünstigten die Bewegung und König Wenzel war ihr geneigt. Die deutschen Nationen in Bayern, Sachsen und Polen an der Universität Prag, die wegen ihrer großen zahlenmäßigen Überlegenheit früher die meisten Einkünfte und Ehren der Universität Prag innehatten, aber infolge der Ansprüche der tschechischen Magister im Jahre 1385 auf den Besitz der Hälfte beschränkt worden waren (vgl. Tadra, „Die Universität Prag im 14. Jahrhundert," *Sitzungsbericht der böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,* 1890; Bachmann, *Der älteste Streit zwischen Deutschen und Tschechen an der Prager Universität*, 1904), traten als entschiedene Vorkämpfer der Rechtgläubigkeit auf und hatten 1403 ein Verbot der Lehren Wiclefs durchgesetzt. Mit der Berufung des Pisaner Konzils trat eine entscheidende Wende ein; König Wenzel sagte sich von Papst Gregor los und fand die Unterstützung der Studierenden der böhmischen Nation, während die anderen drei Nationen: Sachsen, Bayern und die vor allem aus Deutschen bestehende polnische Nation dem Papst die Treue bewahrten. Erzürnt hierüber, ließ sich König Wenzel durch Hus bewegen, durch einen Erlass vom 18. Januar 1409 das bei den Universitätsbeschlüssen gültig gewordene Stimmenverhältnis so zu regeln, dass künftig Böhmen drei, die anderen Nationen zusammen nur eine Stimme haben sollten. Vergeblich protestierten die zurückgesetzten Nationen hiergegen. Als nun König Wenzel willkürlich einen Rektor und den Dekan der Artistenfakultät einsetzte und die Herausgabe des Universitätssiegels, der Matrikel und der Schlüssel erzwang, verließen im Mai 1409 die deutschen Professoren und Studenten Prag und begaben sich in großer Zahl nach Leipzig, wo die Markgrafen Friedrich und Wilhelm eine neue Universität gegründet hatten, die in dem Jahr 2009 somit ihr 600jähriges Bestehen feiern konnte. Hus verkündete dann immer zuversichtlicher Wiclefs Lehre, aber Papst Alexander V. befahl am 9. Marz 1410 gegen Hus einzuschreiten, was zum Ausspruch des Bannes gegen ihn im Februar 1411 führte. Nun griff Hus mit dem Ablass das katholische Dogma an und nicht nur die kirchliche Ordnung. Hier lag der Wendepunkt im Leben des Prager Magisters und in der Entwicklung der böhmischen Reformation. König Wenzel suchte in Prag

zwischen den Parteien zu vermitteln, stellte sich aber zuletzt auf die Seite der Anhänger von Hus. Er verbannte die Anhänger der katholischen Rechtgläubigkeit und änderte die Zusammensetzung des Prager Stadtrats so, dass jetzt auch die böhmischen Wiclefiten hier die Mehrheit hatten. Nur ein Konzil schien die Bewegung der Wiclef-Anhänger aufzuhalten, das von Konstanz (1414–18). Es hat aber die weitreichenden und verheerenden kriegerischen Folgen der Hussitendrangsalierungen nicht verhindern können.

Die böhmischen Religionsstreitigkeiten am Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts erfassten große Teile Mitteleuropas. Als der Böhmenkönig Sigmund auf dem Landtag zu Breslau entschied, die böhmischen antipäpstlichen Ketzer, die Hussiten mit Krieg zu bekampfen, kam es in Böhmen zu einer "wunderbaren religiösen und nationalen Erhebung, wie sie die Welt seit Jahrhunderten nicht gesehen hatte" (B. Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 1:503). Unter Ziskas Führung warfen die Hussiten das Kreuzheer am 1. November 1420 bei Wyschehrat. König Sigismunds Lage war verzweifelt, zumal ein neuer Türkenangriff ihn nach Ungarn rief. Am 8. Januar 1422 traf ihn Ziska wieder mit vernichtendem Schlage und die Hussiten überzogen immer ungehinderter über die Böhmen benachbarten deutschen Gebiete, vgl. vor Zwickau 1433/34. Das Konzil zu Konstanz 1414–18 hatte den Flammentod auf dem Scheiterhaufen von Jan Hus am 6. Juli 1415 gebracht. Auf diese Kunde brachen in Böhmen Unruhen aus. König Wenzels Tod (16. August 1419) erhöhte die allgemeine Verwirrung. Zwei Strömungen traten hervor: eine gemäßigte konservative (Adel, Universität, wohlhabendes Bürgertum Prags), die Ultraquisten und eine demokratisch-radikale (Bauern und ärmere Bürger), die Taboristen, die soziale Umwälzung verlangte, geführt von Ziska, der aus den Bauern und Handwerkern der böhmischen Dörfer ein vortreffliches, leicht bewegliches Fußvolk schuf und gut bespannte und gerüstete Heerwagen beigab.

Es dauerte noch zwei Jahrhunderte, bis 1648 die verheerenden Religionskämpfe des dreißigjährigen Krieges mit dem Frieden von Münster und Osnabrück ein Ende fanden.

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