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YEARBOOK OF GERMAN AMERICAN STUDIES

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North American Varieties of German

Edited by

Mark L. Louden with William D. Keel

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Mark L. Louden

Introduction

Varieties of German have been spoken by migrants from German-speaking Europe to North America and their descendants from the colonial era to the present. The scholarly literature produced on them is vast, extending back to the second half of the 19th century. Investigators have explored heritage German varieties in the United States and Canada from the perspective of multiple linguistic subfields, including but not limited to phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, socio(historical) linguistics, dialectology, and contact linguistics.

For most heritage languages in North America spoken by migrants and their descendants, including German, the shift from speaking a non-English language to speaking English only has typically occurred by the second generation after migration (Fishman 1966, Fishman and Hofman 1966). Some heritage varieties of German, however, have defied that trend. Maintenance beyond the third generation is due to particular external factors, including the geographic or social isolation of heritage language communities, or successive waves of migration from abroad to these communities. Even in ethnolinguistically relatively homogeneous communities, however, especially after the first (migrant) generation, bilingualism has been the norm. While the proficiency of individual bilinguals in a form of German and English has often been imbalanced, the external pressure to develop at least a basic working knowledge of English among North American-born speakers of German has been considerable. The linguistic effects of bilingualism are most clearly discerned in the presence of vocabulary borrowed from English into all documented heritage varieties of German.

The purpose of this volume is not to provide a comprehensive overview of "the German language in America," but to offer just a small sample of

the diversity of heritage varieties of German in the U.S. and Canada, past and present. Of the eight varieties discussed, five have not been actively acquired by children for at least two or three generations and are thus severely endangered: Wisconsin Pomeranian Low German; Volga German in Ellis County, Kansas; Moundridge (Kansas) Schweitzer German; Texas Alsatian; and Texas German. The remaining three varieties, Plautdietsch (Mennonite Low German), Hutterite German, and Pennsylvania Dutch, which are all actively spoken by members of endogamous and highly traditional Anabaptist groups, are not only surviving, but thriving, due to exponential demographic growth. In fact, these three varieties, which today may be viewed as distinct Germanic languages in their own right, along with one other not treated in this volume, Amish Shwitzer (Amish Swiss German; Hasse and Seiler 2024), as well as Yiddish spoken by many Hasidic groups in North America and beyond (Bleaman 2018), are in fact the fastest growing languages, large or small, on the planet. In an era when most of the approximately 7,000 languages around the globe are spoken by small (and typically indigenous) minority populations and endangered, the success stories of the Germanic languages spoken by traditional Anabaptists and Jews are remarkable.

The eight German(ic) varieties discussed in this volume were selected for inclusion for their geographic and European dialectal diversity. Wisconsin Pomeranian and Plautdietsch are forms of Low German; Moundridge Schweitzer, Ellis County Volga German, and Pennsylvania Dutch are all descended from (West) Central German dialects; Texas Alsatian and Hutterite German are both related to Upper German varieties, Alemannic and Austro-Bavarian, respectively. Texas German most closely resembles Central German, however that could be due to the fact that it is descended from what is known in German as "landschaftliches Hochdeutsch" (regional High German; Ganswindt 2017), a general term that describes varieties of spoken standard German that emerged mainly in the 19th century and are direct antecedents of the regiolects spoken in Central Europe today. The unique status of Texas German versus the seven other varieties discussed in this volume is suggested by its remarkable degree of intelligibility for speakers of European standard German.

The eight varieties discussed here are spoken in diverse parts of North America. Four – Wisconsin Pomeranian, Ellis County Volga German, Texas Alsatian, and Texas German – are/were spoken in single states, namely Wisconsin, Texas, and Kansas. Moundridge Schweitzer was spoken in Kansas and also in South Dakota. Communities that use Hutterite German, Plautdietsch, and especially Pennsylvania Dutch, are dispersed across several U.S. states and Canadian provinces. Plautdietsch has the distinction of being

a truly global language, with communities spread across North, Central, and South America, as well as Germany and parts of the former Soviet Union.

In each of this volume's eight studies, the authors aimed to strike a balance between linguistic structural features and historical and sociolinguistic background information. All contributions discuss the place of English in the sociolinguistic ecology of the communities in which these varieties are/were spoken, as well the structural effects of contact. Ulitmately, however, the eight chapters do not follow a uniform template, which allowed the authors to structure them as they saw fit.

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Ryan Dux

Wisconsin Pomeranian Low German

1 Introduction

The U.S. state of Wisconsin is well-known for its rich German (broadly speaking) heritage and culture, yet the number of competent German speakers has drastically decreased over the past century.[1] Here, I discuss the present state of the German language in Wisconsin, with a particular focus on the moribund Pomeranian Low German dialect spoken in Marathon and Lincoln counties in the central area of the state. The primary data for the linguistic analysis come from interviews conducted by the author in 2013 and 2014 with the last generation of German speakers in this area.[2] "Wisconsin German" differs from other German-American varieties such as Texas German and Pennsylvania German in that immigrants from different German dialect areas formed small, relatively isolated communities and largely maintained their regional varieties, and these varieties did not mix or coalesce into a unified, mutually intelligible *koiné*. Thus, the moniker "Wisconsin German" is less appropriate than community-specific terms such as "Central Wisconsin Pomeranian," "Dane County Kölsch," or "New Glarus Swiss German." Like most German-American varieties, Wisconsin German has undergone drastic language shift since around 1940 and is nearing the point of language death, as most competent speakers are well over the age of 65.[3] The Pomeranian Low German community of central Wisconsin is representative of this linguistic situation: the immigrants formed a small community in a rural area centered around small country churches and most speakers had some command of both the regional dialect and standard High German, resulting in a unique situation of language contact. In this paper, I first provide a general overview

of German(s) in Wisconsin (Section 2), before discussing the sociohistorical background (Section 3) and structure (Section 4) of Central Wisconsin Pomeranian.

2 German in Wisconsin

Before discussing in detail the Pomeranian Low German dialect spoken in central Wisconsin, this section provides a brief overview of the German situation in the state to contextualize the speech community focused on in this article.[4] German immigration to Wisconsin began in the first quarter of the 19th century and increased drastically in the following decades. In 1850, only 15% of the Wisconsin population was born in Germany, but by the end of the 19th century, Wisconsin was home to more German immigrants than any other U.S. state. The peak of German immigration occurred in 1882 (Everest 1892), and by 1890 around 37% of the state's population was either born in Germany or first-generation offspring of German immigrants. Thus, at the turn of the century roughly one third of Wisconsin's population had at least some understanding of, if not total competence in German. Wisconsin was also famous for being a bastion of German culture in the 19th century, as many migrants of high social standing promoted the German culture after settling in urban areas such as Milwaukee, Sheboygan, and Watertown. The prominence of German in Wisconsin is also reflected in the high readership of German media (newspapers, magazines), which in some cases sold twice as many copies than their English counterparts (Wittke 1957).

Immigration to Wisconsin was neither uniform nor large-scale. Rather, small groups of migrants from different areas of Europe settled at different times and in different places. Levi (1898) claims that immigrants could be found from nearly all German dialect areas. However, the Low German dialects, particularly Pomeranian, were the most prominent and longest lasting in the state. As noted above, the German dialects brought to Wisconsin did not coalesce into a mutually intelligible *koiné*, primarily because the settlers remained in small, rural communities and had little contact with speakers of other varieties.[5] Other contributing factors include the availability of Standard German and later English as a common language, the drastic differences between the German varieties, and the lack of prestige associated with German dialects.

Typically, Germans in Wisconsin were exposed to their local dialect, High German, and English. The local dialect was spoken in familiar settings such as the farmstead or home, High German was the language of church and parochial schools into the 1930s (or later in rural areas), and English was used with those outside of the community and gradually became the dominant

language. The dialects brought to Wisconsin exhibit few differences from the donor dialects spoken in Europe at the time of migration in the 19th century, and there has been little if any continued contact with modern Standard German (StG), let alone the regional dialects in Europe.

The loss of German (both standard and dialects) began around 1900 and has accelerated since. Germans in urban areas shifted to English earliest, and those in the rural areas followed suit, so that virtually no native speaker remains who was born after 1950. Protestant German communities preserved the language slightly longer than Catholic ones, as German was reinforced by the Protestant (especially Lutheran) churches. The remaining speakers typically exhibit attrition, as many of them have not used German regularly since childhood and use it only in certain situations with specific people. As such, they often struggle speaking German fluently when discussing domains apart from home, farm, church, and other domains prominent in their childhood. Present-day Wisconsin Germans are rarely competent in the written language, as High German literacy was only taught up to the 8th grade in parochial schools, if at all.

For the most part, the sociolinguistic characteristics of German speakers in Wisconsin described in this brief overview also apply to the Central Wisconsin Pomeranians and are expounded on in more detail as they apply to this particular community.

3 Wisconsin Pomeranian Low German: Sociohistorical background

The speech community under discussion is located in Marathon and Lincoln counties in central Wisconsin. Initial research on the community was conducted in 1968, when Jürgen Eichhoff (then professor at the University of Wisconsin – Madison) traveled the state conducting interviews with Wisconsin Germans. More recently, Louden (2009, 2011) provides cursory analyses of Wisconsin Low German, drawing on the Eichhoff recordings from a related group in southeastern Wisconsin. Jacob (2008) presents initial results from a large-scale study of the Central Wisconsin Pomeranians in the early 2000s, but the dissertation providing the basis for this article is yet unpublished. Henceforth, the abbreviation WLG is used to refer to the Central Wisconsin Pomeranian German language or the associated speech community.

Speakers of WLG emigrated from East Pomerania (Ger. *Hinterpommern* 'Far Pomerania') in the areas near Posen, Stargard, and Greifenberg. These regions were then part of the Prussian empire and are now in the northwest corner of present-day Poland. The first major migration of Pomeranians to the USA took place in the 1830s, when the Prussian government sought to unify

the various Reformed and Lutheran branches of Protestantism. The earliest emigrants were Old Lutherans (Ger. *Altlutheraner*) who did not wish to be united into a single church. Other Old Lutheran communities had previously migrated from Europe to America and sent reports of the opportunities and religious freedom they found in the New World. After receiving these reports, Pastor Johann Andreas A. Grabau recruited approximately 600 Pomeranians[6] who left their homes in June of 1839 and traveled to Berlin, where they were received by Pastor Grabau. There, they were joined by other emigrants from Silesia, Saxony, and Berlin, and sailed from Hamburg to New York. The Prussian Hauptmann Karl Georg Heinrich von Rohr, who had collaborated with Pastor Grabau, was already in the USA making preparations for the new immigrants. The party traveled westward, making their first stop in Buffalo, New York, where roughly half of the group (40 families) broke off and founded their own settlement. The remaining migrants moved onward to Wisconsin, where they founded the city of Freistadt (now incorporated into Mequon, Wisconsin) approximately 25 kilometers northwest of Milwaukee – another center of German migration.

The next and largest wave of Pomeranian migration took place in 1843, when approximately 1,000 Pomeranians sailed from Hamburg to America at the behest of Pastor Gustav Adolf Kindermann. Some of these settled in Milwaukee, but most of them settled the rural farmland outside of Milwaukee, in Washington, Dodge, and Ozaukee counties**.** As the area around Milwaukee became more populated, these settlers sought more land that could be found at better prices. They moved north and west in the 1850s and settled the regions around Manitowoc and Shawano counties in eastern and central Wisconsin, respectively. The community under discussion here moved farther west into Marathon and Lincoln counties, around the present-day cities of Wausau and Merrill. A key player in bringing Germans to the area was August Kickbusch – the first mayor of Wausau – who sought to populate the area more rapidly.[7] Between March and June of 1867, he traveled to Germany and recruited another 702 Pomeranians to the area. Kickbusch employed many of these immigrants in his businesses, while the majority bought inexpensive land plots for farming. These early settlers were joined in the following decades, particularly in the 1880s and 1890s by further waves of immigrants from German-speaking Europe.

The donor dialect of the Central Wisconsin Pomeranians is no longer spoken in Europe. The Vorpomeranian (West Pomeranian) dialect is still spoken in the German state of Mecklemburg-Vorpommern to the west of the settlers' home cities, but is substantially different from the Hinterpomeranian (East Pomeranian) dialect brought to Wisconsin (Postma 2014: 628) Hinterpomeranian exhibits several Ingwaeonisms characteristic of the North Sea Germanic area, which were brought during the *Ostsiedlung* of the area by

enterprisers from Saxony, Holland, and Frisia since the 11th century (Postma 2014: 628). These include various loan words, phonological features such as the loss of /n/ before spirants, and the development of a /-s/ plural morpheme.

Although most settlers came from Pomerania, they were also exposed to High German to various degrees. It was the language of the church as late as the 1940s, and several immigrants from High German dialect areas settled alongside the Pomeranians and occasionally intermarried. Several informants report one parent speaking High and the other Low German.[8] The effects of exposure to both varieties is evident in the interview data, as some speakers switch randomly between High and Low German in open-ended interviews or provide both High and Low German translations during the data elicitation interviews. It is unclear whether or to what extent this inter-dialectal contact led speakers to accommodate their speech in the sense of forming a mutually intelligible *koiné* (see Trudgill 2004).[9] In any case, this bidialectalism, in conjunction with increasing bilingualism as English became more prominent, led to a unique situation in which at least some speakers shifted not directly from Low German to English, but experienced an intermediate stage of competency in High German in a situation of compound bilingualism (Louden 2011; cf. Heredia and Brown 2006). The effects of this situation on the language of present-day WLG speakers is documented in the following section.

The primary institution that held together the newly-founded Pomeranian community in Central Wisconsin was the church. A vast majority of the new settlers were Lutheran farmers, so small congregations were founded throughout the countryside in the settled area. To this day, at least a dozen (primarily Missouri Synod Lutheran) churches still function in the areas northwest of Wausau. These churches not only provided religious services and instruction for youth in the form of Sunday school and confirmation classes, but they also served as the primary meeting place for members of the community. Informants reminisce about meeting their kinsmen at church and the tradition of taking turns hosting other families for meals after service, during which the older folks chatted about the weather and farm life while their children amused themselves in any way they could find. A handful of churches still conduct special services (e.g., Christmas services) in High German, and the church is one of the few areas where the remaining speakers of Low German can still use their language in informal conversation.

While informal conversation was typically carried out in dialect, church services and religious education were conducted in High German, in most cases by an American pastor who learned High German in seminary. For many young Wisconsin Germans, Sunday school and later confirmation classes were the first, and potentially only, encounter with the standard language. Several informants recalled or even still possessed their copy of the

German Fiebel, a primer for learning to read and write in standard High German, with individual chapters devoted to each grade level. Of course, for those who were not exposed to Standard/High German in daily life, the High German education did not hold and they felt much more comfortable using the Low German dialect.

Another institution that was frequently mentioned in interviews was the local Fromm Brothers mink and fox fur farm, which employed numerous Pomeranians, especially those who did not farm but also those looking for additional employment during slow or hard farming times, especially during the Great Depression.[10] The fur farm was well-known for the Low German dialect spoken there, as nearly all employees were competent in the local dialect, according to various WLG informants. The factory was one of the last remaining bastions of Low German dialect, as it still employed elderly speakers of WLG into the 1950s. The only other notable institutions in which WLG speakers met were the local taverns and dance halls – prime locations for young adult Pomeranians to meet their eventual spouses.

In the early 1990s, the remaining WLG community founded the Pommerscher Verein Central Wisconsin (PVCW; 'Pomeranian Club of Central Wisconsin') to support interaction among WLG speakers, as well as non-speakers with (Pomeranian) German heritage. The club holds monthly meetings and a larger annual event, *Picknick im Busch* ('Picnic in the Woods'). While the club uses WLG in ritual contexts such as songs and poems, as well as offering informal vocabulary lessons, most communication in club meetings is carried out in English.

The shift to English monolingualism began around 1920, and by 1950 virtually no children were brought up with WLG as their first language. While this drastic shift coincided with and was certainly supported by anti-German sentiments during the World Wars, Louden (2009) argues that the imminent loss of WLG is more appropriately attributed to domestic sociopolitical changes, particularly the shift from one-room country schools to English-only public schools and increased mobility bringing more English monolinguals to the area. Indeed, few informants mentioned feeling pressure to use English because of the war(s), whereas multiple informants attributed their increased use of English to social pressures (e.g., speaking English was fashionable among younger people). Due to the relative isolation of the community and prominence of WLG speakers, they experienced little discrimination or repression, but the lack of legal or institutional support for using German further promoted the shift to English. It is difficult to pin down the precise number of WLG speakers, but there are likely less than 500 competent speakers in the areas surrounding Wausau and Merrill, Wisconsin.[11] This number is also rapidly declining, as all speakers are over 60 years old, and the language will likely be extinct in the next 20-30 years.

Despite the bleak outlook for the language's maintenance, nearly all informants claimed they are proud to speak WLG and agreed that it is an important part of their identity. At the same time, most feel a sense of regret that they did not pass the language on to their children, stating that it did not seem as important or useful at the time to have their children learn a language with little practical benefit, given that WLG had no official status and all educational and professional opportunities required only knowledge of English.

4 Structure of WLG

4.1 Data and speaker profiles

The primary data for the following structural analysis come from interviews conducted by the author from late 2013 to summer 2014. The interview consisted of three parts: a translation task based on the questionnaire used by Gilbert (1972) and the Texas German Dialect Project (Boas 2009a), a biographical questionnaire on the contexts of language use and speaker attitudes (conducted in English), and open-ended conversations on diverse topics including migration, school life, and farm activities.[12] A total of 30 speakers were interviewed with varying degrees of fluency: two speakers had little competency in WLG but were present for the interview of their more competent spouses, and one other speaker exhibited significant attrition and produced little WLG in the open-ended interview.

Sociolinguistic profiles for the speakers come from the biographical questionnaire, which are available for 25 of the 30 speakers.[13] Only five of these speakers are female, while the other 20 are male. The year of birth ranges from 1914 to 1948, with an average birth year of 1936 (i.e. 80 years old at time of interviews). Of the 23 speakers who knew about the origin of their ancestors, all of them listed Pomerania and/or more specific locations within former Pomerania. Immigration data on the website of the PVCW also reflects the Pomeranian ancestry of the WLG community, and the specific areas of Regenwalde, Naugard, and Greifenberg are the most frequently listed places of origin. All but two of the responding informants list rural townships between Wausau and Merrill as their childhood home, while one was brought up in the city of Merrill and the other in Wausau. All respondents claimed some religious affiliation, with only one claiming Catholicism and all others being Protestant (primarily Lutheran). These data reflect the importance of church life and preponderance of Lutheranism among the early settlers.

With respect to their linguistic backgrounds and experiences, all informants are fluent in English. Seven of them spoke English since their earliest memories, including two who only acquired German later in their

childhood. The other 18 native WLG speakers began learning English between the ages of four and six, typically in conjunction with their first year of formal education.

When asked about their fluency and exposure to High German, eight claimed competency in High German and another thirteen said they had some command of the variant. Only three informants claimed they knew no High German. Again, these data reflect the early language contact situation in which the community was exposed to both Low and High German.

The linguistic diversity and drastic shift to English outlined above is clearly reflected in the present-day speech of the remaining speakers, who produce a combination of Pomeranian Low German dialect and High German and frequently switch to English. This variation is seen not only across different speakers (depending on their exposure to each language) but also in the speech of individual speakers. In the discussion below, I highlight the drastic variation within and across speakers and attempt to contextualize them in terms of language contact, loss, and attrition.[14]

4.2 Phonology

4.2.1 Vowels

Monophthongs		
[iː]	glik	'gleich'
[ɪ]	mit	'mit'
[yː]	Füür	'Feuer'
[y]	künn	'konnte'
[eː]	Eger	'Eier'
[ɛ]	bet	'bis'
[ɛː/æ]	Wäder	'Wetter'
[øː]	drög	'trocken'
[œ]	terög	'zurück'
[a]	Gras	'Gras'
[ɑ]	Wåter	'Wasser'
[oː]	groot	'groß'
[ɔ]	os	'uns(er)'
[uː]	Huus	'Haus'
[ʊ]	unne	'unten'
Diphthongs		
[aɪ]	veier	'vier'
[aʊ]	Schaul	'Schule'
[ɔɪ]	schoile	'sollen'

Table 1: Wisconsin Pomeranian vowel inventory (from Louden 2009: 172-173)

As observed by Louden (2009: 172f.), the vowel inventory of WLG is highly similar to that found in most Low German dialects. The inventory provided by Louden (2009: 172f.) is repeated in Table 1.

Although this description of the vowel inventory is generally valid for most WLG speakers, I point out some areas that exhibit variation. Unless otherwise noted, the data below comes from translation tasks, in which speakers are asked to translate an English word or phrase, thus allowing for easy speaker-to-speaker comparisons.[15]

One area for investigating phonological developments in the vowel system is in the production of front rounded vowels. In many extraterritorial varieties of German, these typologically uncommon vowel sounds are eliminated by maintaining only the frontness or roundedness feature (Pierce et al. 2015, Louden 2016: 15f.). WLG also eliminates such vowels in certain contexts, but maintains them in others.

Tables 2-6 below show the vowels produced in translations of five words where one would expect a front rounded vowel in StG. The vowels in the first four tables correspond to StG /y:/, while that in the last table corresponds to StG /ø:/.

StG *Tür* 'door'	**Speakers**[16]
[dɔɪə]	4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 28, 27 **Total = 16**
[dɛ:ə]	1, 6 **Total = 2**
[dø:ə]	11, 26 **Total = 2**

Table 2: WLG pronunciation of StG *Tür* 'door' (#8)[17]

StG *süß* 'sweet'	**Speakers**
[zuit]	27, 28, 7, 13, 16, 17, 18, 23 **Total = 8**
[zoit]	5, 10, 20, 22 **Total = 4**
[zy:t]	8 **Total = 1**
[zü:s]	11 **Total = 1**

Table 3: WLG pronunciation of StG *süß* 'sweet' (#19)

StG *Kühe* 'cows'	Speakers
[kø:ɪɣ]	1, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26 **Total = 12**
[ku:ɪɣ]	2, 5, 8, 23, 28 **Total = 5**
[ko:ɪɣ]	4, 27, 12 **Total = 3**
[ke:ɣ]	6, 15 **Total = 2**
[kɾ:ɣ]	17 **Total = 1**

Table 4: WLG pronunciation of StG *Kühe* 'cows' (#68)

StG *fünf* 'five'	Speakers
[fi:v]	4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 23, 27, 28 **Total = 12**
[fi:və]	7, 8, 14, 22, 26 **Total = 5**
[fi:f]	1, 10, 17 **Total = 3**
[fymf]	2, 19 **Total = 2**

Table 5: WLG pronunciation of StG *fünf* 'five' (#146)

StG *Köpfe* 'heads'	Speakers
[køp(f)]	2, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23 **Total = 10**
[kʌp]	5, 6, 13, 26, 27, 28 **Total = 6**
[kop]	1, 4, 7, 15, 20 **Total = 5**
[kap]	12, 25 **Total = 2**
[kɛp]	18 **Total = 1**

Table 6: WLG pronunciation of StG *Köpfe* 'heads' (#71)

For the WLG translations of 'door', 'sweet', and 'cows', the vowel is most frequently pronounced as a diphthong, with the initial vowel being a back round /ɔ/, /o/, or /u/ or front round /ø/, and the final vowel being high front /i/ or /ɪ/. The vowel in 'five', however, is simply pronounced as the high front /i/ with loss of rounding in most cases, with vowel lengthening occurring due to the loss of /n/ before the spirant /f/ (cf. Postma 2014: 628). Note also that two speakers give the High German pronunciation with the vowel /y/ and

the nasal /m/. For the WLG translation of 'heads', nearly half of the speakers produce the front rounded central vowel /ø/, as expected in StG, but the remaining speakers use one of four different vowels (i.e. /ʌ, o, a, ɛ/). These data show that front rounded vowels are still produced by some speakers of present-day WLG, but there is significant variation across speakers, which is likely a result of variation in the local varieties of Pomeranian and/or of the breakdown of the vowel system due to language attrition.

Table 7 shows the pronunciation by WLG speakers of the StG diphthong /ai/ in the words 'a'/'one', 'two', 'small', and 'hot'.

StG word	**# speakers [ai]**	**# speakers [e:]**
ein- ('a', #4)	2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28 **Total = 18 (78%)**	1, 11, 14, 19, 26 **Total = 5**
klein ('small', #44)	1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27, 28 **Total = 24 (96%)**	11 **Total = 1**
heiß ('hot', #47)	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28 **Total = 18 (86%)**	1, 11, 14 **Total = 3**
zwei ('two', #18, #61-66)	**Total = 115 (85%)**	**Total = 21**[18]

Table 7: WLG pronunciation of StG /ai/

These examples show a preponderance of the diphthong [ai] over the monophong [e:]. The diphthong pronunciation is strongest in the word 'two' (96% of examples) and weakest in the pronunciation of 'a'/'one' (78% of examples). These data contrast with the pronunciation of 'my' (StG *mein*), whose vowel is a reflex of Proto-Germanic /i:/. In WLG, the vowel is most frequently pronounced [i:], as shown in Table 8.

	# speakers [ai]	**# speakers [i:]**
m**ei**n- Kopf (#7)	4, 18, 23, 25 **Total = 4**	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 27, 28 **Total = 16**
m**ei**n- Stuhl (#39)	**Total = 0**	1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 **Total = 22**

Table 8: WLG pronunciation of *mein* ('my')

Interestingly, while all attestations of the possessive pronoun preceding the word *Stuhl* ('chair') exhibit the [i:] vowel, four of the 20 attestations preceding the word *Kopf* 'head' exhibit the diphthong [ai]. In fact, all of the speakers who produced diphthong [ai] in the *Kopf* translation produced the monophthong [i:] when introducing *Stuhl*.[19]

Tables 9-11 further demonstrate the variation in vowel production among WLG speakers, providing data for the translations of 'chair,' 'runs,' and 'snowed.'

	aʊ	**ɔɪ**	**a:**	**o:**	**u:**
Speakers	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 28	16	20	1, 11, 14	25, 26
Total	**15**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**

Table 9: WLG pronunciation of the vowel in StG *Stuhl* ('chair', #39)

	ʌ	**u:**	ɛ	**o:**
Speakers	2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 28	1, 4, 13, 19	18	15, 22, 25
Total	**14**	**4**	**1**	**3**

Table 10: WLG pronunciation of the vowel in StG *läuft* ('runs', #2)

	e:	**i:**
Speakers	1, 2, 4, 22, 26	5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 27, 28
Total	**5**	**17**

Table 11: WLG pronunciation of the vowel in StG *geschneit* ('snowed', #85)

The pronunciation of StG *Stuhl* ('chair') exhibits the diphthongization of StG /u:/ to /aʊ/ in Low German dialects. However, this pronunciation was only produced by 15 of the 22 informants responding to this item, while the remaining seven informants produced one of four different vowels, including the diphthong [ɔɪ] and the monophthongs [a:], [o:], and [u:]. While the [u:] pronunciation (by two speakers) corresponds to High German and can thus be attributed to dialect contact and mixing, the other pronunciations are less easily explained and may reflect a collapse of the WLG vowel system due to language attrition. Tables 10-11 are not elaborated on here, but serve to demonstrate similar variation in the vowels in WLG translations of 'runs' and 'snowed.'

One other noteworthy feature of WLG vowels is that the long vowel in words such as *noome* (StG *genommen*, 'taken', #15) or *Wåter* (StG *Wasser*, 'water', #47) appear to have a diphthongal character including a brief schwa at the end of the long vowel, e.g., [no:əmə], [vo:ətə].

4.2.2 Consonants

The consonants of WLG also differ from StG in ways expected for Low German and Pomeranian varieties. Most prominently, the voiceless stops /p, t, k/ did not undergo the Second Sound Shift (High German Consonant Shift) in the Pomeranian donor dialect. The use of Low German stops rather than High German affricates is still prominent in present-day WLG, but again there is much variation, as some shifted consonants appear where one would expect stops in Low German, suggesting potential interference from contact with High German. Table 12 shows the pronunciation of the consonants in the words 'apple', 'head', 'horse', 'make', and 'goats'.

	Low German realization and speakers	High German realization and speakers	Other
*A**pf**el* ('apple' #4)	**[-p-]** 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 **Total = 23**	**[-pf-]** 22 **Total = 1**	
*Ko**pf*** ('head' #7)	**[-p]** 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28 **Total = 18**	**[-pf]** 19, 22, 26 **Total = 3**	
***Pf**erd* ('horse' #103)	**[p-]** 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28 **Total = 22**	**[pf-]** **Total = 0**	**[f-]** 7 **Total = 1**
*ma**ch**en* ('make' #121)	**[-k-]** 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 23, 28 **Total = 12**	**[-x-]** **Total = 0**	
***Z**iege* ('goats' #66)	**[t-]** **Total = 0**	**[ts-]** 5, 12 **Total = 2**	**[s-] / [z-]** 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 22, 23 **Total = 10**

Table 12: Realization of Low German stops/High German affricates in WLG

The data show a prominence of Low German phonology, with all but one of the examples being produced with the stops /p, t, k/ in the overwhelming majority of cases.

The lone exception is the pronunciation of 'goats' (StG *Ziegen*), with the majority of speakers using the aspirant [s] or [z] and only two speakers using the High German affricate [ts]. In contrast – although the word does not appear in the Gilbert translation sentences – WLG speakers pronounce the initial consonant of 'time' (StG *Zeit*) with the Low German stop [t]. As the initial consonant of both *Zeit* and *Ziege* is historically traced back to /t/, it is unclear why *Zeit* exhibits the Low German [t] while *Ziege* is pronounced with the fricative [s] or [z] found in High German dialects. Obviously, the word *Ziege* would have been encountered more frequently in Low German diglossic contexts (i.e. farm life) than in the High German domains of church and parochial school, so it is unlikely that this pronunciation can be attributed to dialect contact. Instead, it may be due to spelling pronunciation, the collapse of the WLG phonological system, or to earlier contact between speakers of Low and High German.

Table 13 shows the pronunciation of the High German fricatives /f/ and /s/ in the words *läuft* ('runs'), *besser* ('better'), and *heiss* ('hot').

	Low German realization and speakers	**High German realization and speakers**
*läu**ft*** ('runs' #2)	**[-p-]** 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 **Total = 22**	**[-f-]** 2 **Total = 1**
*hei**ss*** ('hot' #47)	**[-t]** 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28 **Total = 19**	**[-s]** 16, 25 **Total = 2**
*be**ss**er* ('better' #121)	**[-t-]** 6, 8, 10, 17, 19, 20, 23, 28 **Total = 8**	**[-s-]** 1, 5, 7, 11, 12, 18, 22 **Total = 7**

Table 13: Realizations of StG fricatives /f/ and /s/

The postvocalic consonant in the translation of 'runs' is pronounced [p] as expected in Low German, and only one speaker produced the High German consonant [f]. The pronunciations of 'better' and 'hot', however, exhibit

interesting variation: the vast majority of speakers produce [t] in the word for 'hot', but the consonant of 'better' is pronounced [t] by eight speakers and [s] by seven speakers. It is unclear whether this is an item-specific feature of 'better' or if there is influence from High German in its pronunciation.

Another feature of the Low German donor dialect is that the consonants /b, t, g/ are lenited intervocallically in WLG to /v, d, ɣ/, respectively. This leads to the pronunciation of words such as *haben* ('to have') as [hɛvə] or *Ziegen* ('goats') as [zi:ɣə] in many cases, but roughly one fourth of the speakers produce intervocalic stops, as in StG.[20] The lenition of /t/ to /d/ is actually not limited to intervocalic positions and also occurs in word-initial, pre-vocalic positions, resulting in pronunciations such as [dɪʃ] for StG *Tisch* ('table') or [dɔɪə] for StG *Tür* ('door'). Such lenition outside of intervocalic contexts is limited to alveolar stops and does not appear to affect bilabial or uvular stops.

A further point of variation in WLG's consonantal phonology is the pronunciation of the StG stop /g/ as the palatal semi-vowel /j/, generally in word-initial positions, a widespread feature in German dialects. This pronunciation appears highly variable across speakers and lexical items. For instance, only one of 16 speakers uses initial [j] in the pronunciation of *gaut* (StG *gut*, 'good', #134) and only one of 15 speakers uses initial [j] in the pronunciation of *goa(n)* (StG *gegangen*, 'gone', #28). In contrast, approximately half of the informants produce word-initial [j] in the word *gestern* ('yesterday', #97). This type of consonant variation was documented by Priewe and Teuchert (1928) for the donor dialects of West Pomerania and thus appears to be upheld to the present day in WLG.

WLG also exhibits unique pronunciations of /r/, resulting from both the donor dialect and potentially from contact with English. Very few speakers use the uvular fricative [ʁ] common in modern StG and instead produce the coronal tap [ɾ] or, more frequently, especially among younger speakers, the retroflex [ɾ] of American English, presumably due to contact with English. As in German dialects, WLG speakers often delete word-final /r/.

An interesting feature of certain Hinterpomeranian dialects is the pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ as /r/, which is often realized as a coronal tap /ɾ/, as in the word *räɾe* (StG *reden* 'to speak'). This realization, combined with the diphthongization of Low German, leads to a unique pronunciation of words such as *gute* (inflected *gut*, 'good') as *gauɾe*. Interestingly, it appears some speakers have extended this consonant shift to more general postvocalic contexts, as several speakers pronounce StG *Bett* ('bed') with a final (retroflex) [ɾ]: *[bɛr]*.

4.3 Morphosyntax

4.3.1 Plural formation

Plural formation in WLG exhibits striking variation, so it is difficult to identify any rules or patterns characterizing plural morphology. Individual nouns appear with different sets of plural markers, and the plural form for a given noun differs not only across speakers but also across utterances by individual speakers. Table 14 shows the plural forms for the nouns 'daughter,' 'window,' 'room,' 'plate,' 'wagon,' and 'boy.'[21]

Item	Forms (# of speakers)
#18 two daughters	Tochter (4) Tochtern (1) Tochtere (1) Tochters (2) Määkes (10)
#61 two windows	Fe(n)ster (12) Fenstern (7) Fensters (1)
#62 two rooms	Stuuwe (13) Stuuw (5) Zimmer (1) Zimmers (1)
#63 two plates	Tellern (9) Teller (7)
#64 two wagons	Wågen (13) Wåge (10)
#65 two boys	Jungens (13) Junges (10) Junge (2) Jungä (1)

Table 14: WLG plural formation

Each of these five nouns exhibits significant variation in plural marking, including no overt marking or the addition of plural morphemes, most frequently /-e/, /-n/, or /-s/. With the exception of *Määkes* and *Junge(n)s*, which are consistently given the /-s/ ending, no noun was assigned the same plural marker by more than 72% of the respondents.

While the *-s* plural ending frequently occurs on the nouns *Määke* ('girl') and *Junge(n)* ('boy'), it is difficult to attribute this solely to English contact.

For one, the morpheme is realized as voiceless [-s] rather than voiced [-z] as expected in English. The -s plural marker is also found in many German dialects, particularly those in the north. The low frequency of the /-s/ ending and the prevalence of other German plural markers further suggest that English has had little influence on the plural formation system of WLG. Of course, this statement only applies to German-origin nouns, as most loaned English nouns are assigned the English /-s/ ending.

4.3.2 Articles and pronouns

The case and gender marking features of WLG are characteristic of extraterritorial and/or moribund German dialects (see Boas 2009b, Rosenberg 2003, 2005), as the articles and possessive pronouns assigned to a given noun are highly variable both within and across speakers. This variation is common in situations of dialect death and language attrition, as most speakers have not used the language consistently for several decades and have thus forgotten the gender of nouns (if they knew them at all) or the article system. It appears that this breakdown in case and gender marking is a recent development in WLG, as the transcriptions of speakers born around 1900 in Louden (2009) show much more consistent case and gender marking than that found in present-day WLG, as demonstrated here.

In (Low) German dialects, the articles *ein* ('a') and *mein* ('my') in the nominative case receive no ending when the noun is neuter or masculine and the *-e* ending with feminine nouns. However, in the WLG data, speakers vary significantly in whether or not they use the *-e* ending for a given noun, as shown in Tables 15-17.

ein/een Appel	**eine/eene Appel**
1, 2, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 26, 28 **Total = 9**	4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27 **Total = 14**

Table 15: Article marking for 'an apple' (#4)

mein/min Kopp	**meine/mine Kopp**	**mi(a) Kopp**
11, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28 **Total = 8**	2, 4, 10, 12, 26 **Total = 5**	5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 16, 19, 22 **Total = 8**

Table 16: Article marking for 'my head' (#7)

mein/min Stauel	meine/mine Stauel	mi(a) Stauel
17, 25, 28 **Total = 3**	4, 10, 12, 13 **Total = 4**	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26, 27 **Total = 15**

Table 17: Article marking for 'my chair' (#39)

For the noun *Appel* ('apple'), nine speakers apply no ending and 14 speakers apply the *–e* ending. For *Kopp* ('head'), eight speakers use no ending and five use the *–e* ending. For *Stauel* ('chair'), three use no ending and four use the *–e* ending.[22]

According to Postma (2019), who draws on data from Pomeranian speakers in Brazil, the nominative articles in the Pomeranian donor dialect are *dei* for masculine, feminine, and plural nouns, and *dat* for neuter nouns. The article *dei* is frequently phonologically reduced to *de*. Only masculine articles differ in the accusative, appearing with either the article *dera* or, as in the nominative, with *de*. In dative case, masculine and neuter nouns appear with the article *dem*, while the feminine and plural dative article is *dera* or *de*. In WLG, however, speakers seem to apply articles with little to no systematicity in many cases. There are also cases in which speakers use the High German articles *die* and *das*, thus adding further variation to the WLG article system.

Data from the translation task portion of the interviews are again used to demonstrate the variation in case and gender marking on articles. The nouns *Deuer* ('door', Item #8) and *Disch* ('table', Item #9) exhibit consistent article marking, as they are used with *de* by all 15 and 16 speakers, respectively. [23] While this marking is expected for *Disch*, which is masculine in the donor dialect, *Deuer* is allegedly feminine and is thus expected to appear with the article *dei*.

The articles used to introduce the nouns *Tier* ('animal') and *Stinkkatt* ('skunk'), given in Tables 18-19, however, demonstrate the inter-speaker variation in article selection in WLG. Although *Tier* is historically a neuter noun, only one of nine WLG speakers uses the neuter article *dat*, while seven use *de* and one uses *dei*.

de Tier	dat Tier	dei Tier
4, 6, 10, 11, 14, 16, 22 **Total = 7**	5 **Total = 1**	19 **Total = 1**

Table 18: Article marking for 'the animal' (#11)

The noun *Stinkkatt* can be interpreted as either masculine (i.e. *der Kater* 'the tomcat') or feminine (i.e. *die Katze* 'the cat'). In WLG, two speakers use the neutral article *dat* while the other ten speakers use the gendered articles *de* (five speakers) or *dei* (seven speakers).

de Stinkkatt	dat Stinkkatt	dei Stinkkatt
1, 4, 5, 8, 27 **Total = 5**	18, 22 **Total = 2**	2, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 23 **Total = 7**

Table 19: Article marking for 'the skunk' (#39)

This confusion with respect to gender marking is further evidenced by the responses of several informants who were explicitly asked when each article is applied, as well as for the translations for 'the man,' 'the woman,' and 'the child,' which should have elicited different articles due to their clear gender differences. In each of these cases, the speakers produced the article *de* for each of the nouns and appeared to have no clear idea of why they use the different articles.

In some cases, WLG speakers differentiate masculine (and possibly neuter) nouns used in the nominative from those used in the dative or accusative case. For instance, in the sentence *The animal died in the pasture* (#11), German requires the noun *pasture* to be used in the dative case. Indeed, 12 of 14 speakers said *in dem* or *im* to introduce the noun *Pasture*[24] or *Busch*. The remaining two speakers said *in de Pasture/Busch*. In the translation of *Who did we see* (#29), the interrogative pronoun *who* should be in the accusative case and thus appear as *wen* in StG and *wem* in Pomeranian (Postma 2019). In the WLG data, 16 speakers use the expected oblique pronoun *wem* while five use the nominative pronoun *wer*. While these items show a fairly consistent use of accusative-dative object marking, the results from Item #129 (*Is that a squirrel on the tree?*) exhibit much more variation in the articles (and prepositions) used to translate the phrase *on the tree* (StG *auf/in dem Baum*). These are given in Table 20.[25]

de	# speakers	**dem/'m**	# speakers	**no art.**	# speakers
an de	4	am/an dem	3		
in de	1	im/in dem	7	in	2
op de	1	oom	2		
Total *de*	6	**Total *dem***	12	**Total ø**	2

Table 20: Translation of *on the* in context 'on the tree' (StG *auf/in dem Baum;* #129)

Finally, to emphasize the collapse of the case and gender marking system of present-day WLG, Tables 21-24 show the results of Items #50-51, which are used to test case marking on two-way prepositions.

de	dat	die
8, 12, 15, 16, 20, 27 **Total = 6**	1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28 **Total = 16**	2 **Total = 1**

Table 21: WLG articles for *Bild* ('picture') in 'Hang the picture over the bed.' (#50)

de	dat	dei
6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 **Total = 13**	1, 4, 5, 14, 17, 19 **Total = 6**	20 **Total = 1**

Table 22: WLG articles for *Bild* ('picture') in 'The picture hangs over the bed.' (#51)

de	dat/'t	dem
4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26 **Total = 11**	1, 5, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17 **Total = 7**	22 **Total = 1**

Table 23: WLG articles for *Bett/Berr* ('bed) in 'Hang the picture over the bed.' (#50)

de	dat/'t	das	die	dem
1, 7, 8, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27 **Total = 13**	5, 10, 14, 19 **Total = 4**	12 **Total = 1**	2 **Total = 1**	4, 22 **Total = 2**

Table 24: WLG articles for *Bett/Berr* ('bed) in 'The picture hangs over the bed.' (#51)

First, compare the article used with *Bild* ('picture') in the two sentences: in Item #50 (Table 21), six speakers use *de* while 16 speakers use *dat*, whereas in Item #51 (Table 22) the trend is reversed, with 13 speakers using *de* and only six using *dat*. For *Bett/Berr* ('bed'), WLG speakers again vary significantly in their article use, including the use of High German *das* and *die* by one speaker each. Further, the dative *dem* expected in Item #51 is used by only two speakers, which contrasts with the frequent *dem/wem* use in the translations of 'in the pasture,' 'in the tree,' and 'who(m)' described above.

In contrast to the collapsing case and gender marking system for articles, the pronoun system in WLG appears to be intact. This system differentiates between subject and non-subject pronouns and is given in Table 25.

	Subject	Non-subject
1. sg.	ik	mi
2. sg.	du	di

3. sg. m.	hei	em
3. sg. f.	sei	ehr
3. sg. n.	dat	em
1. pl.	wi / wei	ous
2. pl.	jij / jii	juuch
3. pl.	sei / dei	dem / em

Table 25: Pronouns in WLG

While there is some variation in the second-person plural forms, with some speakers producing the corresponding singular *du/di* rather than *jii/juuch*, the remaining pronouns are used consistently. The difference in stability between the article and pronoun system may well be attributed to English contact, as English distinguishes case in most pronouns but not in articles. However, evidence from other German speech islands suggests that the breakdown of the article case system is due to internal language change along with language attrition (Boas 2009b, Rosenberg 2003, 2005).

4.3.3 Verb tense/aspect

With respect to tense and aspect marking in the verbal system, three major points are considered. The first is whether WLG speakers use analytic or synthetic forms for past and present progressive formation.[26] For the past tense, German dialects exhibit both a synthetic preterite verb form (e.g., *came*) and an analytic perfect form (e.g., *has come*), with the perfect form being most frequent, especially in spoken discourse and in Low German dialects. The present tense can be expressed using the simple present verb (e.g., *comes*; often with a temporal adverb such as *jetzt* or *gerade* 'now') or analytically to express progressive aspect in one of two structures: StG *tut kommen* ('does come') or *ist am kommen* ('is on coming').

The translation task includes 15 sentences that allow for an analysis of WLG past tense formation. The sentences contain 12 distinct verbs, as the verb *went* was included in two sentences, each of which was elicited twice from speakers. For all but three of these 15 sentences, over 90% of the responses used the perfect form rather than the preterite. The verb *come* in the sentence *He came with me* (Item #30) was used in the preterite in eight of 24 instances (33%) with various phonological forms such as *küüm, kemmt,* and *kam*. The verb *worked* in *He worked too hard* (Item #124) was used in the preterite (*arbeet*) in 16 of 21 instances (76%). The verb *were* in *You were both here yesterday* (Item #95) was given in preterite form (*veere*) by 19 of 23 speakers (83%). The frequently-occurring, semantically light verbs 'were' and 'came' are frequently used in the preterite even in European German, so the WLG data correspond to that expected based on German dialects. However, it is

unclear why the verb 'worked' (*arbeet*) is used so frequently in the preterite with such frequency.

With respect to present tense forms, only two sentences were analyzed to determine whether the simple present or analytical progressive forms were used. These sentences are *He is running now* (Item #2) and *He is helping me now* (Item #31). Each item was elicited by 20 different speakers, and all but one speaker produced the simple present form along with the adverb *nu* or *jetz(t)* ('now'): i.e. *Hij luppt nu* and *Hij helpt mi nu*. The remaining speaker produced the analytical form for both sentences using the auxiliary *doen* (StG *tun*) and the main verb in the infinitive: *Hij deet nu lope, Hij deet mi nu helpe*.

The second question regarding verb tense and aspect involves the auxiliary used in the perfect form. In German, verbs of change-of-state or change-of-location are used with the auxiliary *sein* ('to be') while other verbs are used with auxiliary *haben* ('to have'), whereas in English, all verbs are used with the auxiliary *have*. Of the eight translation items where the auxiliary *sein* is expected in StG, 114 of the 139 responses (82%) included a form of *sein* as expected based on German. Of the 25 responses using *haben*, 19 of these were produced by a small set of four speakers. These four individuals were all born in 1941 or later and are thus in the youngest generation of WLG speakers, and it is likely that the relatively short period of WLG use and high exposure to English influenced the frequency with which they use the English-related auxiliary *haben* where *sein* is expected in German varieties.

The final question related to (past) tense in WLG involves the formation of past participles. Participle formation in WLG is also relatively consistent, as speakers largely use the same participle for a given verb with only minimal variation. A major difference between participle marking between High and Low German varieties is that High German employs the *ge-* prefix whereas Low German does not. Furthermore, Low German varieties differ in that those farther west employ the *–t* participle ending while those in the east employ *–en* endings (which are typically pronounced [-ə] due to the deletion of final /-n/. Indeed, most of the participles of the 12 verbs produced in this analysis follow this pattern, as exemplified in Table 26. None of the participles have the *ge-* prefix, and only four of the 12 are more frequently used with the *–t* ending rather than the expected *–e(n)* ending.

Item #	**English participle**	**Primary WLG participle**[27]	**StG Participle**
11	died	dootblääve (15/19)	gestorben
28	went	goa (20/21)	gegangen
97	arrived	koma (19/20)	angekommen
30	came	koma (13/16)	gekommen
95	were	weest (4/4)	gewesen
15	took	noome (17/19)	genommen

29	seen	saia (20/21)	gesehen
85	snowed	schnie(gh)t (22/22)	geschneit
87	named	(Nåme) gewwt (8/17)	genannt
91	caught (a cold)	kreeghe (8/13)	gekriegt
92	told	seggt (19/23)	gesagt
124	worked	arbeet (5/5)	gearbeitet

Table 26: Participle formation in WLG

In sum, the Low German verbal tense and aspect system is largely intact in WLG, as perfect forms are preferred to preterite forms, the distinction between *sein* and *haben* as auxiliary is respected, and participles are generally formed with no *ge-* prefix and with either schwa or no overt ending.

4.3.4 Word order

The general word order properties of WLG are as expected for (Low) German dialects. Present-day speakers generally retain the German Satzklammer structure: in main clauses, finite verbs appear in second position and non-finite forms in clause-final position, while in dependent clauses all verbs appear in clause-final position. This is shown in (1), where the auxiliary *hewwe* (StG 'habe') is in second position and the participle *woont* (StG 'gewohnt') is in final position, with a locational and a temporal adverbial between them.

(1) *Ik heww op dem Farm sechsig Joohr woont.* (WILG-1-24-1-1-a; F, 1914)[28]
I have on the farm sixty years lived
'I lived on the farm for sixty years.'

As is common in colloquial German, extraposition (*Ausklammerung*) is prevalent in the data, typically involving the expression of adverbial phrases after the non-finite verb forms, as shown in (2).

(2) *Dei hewwe a Blockhuus bucht in Busch*. (WILG-1-24-1-9-a; F, 1914)
they have a blockhouse built in woods
'They built a blockhouse in the woods.'

In clauses headed by subordinating conjunctions, WLG speakers consistently place the verbs in clause-final position in accordance with German grammar. In (3), the speaker employs two subordinate clauses and utters the verbs at the end of each clause.
(3) *denn sin dei doo rinnemoved fer… bit sei a Piece of Land hadde, wo sei un Huus kunne buche un woohne.* (WILG-1-24-1-9-a; F, 1914)

then are they there in-moved for … until they a piece of land had, where they a house could build and live
'Then they moved in there for… until they had a piece of land where they could build a house and live.'

With respect to the relative ordering of non-finite forms, German dialects differ with respect to whether the main verb precedes or follows the support verb (auxiliary, modal). In general, the support verb follows the main verb in High German dialects, whereas the main verb follows the support verb in Low German dialects. Both types of ordering can be found in the WLG data, and are demonstrated in (4) and (5) below. This variation may have been present in the Pomeranian donor dialects, but it is also likely that contact with High German has increased the frequency of the main verb-support verb ordering observed in (4).

(4) *Da 's alles, wat hij seggt het*. (WILG-1-14-1-2; M, 1927)
That is all what he said has.
'That is all he said.'

(5) *Ik weea twei Jaahr olt, wenn mi Hamburg hett goa.* (WILG-1-15-1-1; M, 1941)
I was two years old when we Hamburg had gone.
'I was two years old when we went to Hamburg.'

In sum, this cursory look at WLG word order suggests that there has been relatively little influence from English contact, as the positioning of verbs largely follows that expected for German colloquial varieties. There are likely some effects of contact between Low and High German in the positioning of verbs in clause-final position, but overall it appears the word order of WLG is remaining intact with the final generation of its speakers.[29]

4.4 Lexicon

In discussing the lexicon of WLG, I first present interesting Pomeranian dialect words that differ from StG equivalents. I then present all instances of code-switching and loan translation found in 10-minute segments of open-ended interviews for two speakers to give a general picture of lexical interference. Finally, I discuss other English influence observed in the data, as well as mentioning some words found in Jacob's (2008) previous analysis of WLG.

Pomeranian dialect words that stand out as being unique or different from StG are provided in Table 27.

WLG	StG	English
(ver)friegt	(ver)heiratet	marry/married
Früünschaft	Verwandtschaft	relatives
Buchwehdauch	Bauchweh/Bauchschmerzen	stomachache
Pissmeier(e)	rote Ameise	red ants / fire ants
entwee	kaput; entzwei	broken
Sunnavond	Samstag	Saturday
drög	trocken	dry

Table 27: Pomeranian dialect lexical items

The tables below list all code-switched and loan-translated items produced in ten-minute sub-sections of open-ended interviews with two speakers, in order to give a picture of what words are most commonly loaned from English. These data do not include cases of alternational code-switching (Muysken 1997), in which speakers produce larger segments of discourse in English, though alternational code-switching is prevalent in the open-ended data, especially when discussing domains outside of the home and farm. Accurately distinguishing nonce code-switches from established borrowings requires a comparison of current WLG speech with earlier data, which is currently not available but must be conducted in future research.[30] The transferred items are organized according to part-of-speech.

Proper Nouns	Nouns	Verbs	Other	Loan transl.
Town of X (2)[31] X County (3) Germany Ellis Island July	farm (2) government railroad train tractor binder	shock (schocke)	for sure (2) well (2) y'know (2)	corn (Maiz) gleichen (2) runnerschreive Platz meeste de Weg

Table 28: Code-switches in open-ended interview of Speaker 6 (Female, Born 1928)

The interview segment analyzed for Speaker 6 includes 22 total instances of code-switching involving 15 different lexical items, along with six instances of loan translation with five different items. Nouns comprise the majority of code-switches, including five different proper noun types and seven different common noun types. The words *town* and *county* in proper noun contexts describing local locations (e.g., *Town of Berlin*, *Marathon County*) are very frequent in the open-ended interview data. The code-switched noun *farm* is also prevalent in WLG (and other German-American varieties) due to the centrality of farms for WLG culture and their different organization from those in 19th century Europe. Other code-switched nouns typically refer to

concepts not present in the culture of the original immigrants, especially those involving technological advances after the time of immigration (e.g., *railroad, tractor*). The only code-switched verb produced by this speaker is the verb *shock* (i.e. the process of bundling crops), which is given the German schwa ending marking it as an infinitive. The speaker uses the English discourse markers *well* and *y'know* twice each and the adverbial phrase *for sure* twice as well.

As for loan translations, the speaker refers to the maize crop with the noun *corn*, whereas the German noun *Korn* refers to grain. The loan-translated verb *gleichen* (StG 'be similar to') in the sense of 'to like something,' is used twice by the speaker and appears to be a regular lexical development in American-German dialects, having been documented for Pennsylvania German (Lambert 1924: 66), Texas German (Dux 2017, 2020), and Kansas German (Keel 2014). The speaker also calques the English expression 'most of the way' as *meeste de Weg*. Finally, the prefix verb *runnerschreive* ('down-write') is a loan hybrid based on English 'write down' and contrasts with the German expression *aufschreiben*.

Proper Nouns	Nouns	Verbs	Other	Loan transl.
Town of X (3) X County (4) Civil War (zweite) Brigade	farm (2) midwife hospital (2) letter electric lines army contractor public service	read (pr. rääd) drafted	reformed well	dockter (Arzt)

Table 29: Code-switches in open-ended interview of Speaker 4 (Male, Born 1933)

Speaker 4 produces 23 instances of code-switching involving 16 different lexical items, as well as one instance of loan translation. Again, the most frequent code-switches are proper nouns referring to local towns and counties. The noun *farm* is code-switched twice, as is the noun *hospital*. As with the previous speaker, most code-switches by Speaker 4 refer to modern cultural and technological innovations (e.g., *electric lines, public service*). Interestingly, the speaker also produces two code-switches for concepts that were common for the original immigrants, namely the noun *letter* and the verb *read*. Both of these are given German pronunciations (*lääter, rääd*), which is not the case for the other code-switches, so this may be a case of language attrition whereby the speaker thinks that these are WLG cognates of the English terms. The only code-switched adjective is *reformed*, used in the context of the Reformed

Church, and the speaker uses the English discourse marker *well* one time. The only loan translation in this interview segment is the noun *Doctor* (pronounced /doktə/) to refer to a medical doctor (i.e., *Arzt* in German). Speaker 4 did not code-switch any adverbs or grammatical morphemes.

Other prominent loan translations and code-switches identified in the data include *Isicle* (using German pronunciation: [i:sɪk̲l]), *Candy*, and *Kalt* (for StG *Erkältung*, 'a cold'). The words for skunk (*Stinkkatt*, lit. 'stink-cat', StG *Stinktier*) and squirrel (*Fenskatt*, lit. 'fence-cat', StG *Eichhörnchen*) are also interesting (and humorous) loan hybrids.[32] Finally, some WLG speakers use the adjective *hart* ('hard') in the sense of 'difficult.' Other code-switches observed by Jacob (2008) but not found in analyses of the present data include the nouns *air conditioning, department*, *teacher*, the verbs *moven, improven, upcatchen*, the adverbs *well, fast, really, plenty*, the conjunctions *because, since, but, unless, until*, and the adpositions *across, except for*, and *nächst te* ('next to', StG 'neben').

To frame these findings in terms of Thomason and Kaufmann's (1988) borrowing scale, the WLG-English contact situation can be classified as Stage 2 ("slightly more intense contact"), which involves the borrowing of adverbial particles (e.g., *well, y'know*) and conjunctions (e.g., *because*) but not more structural morphemes.[33] It is possible that the contact situation was approaching Stage 3 of the model, as some WLG adpositions appear to be borrowed from, or at least modeled on English (e.g., *nächst te* for 'next to', StG 'neben'), but the shift to English occurred before these more structural morphemes could be established in WLG.

5 Conclusions

This article has provided an overview of (Central) Wisconsin Pomeranian Low German as a single representative of several German speech communities that migrated to Wisconsin in the 19th century, strongly maintained their language into the 1920s and 1930s, but are now facing extinction due to the large-scale shift to English monolingualism that occurred around 1940. While German dialects, along with a semi-standard "Wisconsin High German," could be heard throughout the state one hundred years ago, today the German language is only spoken by a small percentage of the oldest generation of Wisconsinites. The outlook for language revitalization is very bleak, as most young people prefer to remain monolingual or learn more "practical" languages such as Spanish rather than the language of their forefathers.

The structural analysis suggests that WLG is dying with only one of its morphological boots on, to play on the quote from Dorian's (1978) account of East Sutherland Gaelic. That is, while certain aspects of the language

– particularly the vowel and article systems – exhibit significant variation suggesting a breakdown of the language, other aspects of WLG structure (e.g., word order, pronoun system) have remained largely intact since being brought to the USA in the mid-19th century. While many speakers tend to mix Low German dialect with the more standard High German and with English, most appear to be aware of the differences between these varieties. Future work must examine more closely the use of each variety in more naturalistic speech settings than the translation data cited in this work. Furthermore, a more comprehensive account of WLG's donor dialects and of the various stages of WLG throughout the 20th century are necessary to provide a more complete picture of the trajectory of language change in WLG and Wisconsin German more generally.

As pointed out in the introduction, the situation in Wisconsin differs from Texas and Pennsylvania German due to the small-scale migration and diverse dialects spoken in the state, which precludes a homogeneous moniker "Wisconsin German." At the same time, in each of these cases we are dealing with German varieties that were prominent at the turn of the 19th century but are facing extinction in the present day (with the exception of Pennsylvania German among socially isolated Old Order Mennonite and Amish sects). In addition to their shared fate, these varieties have undergone similar developments in phonology (e.g., reduction of front-rounded vowels), morphosyntax (e.g., case loss/syncretism), and lexicon (e.g., prevalence of words such as *farm* [farm], *Stinkkatze* [skunk], and *gleichen* [to like]). Such parallels among different German varieties beg for comparative analyses that will help us understand why and how languages change given certain socio-political contexts.

Another variety which must be compared with Wisconsin Pomeranian is Pomerano, a variety with the same or a closely similar donor dialect that is spoken in Espirito Santo, Brazil. This community appears to have maintained their Pomeranian identity and language to a much greater degree than the Wisconsin Pomeranians, and a comparison of the contexts of migration and language policy will help us understand the different outcomes of the two varieties. Recent research by scholars such as Ismael Tressmann and Gertjan Postma should provide valuable data for such comparisons and increase our understanding of German speech islands in particular and the broader themes of language contact, change, and death.

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Notes

[1] I thank Marc Pierce, Mark Louden, Roslyn Burns, Hans C. Boas, and Martin Hilpert for their helpful feedback on this paper.

[2] The interviews consisted of a translation task adapted from Gilbert (1972) and the Texas German Dialect Project (Boas 2009a), open-ended ethnographic interviews, and a biographical questionnaire (conducted in English) about speaker variables, language use, and language attitudes.

[3] In recent years, sectarian speakers of Pennsylvania German have begun to settle in rural areas of Wisconsin, particularly in the northwestern part of the state, so the German language will likely remain alive in these isolated communities.

[4] This section is based largely on Eichhoff (1971), which is – to my knowledge – the only general summary of Wisconsin German.

[5] Eichhoff (1971) also mentions that the prevalence of English and, to a lesser extent, Standard German made it unnecessary to form a koiné based on the dialects.

[6] Helbich et al. (1988: 287) cite 570 original immigrants, while Clemens (1976: 53) mentions 622 immigrants.

[7] This information comes from Kickbusch's obituary in the Wausau Pilot newspaper from June 4, 1901, accessed through http://www.pvcw.org/Stories/AugustKickbuschStory.aspx.

[8] Wisconsin was also settled by other immigrant communities, such as Irish, Norwegian, Dutch, Belgian, and Polish (Bowman 1948: 40). It does not appear that there was significant contact between the WLG community and these other immigrants, but future research may reveal otherwise.

[9] Louden (2011) discusses the potential substrate effects that the prominence of Low German dialects had on a semi-standard "Wisconsin High German."

[10] "At its height [in the 1930s], Fromm has over 1,000 employees in north central Wisconsin. Being in the midst of the Great Depression, there are long lines several hundreds deep of people waiting outside the Fromm Bros. gates in Hamburg, WI hoping for an opportunity to join the team." (https://frommfamily.com/about/our-history/)

[11] Louden (2009) claims that there are no more fluent speakers in the earlier-established settlement of Freistadt in Mequon, Wisconsin.

[12] These data may be available in the near future through a collaboration with the Texas German Dialect Project (www.tgdp.org; Boas 2009a). Interested readers may contact the author for more information about the data and the data collection process.

[13] Two informants are excluded because they are not native WLG speakers but spouses thereof, and three others did not complete the questionnaire.

[14] The structural analysis compares WLG against StG, because the existing resources on the donor dialect are not suited for a comparison against Pomeranian or "Standard" Low German. While a detailed account of changes in the Pomeranian dialect since it was brought to the USA is certainly desirable, this must be left for future research, as all accounts of Pomeranian available to the author during the preparation of this article focus on small geographic spaces relatively distant from the areas where WLG originates (Stritzel 1937) or on minor phonological variation and developments from Middle Low German in different areas (Holsten 1928, Priewe and Teuchert 1928). The recent publication of Gertjan (2019) provides a comprehensive grammar of Pomeranian on the basis of the dialect spoken in Espirito Santo, Brazil. This manuscript promises to be a valuable source for comparative analyses of Pomeranian in the USA and Brazil and for comparisons against the donor dialect(s).

[15] The data only include examples that are relevant for the discussion and in which the speaker clearly produced the word with the sound in question. For this reason, the number of examples listed varies from item to item.

[16] Within these tables, the numbers in normal font in the right-hand column refer to the informant ID numbers. For instance, in Table 2, Speaker 1 and Speaker 6 produce [dɛːə] for 'door.'

[17] Numbers preceded by the '#' sign refer to the item numbers on the translation list used in the study, which were originally used by Gilbert (1972) and later by Boas (2009a) for Texas German.

[18] Individual speaker numbers are not provided for the pronunciation of 'two' due to space limitations, as this word appears in seven different translation items for a total of 136 occurrences.

[19] This difference may be due to the *Kopf* example occurring earlier in the interview, as speakers may have initially felt pressure to use the 'proper' High German pronunciation and only later felt comfortable using Low German phonology.

[20] For instance, in the translation of 'goats' in Item #66, three speakers produce [g] and nine speakers produce [ɣ].

[21] For reasons of space, Table 14 only lists the total number of speakers producing a given plural form rather than listing each individual speaker number.

[22] As indicated in the tables, several speakers pronounce the first person possessive pronoun as [mi:] or [mi:ə] with minimal phonological difference, making it difficult to determine whether the gender-marking schwa is present.

[23] The frequency of *de* as the definite article in these and the following examples may be influenced by its phonological similarity to English *the*, which is occasionally pronounced with initial /d/ in spoken Wisconsin English

[24] Pasture is code-switched from English and is thus not traditionally associated with a gender in German.

[25] Individual speaker numbers are not included in Table 20.

[26] The author thanks the participants of the German Abroad 2 conference (Austin, TX, November 2016) for their feedback on the data presented in this section.

[27] The numbers following the WLG participle refer to the number of speakers producing the listed participle and the total number of responses. For instance, 20 out of 21 speakers gave the participle *goa* for Item #28.

[28] The content in parentheses following the examples in this section indicate the interview segment identifier, the speaker's gender (both male), and the speaker's birth year.

[29] Louden (2011) provides a detailed analysis of word order in the High German speech of Wisconsin Germans in the Freistadt area, arguing that the High German of these speakers is merely a "relexified" form of Low German, as the High German discourse follows the word-order properties of Low German despite employing High German lexical items.

[30] The Max Kade Institute at the University of Wisconsin-Madison houses recordings of WLG speakers conducted by Jürgen Eichhoff in 1968, which may be a promising source for diachronic comparisons of WLG. At present, however, most of these data are not publicly available.

[31] Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of times a given item was used if it was used multiple times. "X" stands for the name of a town or county.

[32] Texas German also uses the word *Stinkkatze* for 'skunk' (Boas and Pierce 2011).

[33] Although *because* did not occur in the data analyzed here, it is uttered by multiple speakers in other interview segments and was also reported by Jacobs (2008).

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Plautdietsch in Canada

1 Introduction: Historical background

This chapter provides an overview of the history, sociolinguistic profile, and structural features of Plautdietsch (ISO 639-3: pdt) as it is spoken in Canada today. The majority of the Canadian varieties of Plautdietsch considered here are maintained by Russian Mennonites and their descendants, members of Anabaptist Christian denominations that emerged in central and northwestern Europe during the Radical Reformation of the 16th century. Some sources refer to these varieties collectively as 'Mennonite Low German,' emphasizing the predominance of Mennonites and their descendants among Plautdietsch-speaking populations. This chapter follows Siemens (2012) and others in applying the label 'Plautdietsch,' instead, reflecting both speakers' own name for their language and the plurality of religious beliefs represented among present-day Plautdietsch speech communities worldwide.

Canadian Plautdietsch represents a constellation of related West Germanic varieties that have their roots in the Low Prussian (*Niederpreußisch*) dialects of Eastern Low German (*Ostniederdeutsch*). These dialects were spoken in northern Poland until the end of the Second World War, but are now maintained exclusively by diasporic communities in other countries. Mennonite varieties of Canadian Plautdietsch varieties show evidence of historical contact with Low Franconian (e.g., Dutch, Flemish) and Frisian, reflecting the origins of most contemporary Mennonite Plautdietsch-speaking groups in 16th and 17th-century Anabaptist migrations from the lowlands of northwestern Europe into areas of northern Poland where greater tolerance of Anabaptist religious practices could be found. Most Mennonite varieties also show signs of linguistic developments related to settlement in the Russian

Empire between the late 18th century and the present, involving both contact with neighboring non-Mennonite speaker groups (e.g., primarily Russian and Ukrainian, but also Yiddish; cf. Quiring 1928; Thiessen 1963) and relative isolation from most other Germanic speech communities. Although the cover term 'Canadian Plautdietsch' is useful in singling out speech communities who share these attributes, it should not be taken to suggest overall linguistic or religious-cultural uniformity among speaker groups. As the following sections describe in more detail, the sociolinguistic profiles of individual Canadian Plautdietsch speech communities often vary considerably from one another, with differences commonly being intimately tied both to community, family, and individual experiences of linguistic contact and separation, as well as to language ideologies represented among present-day speakers and speech communities.

Similarly, while this chapter focuses primarily on varieties of Plautdietsch spoken by Mennonites and their descendants in Canada, it should also be noted that other, non-Mennonite Plautdietsch speech communities exist in Canada, as well, although the varieties of Plautdietsch that they maintain are less robustly documented. Epp (1993) brings attention to a small community of Catholic Plautdietsch speakers in the area of Humboldt, Saskatchewan, who trace their origins to the same region of northern Poland where Mennonites acquired Plautdietsch. This community's later migrations to Ukraine and western Canada parallel those of many Canadian Mennonite Plautdietsch communities. Unlike Mennonite Plautdietsch speakers, however, members of this community do not trace their origins to the lowlands of northwestern Europe, and their varieties offer particular insights into the role that substratal contact with Flemish, Dutch, and Frisian may have played in the historical formation of other, non-Catholic varieties of Plautdietsch. As with many other varieties of Plautdietsch brought to Canada and the Midwestern United States in the early 20th century, these Catholic varieties are moribund, with the youngest fluent speakers now in their early 70s. The dearth of linguistic information concerning these varieties represents a serious gap in the overall picture of Canadian Plautdietsch available today; with few published sources of information on these varieties (cf. McIver 1996; Cox 2015 for brief discussion), however, further research would be required to give them proper treatment in this chapter, despite their clear importance.

For their part, Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonites arrived in Canada throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries in three major waves of immigration. Each wave involved members of diasporic Mennonite communities in multiple countries, often speaking distinct local varieties of Plautdietsch and often having distinct motivations for relocation:

1. 1873–1918: The first major wave of Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonite immigration to Canada took place in 1874, primarily involving Mennonites from colonies that were founded almost a century earlier in present-day Ukraine. Migration into Canada during this period formed part of a larger pattern of Mennonite emigration out of settlements in the Russian Empire, which would eventually see almost a third of all Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonites emigrate to the New World. The causes of this migration are complex: while Mennonites' decision to leave the Russian Empire has often been viewed as one response to governmental policies of russification enacted in the 1860s that some Mennonites viewed as a threat to their educational and religious freedoms, more recent historical scholarship also points to economic motivations among at least some migrant groups (Dyck 1993:207).

Mennonite immigrants initially settled on tracts of land in southern Manitoba that had been negotiated with the Canadian government for exclusive Mennonite use. This colonial mode of ethnic block settlement, while reliant on agricultural trade with outside communities to be viable, served to limit linguistic contact with non-Mennonites during the first decades of Mennonite settlement in western Canada. Mennonite immigrants subsequently expanded westwards across the Canadian prairies throughout the 1890s and early 1900s into areas of present-day Saskatchewan and Alberta (Guenter et al. 1995).

Mennonite immigrants to Canada during this period were primarily from the Chortitza colony in Ukraine and its daughter settlements, and typically represented more conservative, Flemish-descended Mennonite denominations. A smaller number of settlers descended from the Molochnaya colony, arriving as members of the *Kleine Gemeinde* Mennonite denomination and, later, as immigrants from Russian Mennonite communities in the Midwestern United States (particularly following both political and popular backlash in that country against their pacifist beliefs in the wake of the First World War). Much smaller groups of Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonites also immigrated to Canada directly from Poland during this period, although none of their varieties of Plautdietsch appear to still be spoken in Canada today (Brednich 1977:17).

2. 1918–1930: Following the Russian Revolution and a period of anarchy in Ukraine during the Russian Civil War (1917–1922) that destabilized most Mennonite settlements, over 20,000 Mennonites from the Chortitza and Molochnaya colonies and their respective daughter settlements arrived in Canada as refugees between 1922 and 1929 (Epp 1962; Dyck 1993:188; Guenter et al. 1995:344). These 'Russian' Mennonites (*Russländer*) eventually settled throughout western Canada, often in areas where Mennonites

who arrived in the previous wave of migration by 'Canadian' Mennonites (*Kanadier*) had established settlements, leading to population mixing in at least some areas. Mennonites immigrants during this period were typically members of less conservative Mennonite denominations, and show marked linguistic differences compared with earlier Mennonite immigrants to Canada (Dyck 1964; Epp 1993).

3. 1940s: A third wave of Mennonite emigration from the Soviet Union followed the Second World War, when Mennonites arrived in Canada as refugees from all major Mennonite settlements in the Soviet Union and from other areas to which they had been deported during Stalinist purges. This migration involved fewer individuals than either of the preceding migrations (ca. 7,000 people between 1946 and 1954; cf. Dyck 1993:211), but contributed notably to the composition of the overall Russian Mennonite population in Canada.

During the first wave of immigration, Mennonite communities in western Canada quickly established the traditional social service infrastructure common to most Russian Mennonite settlements, building churches, village schools, and establishing social welfare and insurance agencies that all functioned in Mennonite Standard German (see below). Newspapers and periodicals published in Mennonite Standard German were also established by Mennonite communities in the first and second waves of immigration. While some of these publications continue today (e.g., the *Mennonitische Post*, formerly the *Steinbach Post*, which largely serves conservative Russian Mennonites in the Americas who are descended from 1870s immigrants), other prominent German-language publications (e.g., *Der Bote* and *Der Mennonitische Volkswarte*) have either transitioned to publication in English or have ceased to be published at all. All of these publications have occasionally printed materials in Plautdietsch, although this has been the exception, rather than the rule.

While the majority of Mennonite Plautdietsch-speaking communities in Canada trace their origins to either these first three waves of immigration or subsequent dispersals within Canada (e.g., westward migration from Manitoba and central Saskatchewan into northern Saskatchewan and Alberta during the Great Depression; Guenter et al. 1995:419–421), many contemporary Canadian Plautdietsch communities have more complex histories of migration than this summary suggests. For one, migrations into Canada often coincided with migrations outwards to regions of Latin America where many conservative Mennonites perceived opportunities for greater autonomy and religious freedom, especially after the forced closure of Mennonite private schools by the Canadian government after 1916–1917 (Ens 1994). Such migrations continued into the late 1960s, and established

close ties between Canadian Mennonite groups and new settlements in Mexico (1922–), Paraguay (1927–), Belize (1958–), and Bolivia (1963–), among other countries, where Canadian Plautdietsch was often one of, if not the primary linguistic source for new, local Plautdietsch varieties. Importantly, these migrations were not unidirectional: groups of Mennonite settlers frequently returned to Canada either permanently or periodically, whether prompted by economic conditions in either settlement area or by connections to extended networks of kinship and denomination that often spanned multiple states. This migration has resulted in the gradual emergence of a trans-statal community among some Old Colony Mennonites, one of the more conservative Mennonite denominations who were prominent participants in many of these movements (Cañás Bottos 2008). As the following sections describe, historical and ongoing migration between Latin American and Canadian Mennonite communities has had significant consequences for the overall vitality of Plautdietsch in Canada today.

2 Sociohistorical and sociolinguistic aspects

A key sociolinguistic feature of many Russian Mennonite speech communities is their maintenance of community-internal diglossia (alongside other individual competencies in languages; see below). Community-internal diglossia has been a hallmark of Russian Mennonite speech communities for centuries, with the diglossic arrangement of varieties maintained in many contemporary settlements stabilizing in its present form by the late 18th century (Moelleken 1992a; Hedges 1996; Cox 2013). In this system, Plautdietsch serves as the L-variety, and is used as the language of informal, in-group oral communication; while Mennonite Standard German, a variety of Standard German heavily influenced by religious texts (e.g., Martin Luther's translation of the Bible) acts as the language of education, worship, and written communication (Moelleken 1992b). This assignment of varieties to particular linguistic roles has been an historical feature of almost all Mennonite Plautdietsch speech communities, and bilingualism in these varieties has contributed notable contact-induced features in both varieties (cf. Moelleken 1987; Moelleken 1992b; Moelleken 1992c).

Traditionally, this community-internal diglossia was supported by the Russian Mennonite educational system, which offered primary education in Mennonite Standard German to Plautdietsch-speaking students. This was further reinforced by linguistic practices elsewhere in the community, such as the conventional use of Mennonite Standard German as the language of worship and of in-group written communication. In some communities, certain aspects of these linguistic practices were codified as part of the

Ordnung, or established social order of a local Mennonite denomination (cf. Hedges 1996). These institutions and the conventions of language use that they fostered provided not only a marker of linguistic identity for the members of many Mennonite Plautdietsch speech communities, but also served as a bulwark against language shift and loss as linguistic minorities interacting with their non-Mennonite neighbors (Cox 2013).

Alongside this stable, community-internal diglossia, many members of Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonite communities also had some familiarity with the language(s) of non-Mennonite communities in their settlement areas. As these languages were not traditionally part of some Mennonite educational systems, in many cases it was only those individuals whose activities placed them in regular contact with non-Mennonites (e.g., through agricultural trade and commerce) who initially acquired proficiency in community-external languages. In most contemporary Canadian Mennonite communities, multilingualism with English is essentially universal, with Plautdietsch-speaking children now acquiring English either at the same time as Plautdietsch or upon entering school. For these communities, the relative isolation from the speech norms associated with non-Mennonite varieties of Standard German, combined with the weakening of traditional community-internal diglossia and extensive contact with English, has led to structural influence from English on varieties of Plautdietsch spoken in Canada, as described in Sections 3–5 below.

In most Canadian Mennonite communities, the system of community-internal diglossia described above has largely dissolved, and English now serves most of the roles once occupied by Mennonite Standard German. The forced closure of the Mennonite private school system between 1916–1919 and the subsequent imposition of public schools conducted almost entirely in English can be argued to have acted as a significant catalyst in this transition, removing from community control the domain in which primary competence in the community H-variety was developed. Some Mennonite denominations eventually introduced their own private, home or church-based weekend schools to provide compensatory basic education in Mennonite Standard German, a practice that continues in some Canadian Old Colony Mennonite communities today. Nevertheless, the loss of this standardized education contributed to a widening generation gap in linguistic competencies in most Canadian Mennonite communities, with only the oldest generations maintaining full, adult-level proficiency in both varieties. Most Mennonite denominations continued to use Mennonite Standard German as their primary language of worship and written communication until the 1950s, when a general (and often divisive; cf. Draper 2011) shift to the use of English began in all but the most conservative Mennonite denominations

(some of whom transitioned to Plautdietsch as the primary language of worship, instead). In comparison with other diasporic Plautdietsch-speaking communities around the world, this transition represents a radical departure from the stable diglossia common to most Russian Mennonite groups, and has contributed to much closer linguistic contact between Plautdietsch and English (and, at the same time, lessened influence from Mennonite Standard German).

The forced closure of Mennonite schools was one of several developments in Canada that contributed to the marginalization of many Plautdietsch-speaking communities' traditional linguistic practices during the 20th century. The mass emigrations to Latin America that followed these school closures significantly reduced the proportion of Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonites in many areas in western Canada, while opening parts of formerly homogeneous Mennonite settlements to non-Mennonite ownership, thereby increasing the level of linguistic contact with non-Mennonite groups. The Great Depression and successive years of crop failure during the 1930s had a further destabilizing effect on both the traditional Mennonite social service infrastructure and the agricultural economy common to most western Canadian Mennonite communities, both of which supported traditional sociolinguistic practices rooted in local communities. This period also saw increased assimilatory pressure in the years preceding and following both World Wars, during which time Mennonite groups were often viewed as being both ethnic Germans and, as a result of their doctrinal insistence on non-violence, at odds with the wider non-Mennonite society's wartime efforts (Doell 1987; Ens 1994). The increased mechanization of agriculture and expansion of urbanization in Canada following the Second World War saw widespread migration from rural Mennonite communities to larger regional centers, where Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonites typically formed a small and geographically disparate minority speech community. While not preventing successful intergenerational transmission of Plautdietsch outright, on the whole, these factors contributed both to a marked decline in the general use of Plautdietsch in Canada following the Second World War and to much closer linguistic contact between Canadian Plautdietsch and English.

Despite these trends, the maintenance of Plautdietsch in Canada differs considerably from group to group. Among more conservative Mennonite groups and trans-statal communities in Canada, use of Plautdietsch for in-group communication and for some functions in worship (e.g., commentary on sermons and scripture read in Mennonite Standard German) has been maintained as an important marker of group membership, and intergenerational transmission still often extends to include the youngest generations. For most other established Russian Mennonite communities in

Canada, intergenerational transmission of Plautdietsch is much less common. In some cases, the relative geographical isolation of some communities (e.g., in areas of northern Alberta and British Columbia) has contributed to situations in which Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonites form the majority of the local population, and intergenerational transmission is on the whole more common across all Mennonite groups. With exception of geographically isolated communities and those with ties to religiously more conservative denominations, however, most varieties of Plautdietsch spoken by the descendants of 1870s and 1920s Mennonite immigrants are now moribund, with youngest speakers typically in their 50s and 60s.

Estimates of the present number of Plautdietsch speakers in Canada are challenged to reflect the simultaneous decline of speech communities descended from the earliest waves of Mennonite immigration together with the rapid growth of more recent Canadian Mennonite communities with ties to Latin America. Epp (1993:103) proposes an estimate of 80,000 first-language and 20,000 second-language speakers of Plautdietsch in Canada,[1] although this figure does not take into account either the significant attrition-based decline or immigration-based increases in speaker populations over the past four decades. In consultation with Mennonite community service agencies, Kulig and Fan (2016:6) estimate that 80,000–100,000 Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonites with ties to Latin America live in Canada today (20,000 in Alberta, 15,000 in Manitoba, 40,000–50,000 in southern Ontario). If one tentatively assumes that one third of the earlier-established Canadian Mennonite Plautdietsch speech communities remain (following estimated rates of speaker population change between the late 1970s and the present for Mennonite Plautdietsch speech communities in central Saskatchewan presented in Cox 2015), the overall number of Plautdietsch speakers in Canada would likely be closer to 100,000–130,000 speakers, with recent immigrants from Latin America now constituting the majority. Although a significant minority language group in Canada, Plautdietsch has no official status in any Canadian jurisdiction, and there is limited recognition outside of Russian Mennonite communities themselves and agencies that work closely with Mennonite populations that Plautdietsch represents a variety distinct from other forms of German.

Despite ongoing language shift towards English in many Canadian Plautdietsch speech communities, there are also signs of use of Plautdietsch expanding into domains previously occupied by Mennonite Standard German or English. While written communication was traditionally conducted in either Mennonite Standard German or an outside language of wider communication, a tradition of Plautdietsch creative writing (particularly for theatre; cf. Glendinning 2006) has long roots in Canada, with authors

such as J. H. Janzen (1878–1950) and Arnold Dyck (1889–1970) producing significant works in Plautdietsch before the mid-twentieth century (Loewen & Reimer 1985). Canadian-born Plautdietsch authors such as Reuben Epp (1920–2009) and Jack Thiessen (1931–2022) have continued in this tradition, often in parallel with significant linguistic scholarship concerning Plautdietsch (e.g., Epp 1987; Epp 1993; Epp 1996; Thiessen 1963; Thiessen 1989; Thiessen 2003; Thiessen 2006). For their part, the introduction of Canadian federal policies of official bilingualism and multiculturalism during the 1970s and 1980s and the centenary of Russian Mennonite settlement in Canada in 1974 brought renewed attention to Plautdietsch-speaking Mennonite cultural and linguistic practices (Reimer, Reimer & Thiessen 1983), which, in turn, fostered the spread of Plautdietsch-language literature. Efforts were made towards the standardization of Plautdietsch orthographies in Canada throughout the 1980s and 1990s (cf. Reimer 1982; Epp 1996; Loewen 1998, a.o.), and were later taken up again by agencies seeking to promote a unified orthographic standard for Plautdietsch Bible translation. No single orthography has yet emerged as dominant. Despite this lack of overall consensus, there is widespread acceptance among Canadian Plautdietsch authors of certain common orthographic representations of most Plautdietsch phonemes (e.g., *oo* for /əʊ̯/, *ee* for /əɪ̯/, *ää* for /eɐ/, etc.), albeit with considerable variation involving certain others (e.g., palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/, with orthographic forms *kj~tj~tch*, *gj~dj*, etc.). In some cases, this variation in writing reflects equally extensive variation in the phonetic realizations of the corresponding phonemes among Canadian Plautdietsch varieties (see Section 3).

The complexity of individual and community histories of linguistic separation and contact has contributed to considerable variation in the forms of Plautdietsch spoken in Canada today. Traditionally, Canadian varieties of Plautdietsch are seen as dividing into two macro-varieties, each named after historically significant Mennonite settlements in Ukraine: Chortitza, or 'Old Colony' Plautdietsch, and Molochnaya, or 'New Colony' Plautdietsch. In each of these varieties, some studies make further distinctions between the forms of Plautdietsch spoken by different waves of Mennonite settlers (e.g., Molochnaya Plautdietsch as spoken by the descendents of 1870s immigrants versus 1920s refugees; cf. Epp 1993). Several scholars have argued that linguistic differences between these two macro-varieties are not primarily related to particular colonies in the Russian Empire, but likely have deeper historical roots in geographical linguistic variation that existed in northern Poland (and possibly even in Mennonite colonists' earlier affiliation with either Flemish or Frisian-Dutch Anabaptist populations; see Siemens 2012 for discussion).[2] While the origins of these distinctions are contested, there is linguistic evidence

of a long-standing division between major Russian Mennonite subgroups, with few signs in Canadian communities of significant koinéization (Dyck 1964). Instead, recent studies observe a considerable degree of variation within each macro-variety, with little evidence of statistically significant correlations with common sociolinguistic factors of age, gender, class, or level of education (Cox 2015). This contrasts with the results of variationist studies conducted in Mennonite Plautdietsch speech communities in Paraguay and Brazil (e.g., Kaufmann 1997; Kaufmann 2003), where particular linguistic variables were found to be associated with age and gender. Coming to terms with the dynamics of language variation and change among contemporary Plautdietsch speech communities in Canada remains a standing challenge for research, given both the intricacies of historical migration and settlement throughout the twentieth century and ongoing movement between speaker groups in Canada, the United States, Latin America, Europe, and Asia today.

3 Phonetics and phonology

Considerable research has been conducted into Canadian Plautdietsch phonology (e.g., Goerzen 1950; Goerzen 1972; Epp 1996; Loewen 1998; Moelleken 1972, a.o.), contributing to a clearer picture of the major segmental features of most Canadian varieties. While the earliest of these studies focused largely on establishing phonemic contrasts and describing phonotactic constraints, more recent research has sought to bring greater attention to phonological aspects of language contact—whether historical 'substratal' contact between other West Germanic languages and the varieties of Plautdietsch that Mennonites in northern Poland would later come to adopt, or more recent contact between Plautdietsch speakers and languages outside of their communities. The following sections discuss the overall structure of the phonemic inventory of Canadian Plautdietsch and related phenomena, focusing first on the inventory of consonants (3.1), monophthongs (3.2) and diphthongs (3.3) before considering the phonological effects of language contact in greater detail (3.4).

3.1 Consonants

Canadian varieties of Plautdietsch typically have 29 phonemic consonants, as summarized in Table 1 below (after Cox, Driedger & Tucker 2013; and Cox 2015:74–76):

Table 1: Consonant phonemes in Canadian Plautdietsch

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		c ɟ	k g	(ʔ)
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Affricate			ʦ	ʧ			
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	ç	x (ɣ)	h
Trill			r				
Approximant					j		
Lateral approximant			l		lʲ		

Several of these segments are sometimes treated as allophones of other phonemes, or are seen as being phonologically predictable in certain environments and thus not warranting independent phonemic status. In particular, glottal stops generally appear only as epenthetic onsets in syllables that would otherwise lack one (e.g., *oam* /oam/ [**ʔ**oə̯m] 'poor'; but see Loewen (1998:131) for an alternative analysis). Similarly, [ɣ] is often treated as an intervocalic and word-final allophone of /g/ (Loewen 1998:135). Unlike many other Germanic varieties, Canadian Plautdietsch does not regularly devoice final obstruents, where [±voice] contrasts maintain both grammatical and lexical distinctions (e.g., *Peat* 'horse' [pʰiə̯**t**] vs. *Pead* [pʰiə̯**d**] 'horses', *wiet* [viː**t**] 'far' vs. *Wied* [viː**d**] 'willow', etc.).

While most of this consonantal inventory is shared with other closely related languages, the palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/ are typologically unusual and have received considerable attention in previous research on Plautdietsch (e.g., Baerg 1960; Moelleken 1966; Nyman 1978:52; Kanakin & Wall 1994; Naiditch 2005; Siemens 2012:93–98; a.o.). While some scholars have suggested that these phonemes' emergence is attributable to regular, language-internal developments (e.g., Naiditch 2005), others (e.g., Siemens 2003; Siemens 2012) have argued that these segments represent an areal effect that reflects the historical participation of Plautdietsch in the Baltic linguistic area (*Sprachbund*). These stops show considerable variation in their phonetic realizations across Canadian Plautdietsch varieties. While most 1870s Chortitza and Molochnaya-descended Plautdietsch speakers in Canada realize /c/ and /ɟ/ as [kʲ] and [gʲ] (e.g., *Kjoakj* [kʲoə̯kʲ] 'church', *Brigj* [bɾɪgʲ] 'bridge') many speakers among later *Russländer* immigrant groups realize these stops as [tʲ] and [dʲ] (e.g., *Tjoatj* [tʲoə̯tʲ] 'church', *Bridj* [bɾɪdʲ] 'bridge'). Some scholars attribute this shift in pronunciation among the latter groups to increased contact with East Slavic languages, where these palatalized alveolar stops are more common (Epp 1993:92).

In many Canadian and Latin American Plautdietsch speech communities, similar variation is encountered in the realization of /r/. In addition to the more common trilled and flapped allophones [r] and [ɾ], several Canadian varieties also feature an additional retroflex allophone [ɹ] in complex codas (e.g., *Korn* /kɔrn/ [kɔɹn] 'corn (maize)', *Worscht* /vɔrʃt/ [vɔɹʃt] 'sausage'). Varieties with the retroflex allophone also often show reduction of final /rən/ to [ɚn] in connected speech (e.g., *Bäaren* /bɛarən/ [bɛ.ɚn] 'berries'). Retroflex pronunciations are sociolinguistically marked as a feature of 'Old Colony' speech in some Canadian communities, as reflected in the teasing statement in (1):

(1) *Wi schmää**re*** [ʃmɛ̰ɹə] *onse Koa**re**däa**re*** [kɔ̰ɹədɛ̰ɹə] *daut se nich knoa**re*** [knɔ̰ɹə] *woa**re*** [vɔ̰ɹə]*, oba jane schmää**ren*** [ʃmɛːɚ**n**] *äare Koarendää**ren*** [koːɚ**n**dɛːɚ**n**] *daut se nich knoa**ren*** [knɔːɚ**n**] *woa**ren*** [vɔːɚ**n**].
'We grease our car doors so that they don't squeak (*with* [ɾə]), but those guys over there grease their car doors so that they don't squeak (*with* [ɚn]).' (Jake Buhler, p.c.)

The retroflex allophone of /r/ is sometimes attributed to contact with English (Dyck 1964:92; Moelleken 1967:244–245), but Moelleken (1993) observes that retroflex pronunciations were also present historically in the Vistula Delta, and argues that this allophone likely represents an instance of inheritance, rather than contact-related innovation. Subsequent research has suggested that this allophone may itself have been earlier innovation in the Vistula Delta, introduced by contact with East Flemish (Siemens 2012).

3.2 Monophthongs

Canadian Plautdietsch varieties distinguish ten phonemic monophthongs, although with notable differences in realization between Chortitza and Molochnaya-descended varieties. These are summarized in Table 2.[3]

As this table suggests, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/ are all significantly longer in duration than /ɛ/, /ɪ/, /ɔ/, and /ʊ/, suggesting length to be another cue to phonemic identity (Jedig 1966; Cox, Driedger & Tucker 2013). Among Chortitza varieties, short vowels are generally lowered and centralized. This can be viewed as a chain shift in progress, with front short vowels lowering as part of a larger pattern of ongoing sound change (cf. Burns 2015:72–73). Further research is needed on Molochnaya varieties in Canada to determine whether or not this pattern holds there, as well.

Canadian Plautdietsch varieties also differ in their realizations of /u/.

Table 2: Canadian Plautdietsch monophthongs (examples reproduced from Cox, Driedger & Tucker 2013; and Cox 2015:77–79)

Phoneme	Chortitza	Molochnaya	Examples
/i/	[iː]	[iː]	*Biet* /bit/ 'a bite'
/ɪ/	[ɻ]~[ɛ]	[ɪ]	*bitt* /bɪt/ 'bites'
/u/	[yː]	[uː]~[ʉː]	*buut* /but/ 'builds'
/ʊ/	[ʯ]~[ɵ]	[ʊ]	*butzt* /bʊtst/ 'bumps'
/e/	[eː]	[eː]	*bädt* /bet/ 'prays'
/ɛ/	[ɛ̨]~[æ]	[ɛ]	*Bett* /bɛt/ 'tub'
/ə/	[ə]	[ə]	*bediedt* /bəˈdit/ 'means'
/a/	[ɐː]~[ɑː]	[aː]	*bat* /bat/ 'until'
/ɔ/	[ɐ]~[ɑ]	[ɔ]	*Bott* /bɔt/ 'bid'
/o/	[oː]	[oː]	*bodt* /bot/ 'bathes'

Chortitza-descended varieties typically have only the realization [yː], whereas Molochnaya-descended varieties more often feature either [uː] or [ʉː] (cf. Moelleken 1967:245–246). The absence of [uː]~[ʉː] creates a typologically unusual gap in the Chortitza vowel space, with the high-back quadrant left largely empty. Siemens (2012) attributes this situation to historical contact in the Vistula Delta between some varieties of Plautdietsch and East Flemish, where this same vowel space configuration is observed. On this model, Flemish-speaking immigrants to the Vistula Delta would have come to adopt local varieties of Plautdietsch, while maintaining their distinctive Flemish realizations of the corresponding Plautdietsch phonemes. Siemens provides similar arguments for viewing the realization of certain Chortitza diphthongs as a consequence of shift-induced phonological interference, as well (see below). He notes that these potentially Flemish-origin features are retained today only among those groups of Plautdietsch speakers who have the closest historical ties to Flemish populations in northern Poland, suggesting this model to be plausible from the perspective of Mennonite history.

3.3 Diphthongs

Canadian Plautdietsch varieties maintain at most eleven contrasts among diphthongs, although one diphthong, /uɪ/, is marginal, appearing only in a single interjection *fuj* 'yuck, phooey' in most varieties. All of the diphthongs ending in /a/ also feature allophones with schwa in closed syllables (e.g., *Boa* / bɔa/ [bɔɐ̯] 'bear' vs. *Boat* / bɔat/ [bɔə̯t] 'beard'). There is considerable variation in the realization of these diphthongs among Chortitza and Molochnaya-descended varieties, and the synopsis in Table 3 below is likely not exhaustive.

Table 3: Canadian Plautdietsch diphthongs.

Phoneme	Chortitza	Molochnaya	Examples
/ia/	[iɐ̯]	[iɐ̯]	*Bia* /bia/ 'pillow case'
/ea/	[ə͡ɪɐ̯]~[iɐ̯]	[ə͡ɪɐ̯]	*Beea* /bea/ 'beer'
/ɛa/	[eɐ̯]	[eɐ̯]	*Bäa* /bɛa/ 'berry; pear'
/ɛɪ/	[ɛɪ̯]~[aɪ̯]	[ɛɪ̯]	*beid* /bɛɪd/ 'both'
/əɪ/	[əɪ̯]	[əɪ̯]	*beed* /bəɪd/ 'bid!'
/əʊ/	[əʊ̯]	[əʊ̯]	*Bood* /bəʊd/ 'shack'
/aʊ/	[aʊ̯]~[ɒː]	[aʊ̯]	*Bauss* /baʊs/ 'boss'
/ɔa/	[ɔɐ̯]~[ɒɐ̯]	[ɔɐ̯]~[ɒɐ̯]	*Boa* /bɔa/ 'bear'
/ɔa/ (*pre-velar*)	[œɐ̯]~[eɐ̯]	[ɔɐ̯]~[ɒɐ̯]~[ɒːɐ̯]	*Boage(n)* /bɔagə(n)/ 'bow'
/oa/	[oɐ̯]~[ʊɐ̯]	[oɐ̯]~[ʊɐ̯]~[əʊ̯ɐ̯]	*Buah* /boa/ 'Buhr (surname)'
/oa/ (*pre-velar*)	[yɐ̯]	[oɐ̯]~[ʊɐ̯]~[əʊ̯]	*Buak* /boak/ 'book'
/ua/	[yɐ̯]	[uɐ̯]~[ʉɐ̯]	*Buua* /bua/ 'builder'
/uɪ/	[oɪ̯]	[oɪ̯]	*fuj* 'yuck!'

In many Chortitza-descended Canadian Plautdietsch varieties, separate, rounded allophones of the back diphthongs /ɔa/ and /oa/ exist in pre-velar environments (i.e., before /g/, /ɣ/, /k/, /x/). Additionally, some Chortitza and Molochnaya-descended varieties make no distinction between /oa/ and /ua/, treating them as a single phoneme. As Table 4 shows, these two features contribute to a range of realizations in back diphthongs across different varieties, with as few as two and as many as five allophones attested in Plautdietsch:

Table 4: Back diphthong allophones in Plautdietsch

	/ɔa/ (*elsewhere*) *woah* 'true'	/ɔa/ (*pre-velar*) *Woag* 'dare'	/oa/ (*elsewhere*) *wua* 'where'	/oa/ (*pre-velar*) *wuak* 'woke'	/ua/ *Buua* 'builder'
Quiring (1928)	*ōə~ōo* [ɔɐ̯]	*ŏo* [œɐ̯]	*ôə* [oɐ̯]	*ôo* [øɐ̯]	*ûə* [yɐ̯]
Rempel (1995), Loewen (1996), Zacharias (2009)	*oa* [ɔɐ̯]	*oa, øa, ŏa* [œɐ̯]	*ua~oua* [oɐ̯]~[əʊ̯ɐ̯]	*ua, üa, ŭa, ya* [yɐ̯]	
Goerzen (1950)	*ôa* [ɔɐ̯]		*oa* [əʊ̯ɐ̯]		*ua* [oɐ̯]
Epp (1996)	*oa* [ɔɐ̯]		*ua* [oɐ̯]		

Siemens (2012:62ff.) proposes that phonological interference from East Flemish has contributed historically to the arrangement of these diphthongs in Chortitza-descended Plautdietsch varieties, arguing that the typologically unusual rounding of West Germanic **au* to [yɐ̯] is unlikely to be a coincidental shared innovation in both languages.

3.4 Language contact and phonology

As the preceding sections have observed, several historical instances of language contact have been argued to have exerted an influence on the phonology of contemporary Plautdietsch varieties. For some Mennonite

Plautdietsch varieties, this contact may have involved shift-induced phonological interference from East Flemish (in the terms of Thomason 2001), which contributed to asymmetries in the present-day vowel space of many Chortitza-descended varieties, and potentially also to the introduction of retroflex realizations of /r/. Likewise, areal linguistic influence from the Baltic *Sprachbund* has been argued to have favored the emergence of contrastive palatal stops in Plautdietsch, as are found across other languages in the region. Later instances of contact with community-external languages may similarly have contributed to shifts in the realization of these stops, with many *Russländer* groups now having palatalized dental (rather than palatal or palatalized velar) stops, as are common in East Slavic languages. Many of the outcomes of historical instances of language contact such as these are not restricted to Canadian Plautdietsch alone, but are nevertheless well represented among contemporary Canadian varieties.

In contrast to these historical cases of contact with community-external languages, the phonological effects of more recent contact with English in Canada are somewhat less conclusive. While Moelleken (1993) argues against viewing retroflex realizations of /r/ as a contact-related innovation from English, this does not preclude influence from English as a contributing factor in the spread of this allophone, which, for some Canadian speakers, appears in free variation with non-retroflex allophones in codas. Further research is required to determine what, if any, effect intense contact with English has had on Canadian Plautdietsch phonology.

There is some evidence of inter-variety contact and levelling among Plautdietsch-speaking communities in Canada, although this does not appear to have substantially affected the phonological structure of present-day varieties. Varieties of Plautdietsch spoken by minorities within the Mennonite community have repeatedly been reported to have been absorbed into larger dialect groups. The descendants of most Polish Mennonite immigrants to Canada (among those who maintained Plautdietsch as a home language in the Vistula Delta; see Quiring 1928:47; Tolksdorf 1985:323–324 for discussion) generally formed a minority among Chortitza and Molochnaya Plautdietsch speakers, and gradually assimilated into those speech communities (a pattern reportedly mirrored among Polish Mennonites in Paraguay; cf. Rohkohl 1993:107–108). Similarly, there is evidence of some degree of levelling between Chortitza and Molochnaya *Russländer* varieties in Russia in the period following the 1870s migration to North America, likely resulting from the increased prominence of the Molochnaya Colony in Russian Mennonite educational and economic affairs during this time (cf. Quiring 1928; Mitzka 1930; Dyck 1964; Epp 1993).

Nevertheless, with the exception of the Polish Mennonite case noted above and several 'mixed' speaker groups identified in Cox (2015), there is less evidence of contact between Mennonite communities in Canada leading to the levelling of linguistic distinctions or the development of new, koiné varieties. In part, this may be due to long-standing social divisions between Chortitza and Molochnaya Mennonite communities, which were maintained in many cases until recently by differences in denomination, largely separate extended kinship networks, and diverging attitudes towards separation from the outside world. Social conditions in most Canadian Plautdietsch-speaking communities thus often favored the maintenance of group-internal linguistic conventions, rather than a wholesale convergence towards the norms of any one speaker group.

4 Morphosyntax

4.1 Nominal system morphosyntax

Nominals in Canadian Plautdietsch are categorized by both gender and plural formation class, and inflect for number and case. This section focuses on the realization of case in and across Canadian varieties of Plautdietsch (4.1.1), nominal gender (4.1.2), and plural classes (4.1.3).

4.1.1 Case

Canadian varieties of Plautdietsch show marked differences in the number of case categories that they distinguish and how case-marked forms are deployed across different grammatical contexts. In part, this variation can be attributed to influence from Standard German, which exerts normative pressure on both the forms that case-marked lexical items take, as well as on the degree to which case marking patterns encountered in Standard German are applied in cognate Plautdietsch constructions.

In general, case is marked only on pronouns, adjectives, and articles in Canadian varieties of Plautdietsch, and not on nouns themselves. In some varieties, however, some historically weak-declension masculine nouns are attested as having distinctive case-marked forms. Quiring (1928:85) offers the example of the masculine noun *Hos* 'rabbit' becoming *Hosen* in the accusative singular, though he notes that the unmarked form *Hos* is also acceptable. Nieuweboer (1999:147) finds similar examples in the works of Canadian author Arnold Dyck, both with weak masculine nouns and with proper names (e.g. *Jehaun* 'John' becoming *Jehaune* in the accusative), though the uninflected equivalents are attested, as well. Such examples are rare in most

contemporary varieties, and likely do not represent productive inflectional patterns.

Several distinct systems of case marking are attested among Canadian Plautdietsch varieties, differing both in the number of case categories distinguished and in the forms that case marking assumes across different lexical classes. Table 5 summarizes three of the most common systems reported in previous studies of Canadian Plautdietsch, which are divided here by the number of cases that they recognize.[4]

Table 5: Case systems in Canadian Plautdietsch.

Case system	Case categories distinguished	Sources
Four-case system	Nominative, accusative, dative, genitive (*semi-productive)*	Goerzen (1950)
Three-case system	Nominative, accusative, dative	Reimer, Reimer, and Thiessen (1983), Loewen (1996)
Two-case system	Nominative, objective (accusative-dative)	Mierau (1964)

While Goerzen (1950) describes a variety of Canadian Plautdietsch with a productive and fully defined genitive case, other studies of Canadian Plautdietsch treat instances of the genitive as largely lexicalized. In most varieties, examples of the genitive are restricted to fixed expressions, as in (2a–b); to semi-fixed lexical constructions like *om Xs haulwe(n)* 'for the sake of X', as in (3); and to kinship and naming constructions (the so-called "Saxon genitive"; cf. Jedig 1966:64; Reimer, Reimer & Thiessen 1983:27), as in (4) below:[5]

(2) a. *eenes* *Doages*
one.MASC.GEN day.MASC.GEN
'one day, on one particular day' (Epp 1972:35, 46)

b. *too* *Gottes* *Preis*
to God-GEN.SG praise
'to God's praise' (Fehr 1993:30)

(3) *om Fräds* *haulwen*
for peace-GEN.SG sake
'for the sake of peace' (Fehr 2001:10)

(4) *Jeat* *Jiesbraichts* *Jehaun*
George Giesbrecht-GEN.SG John
'George Giesbrecht's (son) John' (Fehr 1993:49)

Further differences exist within each system as to the forms that case-marked lexemes take in different varieties. As an example, Table 6 summarizes the definite article forms for 1870s Molochnaya and Chortitza-descended Canadian Plautdietsch varieties, as attested in the works of Saskatchewan Mennonite authors Reuben Epp and Jacob M. Fehr, respectively. Both authors' varieties represent two-case systems, although with differing forms for the objective masculine singular definite article:

Table 6: Definite articles in 1870s Canadian Plautdietsch

	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter		Plural	
Case	Epp	Fehr	Epp	Fehr	Epp	Fehr	Epp	Fehr
Nominative	*de*	*de*	*de*	*de*	*daut*	*daut*	*de*	*de*
Objective	***däm***	***dän***	*de*	*de*	*daut*	*daut*	*de*	*de*

While most definite article forms are common to both varieties, they differ in the form of the masculine singular objective definite article, where Molochnaya-descended varieties generally have *däm* (resembling an historical dative form) and Chortitza-descended varieties have *dän* (resembling an historical accusative form). At first blush, this may seem to suggest a straightforward diachronic explanation for these differences, with Molochnaya varieties having repurposed earlier dative forms as markers of a merged objective case, and Chortitza varieties having enlisted earlier accusative forms for the same purpose. While intuitive, evidence from other constructions makes it clear that the situation is not so simple. In the demonstrative pronouns that correspond to the above definite articles in Table 7, for instance, both varieties have objective forms that appear to be related to historical dative forms (e.g., the plural *dän* and feminine *däah*), and Chortitza varieties have the dative-descended form *däm* in the masculine singular (forms in boldface highlight differences from the preceding definite articles):

Table 7: Demonstrative pronouns in Canadian Plautdietsch

	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter		Plural	
Case	Epp	Fehr	Epp	Fehr	Epp	Fehr	Epp	Fehr
Nominative	*dee*	*dee*	*dee*	*dee*	*daut*	*daut*	*dee*	*dee*
Objective	*däm*	***däm***	***däah***	***däah***	*daut*	*daut*	***dän***	***dän***

Moreover, several works on Plautdietsch note variation between these forms, even in the same dialect. Neufeld (2000:13) observes that, while these articles sometimes resemble accusative and dative forms, in casual discourse "these forms are often used interchangeably, and cannot be clearly

characterized as other than non-nominative." Historical processes of case merger in two-case varieties of Canadian Plautdietsch such as these has thus not involved the wholesale replacement of one set of historical case-marked forms over the other. Instead, contemporary varieties have conventionalized the use of former dative and accusative forms across different constructions in different ways, and continue to show variation in the use of these forms, both across different varieties and in the speech of individual speakers.

The existence of several distinct case marking systems among Canadian varieties of Plautdietsch brings attention not only to differences in the ways that language-internal processes of case merger have unfolded over time in different speech communities, but also to contact-related processes of inflectional borrowing that have contributed to the emergence of three and four-case systems. Mierau (1964) argues that sporadic alternation between seemingly 'accusative' and 'dative' case marking in Canadian Plautdietsch "stems undoubtedly from High German interference," and notes that "speakers with a considerable knowledge of High German feel that more distinctions must be made" in Plautdietsch, as well (69–71). While not ruling out the possibility of historical retention as a source of some features of case marking in Plautdietsch inflectional morphology, it would appear probable that Standard German, in its role as the language of writing, worship, and more normatively constrained 'Sunday-like' communication (cf. Hedges 1996; Cox 2013) under traditional Russian Mennonite community-internal multilingualism, has served as a linguistic model for case marking in some, but not all, Canadian Plautdietsch varieties— a situation also reported in Plautdietsch speech communities outside of Canada, as well.[6]

On this perspective, the environment of intense, sustained linguistic contact that stable, community-internal multilingualism with Mennonite Standard German long presented in many Canadian Mennonite communities, coupled with positive attitudes towards Mennonite Standard German as a normative model for some socially important linguistic practices, provided favorable social conditions for extensive inflectional borrowing to take place in several varieties of Plautdietsch. If one accepts that inflectional formatives in some three and four-case varieties are borrowed forms, rather than retained cognates, then these varieties can be seen as having borrowed large parts of whole inflectional paradigms from Mennonite Standard German, incorporating both phonological material (the case endings themselves) *and* the patterns under which borrowed forms are expected to appear (the contexts in which accusative and dative endings occur, which are otherwise undifferentiated in varieties with a single, objective case). This kind of borrowing is uncommon cross-linguistically: inflectional borrowing, in general, appears at the highest level of the borrowing scale of Thomason and Kaufman (1988:74–75), and

Gardani, Arkadiev, and Amiridze (2015:7–8) note that it is particularly rare for formatives representing inflection dependent on syntactic agreement or government to be borrowed, and rarer still for entire inflectional paradigms to be incorporated wholesale. As in other instances of inflectional borrowing, care must be taken to distinguish the possible retention of historical case distinctions in some varieties of Plautdietsch from the contact-induced introduction of separate dative and accusative cases into varieties where these were no longer present. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that the increased familiarity with Standard German noted particularly in some later Russian Mennonite immigrant communities in Canada (cf. Epp 1962:207) could have contributed to paradigm borrowing in associated varieties of Plautdietsch, where three and four-case systems are most often observed.

4.1.2 Gender

Nominals in Canadian Plautdietsch varieties are categorized into one of three gender categories: masculine, feminine, and neuter. Gender is not distinguished in plural forms. Gender assignment for nouns is covert, and is typically follows the same pattern as Standard German, albeit with some exceptions (e.g., *Kjees* 'cheese' (feminine, versus Standard German *der Käse*), *Beea* 'beer' (masculine, versus Standard German *das Bier*), *Vöagel* 'bird' (neuter, versus Standard German *der Vogel*), *Dialekjt* 'dialect' (neuter, versus Standard German *der Dialekt*), all from Thiessen (2003:xxiv)).

In some Canadian communities, there is evidence of gradual loss of grammatical gender contrasts and their replacement by semantic gender, a phenomenon reported by Toebosch (2011) for varieties of Plautdietsch spoken in Nebraska. This is not observed across all speakers in all communities, however, and appears correlated with language shift towards English. As Thiessen (2003:xxiv) notes, further research is required on gender assignment in Plautdietsch, in general.

4.1.3 Noun plurals

Nominals in Canadian Plautdietsch also inflect for number, distinguishing singular and plural forms. Siemens (2012:138–139) distinguishes four regular plural classes for Plautdietsch, as in Table 8 (see Reimer, Reimer & Thiessen 1983:27–28 for a similar analysis):

Table 8: Noun plural classes in Canadian Plautdietsch

Plural class	Examples
1. Plural with –e(n) (–re(n) after final /a/)	*Pogg ~ Pogg**e(n)*** 'frog(s)' *Koa ~ Koa**re(n)*** 'car(s)'
2. Plural with –(e)s (–sch after final /a/)	*Schlätel ~ Schlätel**s*** 'key(s)' *Baikja ~ Baikja**sch*** 'baker(s)'
3. Plural with –a (with possible umlaut)	*Steen ~ Steen**a*** 'stone(s)' *Brat ~ Br**äda*** 'board(s)'
4. Plural with –Ø (with possible umlaut and/or final obstruent voicing)	*Foot ~ F**ee**t* 'foot, feet' *Frint ~ Frin**d*** 'friend(s)' *Faut ~ F**äd*** 'barrel(s)'

Other analyses sometimes propose subclasses of these paradigms to account for different phonological alternations, particularly concerning changes to stem forms seen in Classes 3 and 4 above (cf. Mierau 1964). In addition to these regular classes, irregular plural forms exist, as well (e.g., *Staul ~ Stalinj* 'barn(s)', *Woold ~ Weela* 'forest(s)', *Hoof ~ Heefta* 'hoof, hooves').

Both historical and recent loan words are typically assigned to Classes 1 or 2, which are open and synchronically productive: *Bockelzhonn ~ Bockelzhonne(n)* 'tomato(es)' (Class 1, from Russian *baklažan*), *Mejall ~ Mejalles* 'girl(s)' (Class 2, from Latvian *mergẽlė*, Lithuanian *mẽrǵele*, or Kashubian *marjäla*; cf. Siemens (2012:207)), *Pracha ~ Prachasch* 'beggar(s)' (Class 2, from Kashubian *praxǒř*; Siemens (2012:210)). English nominal loans into Canadian Plautdietsch typically appear in Class 2, which is phonologically closest to English plural *–s*: *Auga ~ Augasch* 'auger(s)', *Betschla ~ Betschlasch* 'bachelor(s)', *Trock ~ Trocks* 'truck(s)'.[7]

4.2 Verbal morphosyntax

Verbs in Plautdietsch express tense, modality, voice, person, number, and, more marginally, aspect. Several of these categories are marked synthetically on inflected verb forms (e.g., present and preterite tenses, person, number), while others are expressed analytically through multi-verb constructions involving finite lexical or auxiliary verbs and non-finite verbal complements (infinitives, past participles, and present participles). The following sections present the major inflectional classes of Plautdietsch verbs (4.2.1), and consider constructions related to tense, modality, voice, and aspect in more detail (4.2.2–4.2.4).

4.2.1 Verbal inflectional classes

As in other Germanic languages, verbs in Canadian Plautdietsch are

conventionally divided into two major inflectional classes based on how their preterite and past participle forms are marked. In the first class, the so-called 'weak' verbs, preterite and past participle forms are marked by the addition of the suffix *–d/–t* (marked in boldface below) after the verb stem:

(5) Inflection of weak verb *ranne(n)* 'to run'[8]

PRES	SG	PL
1	*rann*	*ranne(n)*
2	*rannst*	*ranne(n)*
3	*rannt*	*ranne(n)*

PRET	SG	PL
1	*rann**d***	*rann**d**e(n)*
2	*rans**d***	*rann**d**e(n)*
3	*rann**d***	*rann**d**e(n)*

Past participle	*jerann**t***
Imperative (SG)	*rann!*
Imperative (PL)	*rannt!*

There are several subclasses of weak verbs that feature the suffix *–d/–t*, but differ from the above example in how certain inflected forms are marked. In the case of verbs ending in *–eare(n)*, as in (6) below, 2SG forms take the allomorph *–zhd* /ʒd/,[9] and do not usually have past participle forms with the prefix *je–* found in most other Plautdietsch verbs (see Baerg 1960:193 on variation in past participle prefixation):

(6) Inflection of weak verb *spazeare(n)* 'to visit'

PRES	SG	PL
1	*spazea*	*spazeare(n)*
2	*spazeascht*	*spazeare(n)*
3	*spazeat*	*spazeare(n)*

PRET	SG	PL
1	*spazea**d***	*spazea**d**e(n)*
2	*spazea**zhd***	*spazea**d**e(n)*
3	*spazea**d***	*spazea**d**e(n)*

Past participle	*(je)spazead*
Imperative (SG)	*spazea!*
Imperative (PL)	*spazeat!*

By contrast, the other major class of Plautdietsch verbs, the so-called 'strong' verbs, are marked by stem vowel ablaut and have past participle forms

ending in *–e(n)*. Siemens (2012:171–179) offers a recent, synchronic analysis of Plautdietsch strong verbs, dividing them into three classes based on their stem ablaut pattern (with each class having two phonologically determined subclasses, depending on the coda of the stem). These classes are summarized in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Strong verb classes in Plautdietsch

Strong verb class	Infinitive	Preterite (3SG)	Past participle
Class I (*ea ~ ää* before stem coda /j/, /ç/)	*schrieejen* 'to scream'	*schr**ea**g*	*jeschr**ää**je(n)*
Class I (*ee ~ ä* elsewhere)	*jriepe(n)* 'to catch'	*jr**ee**p*	*jejr**ä**pe(n)*
Class II (*ua ~ oa,* typically before velar stem coda)	*bräakje(n)* 'to break'	*br**ua**k*	*jebr**oa**ke(n)*
Class II (*oo ~ o* elsewhere)	*stähle(n)* 'to steal'	*st**oo**hl*	*jest**o**hle(n)*
Class III (*u ~ u* typically before stem coda / nC/)	*binje(n)* 'to tie'	*b**u**nk*	*jeb**u**nge(n)*
Class III (*o~o* elsewhere)	*halpe(n)* 'to help'	*h**o**lp*	*jeh**o**lpe(n)*

Not all verbs fall neatly into one of these two regular inflectional classes. Irregular verbs sometimes appear with both the weak verb *–d/–t* suffix in their preterite forms and show stem vowel ablaut in their past participles, as in *fröage(n)* 'to ask' in Table 10 below. Similarly, in some other verbs, there may be stem vowel ablaut in the past participle and the weak verb suffix *–d/–t* in the preterite, as in *schliepe(n)* 'to grind',[10] or there may be both vowel change and *–d/–t* suffixation in the preterite and past participle forms, as in *denkje(n)* 'to think':

Table 10: Irregular verb classes in Plautdietsch

Irregular class	Infinitive	Preterite (3SG)	Past participle
Ablaut in preterite, suffix *–d/–t* in past participle	*fröage(n)*	*fruag*	*jefröagt*
Suffix *–d/–t* in preterite, ablaut in past participle	*schliepe(n)*	*schliepd*	*jeschläpe(n)*
Ablaut and suffix *–d/–t* in both preterite and past participle	*denkje(n)*	*docht*	*jedocht*

There is variability between varieties of Canadian Plautdietsch in how some verbs are assigned to strong, weak, and irregular classes. In some varieties, for instance, *läse(n)* 'to read' and *growe(n)* 'to dig' are strong verbs with past participles *jeläse(n)* and *jegrowe(n)*, while other varieties treat these as irregular with the past participle *jeläst* and *jegrowt* (cf. Baerg 1960:199–200; Siemens 2012:174, 177). While some of these cases may be due to inflectional levelling, most strong and irregular verbs appear to be stable in most varieties. Both strong and irregular verbs represent closed lexical classes; new verbs, whether borrowed or coined, are consistently treated as weak verbs in Canadian Plautdietsch.

4.2.2 Tense

Canadian Plautdietsch has four tenses: present, preterite, perfect, and pluperfect. The present and preterite tenses are formed synthetically through suffixation and/or ablaut, while the perfect and pluperfect are formed analytically through verbal complementation constructions.

The present tense is marked by inflectional suffixes on the verb stem indicating subject person and number (and, in the case of 2s and 3s forms of some strong and irregular verbs like *bräakjen* 'to break' in (7), stem vowel ablaut, as well). With weak verbs, the preterite is formed by a distinct set of inflectional suffixes on the verb stem indicating subject person and number, as in (5) and (6) above. With strong verbs, the preterite is expressed by stem vowel ablaut and a distinct pattern of subject person-number suffixation (with 3s –Ø), as in (8) below.

(7) Present-tense inflectional endings for the strong verb *bräakje(n)* 'to break'

PRES	SG	PL
1	*bräakj*	*bräakj**e(n)***
2	*braikj**st***	*bräakj**e(n)***
3	*braikj**t***	*bräakj**e(n)***

(8) Preterite-tense inflectional endings for the strong verb *bräakje(n)* 'to break'

PRET	SG	PL
1	*bruak*	*bruak**e(n)***
2	*bruak**st***	*bruak**e(n)***
3	*bruak*	*bruak**e(n)***

The perfect and pluperfect are expressed through the combination of the auxiliary verbs *habe(n)* 'to have' or *senne(n)* 'to be' with a past participle complement. As in (9) below, the present-tense form of the modal is used in perfect tense constructions, while the preterite form of the modal appears

with the pluperfect, as in (10):

(9) Perfect-tense inflection for the strong verb *bräakje(n)* 'to break'

PRES	SG	PL
1	***hab*** *jebröake(n)*	***habe(n)*** *jebröake(n)*
2	***hast*** *jebröake(n)*	***habe(n)*** *jebröake(n)*
3	***haft*** *jebröake(n)*	***habe(n)*** *jebröake(n)*

(10) Pluperfect-tense inflection for the strong verb *bräakje(n)* 'to break'

PRES	SG	PL
1	***haud*** *jebröake(n)*	***haude(n)*** *jebröake(n)*
2	***haudst*** *jebröake(n)*	***haude(n)*** *jebröake(n)*
3	***haud*** *jebröake(n)*	***haude(n)*** *jebröake(n)*

4.2.3 Modality

Canadian Plautdietsch distinguishes three moods: indicative, imperative, and subjunctive. Imperative forms are derived from the verb stem, as in (5) and (6) above. Singular imperatives having no overt suffix (e.g., *rann!* 'run! (sg.)'), while plural imperatives have the suffix *–t* (e.g., *rann**t!*** 'run! (pl.)').[11]

Singular and plural imperative forms are found in all Canadian Plautdietsch varieties, but show substantial differences in their usage (Howell & Klassen 1971). Some communities employ only these two forms, paralleling French *tu–vous*, while other communities have a three-way distinction, mirroring Standard German *du–ihr–Sie*. Table 11 summarizes the typical social uses of these forms across Canadian Plautdietsch speech communities.

Table 11: Social uses of imperative forms in Canadian Plautdietsch

Pattern A	Pattern B	Contexts of use
du	*du*	Single human addressee of same age or younger than speaker Low degree of social distance, formality, politeness Non-human addressee (e.g., animals, God in prayer)
ji	*ji*	Plural interlocutors of same age or younger than speaker Low degree of social distance, formality, politeness
	Se	Singular or plural addressee(s) older than speaker Heightened degree of social distance, formality, politeness

The subjunctive mood is now formally indistinguishable from indicative preterite forms, with some historical subjunctive forms (e.g., *kjeem* 'came', *neehm* 'took') now appearing as variants of indicative preterite forms in some varieties (cf. Siemens 2012:178–179). Even so, the subjunctive function is still present in many conditional clauses like (11):

(11) ***Haud*** *ekj daut mau bloos jewisst,* [...]
have:SBJV.1S I that only just know:PST.PTCP
'If I had only known that, […]'
(Reimer, Reimer & Thiessen 1983:31)

4.2.4 Voice and aspect

Canadian Plautdietsch distinguishes two voices: active and passive. Passive voice is expressed analytically through the combination of a finite form of *woare(n)* 'to become, get' with a complement past participle, as in (12) below:

(12) *Oba Plautdietsch* ***woat*** *lang nich äwareen* ***jerädt****.*
but Plautdietsch gets long not same speak:PST.PTCP
'But Plautdietsch is certainly not spoken uniformly.'
(Driedger 2011:11)

Aspect is more marginal as a verbal category. As Reimer, Reimer & Thiessen (1983:31) note, progressive aspect is still apparent in present participles, which are formed regularly with the suffix *–end* on verb stems, but is rare in actual usage outside of derived adjectives, as in (13):

(13) *Daut Holt em Heitza knostad un de*
the wood in.the heater cracked and the
jleajende *Lauten kjnikjaden un*
glowing logs crackled and
daunzden aum Bähn.
danced on.the ceiling
'The wood in the heater cracked and the glowing logs crackled and (their light)danced on the ceiling.' (Fehr 2005:90–91)

4.3 Word order

Varieties of Plautdietsch spoken in Canada employ different surface orders of clausal constituents in different clause types. In declarative main clauses, finite verbs appear as the second constituent (V_2), with non-finite verbal complements and separable verb prefixes appearing towards the end of the clause, as in (14). In subordinate clauses, finite verbs appear together with

non-finite verbs towards the end of the clause (V_{Final}), as in (15):

(14) Oohm Fraunz siene Fruu **haud** dän väajen Dag **jebackt**
Mister Franz his wife had the preceding day bake:PST.PTCP
'Mister (or minister) Franz's wife had baked the day before.' (Fehr 2001:14)

(15) Faust wisst, daut he ditmol fer'et Läwe **wudd striede motte**
Fast knew that he this.time for.the life would fight.INF must.INF
'Fast knew that he would have to fight for his life this time.' (Epp 1972:57)

Other clause types sometimes involve different orders of verbal constituents. Typically, interrogative clauses representing polar (yes-no) questions have verb-initial (V_1) structure, with any overt subject appearing after the verb, as in (16a). Some rhetorical questions (typically accompanied by the emphatic particle *oba*) share this same constituent order, as in (16b):

(16) a. ***Habe*** ***se*** *däah noh'm Knochenarzt jenohme?*
have they her to.the bone.doctor take:PST.PTCP
'Have they taken her to the chiropractor?' (Epp 1972:114)

b. [He meend,] "***Es*** *mi* ***dit*** *oba*
he opined is to.me this EMPH
aulatoop vedorwen."
altogether ruined
'[He said,] "Well, if this hasn't all been ruined for me."' (Fehr 2001:39)

Imperative clauses also typically show V_1 order, as in (17), as do cohortative clauses, as in (18). Imperatives frequently omit an overt subject, but pronominal subjects can still appear after the initial verb, as in the example below:

(17) ***Doo*** ***du*** *vondöag [un ekj woa morjen]*
do.IMP.SG you.SG today and I will tomorrow
'You do today [and I'll do tomorrow('s work)].' (Fehr 1993:52)

(18) ***Well'*** ***wi*** *omzaicht* *oabeiden*
want we in.turns work.INF
'Let's take turns working.' (Fehr 1993:52)

Likewise, V_1 constituent order also appears in some conditional clauses, as in (19) below. These kinds of conditional clauses are less common than ones introduced by *wan* 'if', which typically have the same V_{Final} constituent order as other subordinate clauses. Finally, V_1 constituent order is sometimes used as a means of introducing events in narratives, as in (20).

(19) ***Haud*** *he* *kunnt* *siene* *Kjeaj* *vekjeepen,*
had he could.PST.PTCP his cows sell.INF

[wudd he sea rikj jewast senn'.]
'Had he been able to sell his cows, [he would have been very rich].'
(Contributor M04, 2011-08-02 (02), 04m54s910–05m04s030; cf. Cox 2015)

(20) ***Fraigt*** *de* *Maun* *siene* *niee* *Bruut:* [...]
asks the man his new bride
'(So) the man asks his new bride: […]' (Driedger 2011:38)

Both finite and non-finite verbs may introduce verbs as complements, which sometimes leads to chains of verbal complements appearing close to one another near the ends of clauses (cf. Bech 1955; Evers 1975; Kaufmann 2003; Kaufmann 2007). The preferred orders of constituents in these verb clusters differs markedly between Canadian varieties of Plautdietsch (Cox 2008; Cox 2011). While variation is attested between many West Germanic languages in cognate constructions (cf. Wurmbrand 2004), it is not clear whether these differences between Canadian Plautdietsch speech communities should be attributed to inheritance (e.g., from similar differences between Dutch-Frisian and Flemish as possible substratal source languages for Mennonite Plautdietsch) or to more recent innovations induced by contact with languages like English and Spanish, where the surface order of verbal constituents shows much less variability. As in other aspects of Canadian Plautdietsch, influence from Standard German is likely a relevant factor here, as well, with forms of Plautdietsch assuming Standard German as their normative model generally showing less deviation from the complement orders permitted in

that language.

5 Lexicon

Considerable research has been conducted into the structure of the Plautdietsch lexicon, with much of this literature focusing on Canadian speech communities or their immediate forebears in Europe and western Asia (e.g., Quiring 1928:106–118; Wiens 1957; Thiessen 1963; Thiessen 2003; Thiessen 2006). This research has brought particular attention to historical strata of language contact reflected in the contemporary Plautdietsch lexicon. Table 12 summarizes major periods of language contact involving Mennonite Plautdietsch (with etymologies from Siemens (2012) where not otherwise noted):

Table 12: Periods of Plautdietsch language contact

Period	Contact languages	Example loan words
ca. 1550–1789	Dutch-Flemish, Frisian	*Eemskje* 'ant' (< Dutch *eemke*) *Kjast* 'wedding' (< Frisian *kest* 'choice'; cf. Nieuweboer & de Graaf (1994)) *lot* 'late' (< Dutch *laat*)
	Lithuanian, Latvian	*Kujel* 'boar' (< Old Prussian *cuylis*, Lithuanian *kuilỹs*, Latvian *kuilis*) *Kunta* 'gelding' (< Lithuanian *kunteris*) *Me(r)jall* 'girl' (< Old Prussian *mergo*, Lithuanian *mergẽlė*, Latvian *mẽrgėle*)
	Polish, Kashubian	*Blott* 'mud' (< Polish/Kashubian *błoto*) *Glomms* 'cottage cheese' (< Polish/Kashubian - *glomza*) *Kos* 'goat' (< Polish/Kashubian *koza*)
1789–1874	Russian, Ukrainian	*Bockelzhonn* 'tomato' (< Russian/Ukrainian *baklažan* 'eggplant') *Schessnikj* 'garlic' (< Russian *česnok*, Ukrainian *časnik*) *Laufkje* 'general store' (< Russian *lavka*)
1874–1922	Russian, Ukrainian (in Russian Empire/USSR)	*Kuchne* 'summer kitchen' (< Russian/Ukrainian *kuchnja*) *Plemennikj* 'nephew' (< Russian *plemjannik*, Ukrainian *plemynnik*)
	English (in Canada)	*Kottaluag* 'catalogue' (< English) *Stua* 'store' (< English) *Riefa* 'river' (< English)
1922–present	English, Spanish	*Jet* /dʒɛt/ 'jet; airplane' (< English) *Wratschen* 'sandals, slippers' (< Spanish *huaraches*)

Loan words and constructions from language contact in the earliest of these periods may, in some cases, predate Mennonite entry into the Vistula Delta, and instead be the result of prior contact between other Plautdietsch speakers and outside linguistic groups (cf. Mitzka 1930; Siemens 2012:204). Among Baltic and West Slavic borrowings, concrete nouns are most prevalent, and are often centerd on the domains of food (e.g., crops, fruits and vegetables, prepared foods) and agricultural life (e.g., farm animals and implements), although a limited number of verbs and adjectives are also posited to come from these languages. By comparison, Low Franconian and Frisian borrowings are more varied in their semantic domains, and also extend to include verbs (e.g., *feede(n)* 'to feed', *schobbe(n)* 'to scratch an itch'), adjectives and adverbs (e.g., *vondöag* 'today', *leeftolig* 'kind-hearted'), prepositions (e.g., *täajen* 'against, towards; in comparison to') and multi-word expressions (e.g., *'et / daut drock habe(n)* 'to be busy', from Dutch-Flemish *het druk hebben*; Siemens (2012:204). In terms of Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale, this suggests casual contact between speakers of Plautdietsch and Baltic and West Slavic languages (Level 1 on this scale), with slightly more intense to more intense contact (Levels 2–3) involving Dutch, Flemish, and Frisian. Loans from this earliest period also show the greatest degree of phonological and morphological integration into Plautdietsch, and are not generally recognized as borrowed terms by Canadian speakers.

While these earliest borrowings are common to all contemporary Plautdietsch varieties, later periods of loans show much more variability in their present-day distribution across speech communities. Many East Slavic borrowings are attested only among Mennonite immigrant groups who arrived in Canada after 1920, with many such lexical items being unfamiliar among the descendants of earlier Mennonite immigrants (cf. Epp 1993). Borrowings from East Slavic languages that are attested among all contemporary Mennonite Plautdietsch groups consist primarily of concrete nouns related to agriculture and basic commerce (e.g., *Borscht* '(beet) soup', *Wrennikje* 'perogies', *Schessnikj* 'garlic', *Poppaross* 'cigarette', *Peklatjes* 'washers, thin pieces of metal', *Laufkje* 'general store'). These nominal loans show thorough phonological and morphosyntactic integration; borrowings from other parts of speech are practically non-existent. This likely reflects the limited familiarity with dominant Slavic languages that historical accounts of early Mennonite settlement in the Russian Empire describe, with contact restricted by relatively closed, colonial systems of settlement and education (casual contact, or Level 1 on Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale). East Slavic loans among Plautdietsch-speaking communities who remained in the Russian Empire after the 1870s are considerably more common, and extend

to include kinship terms (e.g., *Plemennikj* 'nephew'), nicknames (e.g., *Wanja* 'Johnny', *Katja* 'Katie'), as well as lexical items related to education and civic institutions (e.g., *jegrommt* 'educated', *Chelodne* 'prison'). These forms show less phonological adaptation to Plautdietsch norms (e.g., word-initial /x/ is maintained as such). Taken together, the lexical outcomes of contact between East Slavic languages and these later immigrant groups reflect considerably greater familiarity with Russian social institutions and linguistic practices than is attested among earlier Mennonite immigrant groups, and likely represents Level 2 (slightly more intense contact) on Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale.

For Plautdietsch speakers in Canada, the most recent and intense period of language contact has been with English, especially as the degree of geographical and cultural separation between Plautdietsch and English-speaking communities rapidly decreased after the first decades of the 20th century. Widespread bilingualism in English contributes to frequent code mixing and code switching in casual discourse in many communities, as in examples (21) and (22) from a Mennonite church event in Saskatchewan in 1992:

(21) *He foaht vondöagdändag noch Koa, he haft noch <u>license</u>, un he haft noch kjeenmol 'en <u>accident</u> jehaut.*
'He still drives (his) car to this day, he still has (his) license, and he has never had an accident yet.'

In religious contexts such as these (in communities where Plautdietsch has become one of the languages of worship, possibly alongside Mennonite Standard German and/or English), code switching and mixing with Mennonite Standard German is also attested, and often serves to introduce fixed expressions or scriptural references retained from Mennonite Standard German's earlier use as the primary language of worship. Unlike with English, however, there is little evidence of active, oral compositional ability in Mennonite Standard German cases of code switching and code mixing (cf. Moelleken 1992b), although there are clear signs of familiarity with an extensive repertoire of religious and scriptural references that are conventionally encoded in that language, as in examples (22a–b).

(22) a. *Wäa dän Sinda bekjeaht haft, <u>von dem Irrtum seines Weges</u>, dee haft 'ne Seel vom Doot jeholpen.*
'Whoever turns a sinner back <u>from the error of his ways</u> has helped a soul from death.'

b. *Oba en Klagelieder dree Farzh tweeuntwintig, do' saigt ons daut: die Güte des Herrn es et, daut wi nich goa gaunz ut send. Siene Barmherzigkeit haft noch kjeen Enj, und daut haft ons daut de groota Gott aun disem Brooda, uk aun Oohm Hendrikjen, uk bewäsen. Siene Barmherzigkeit haud noch kjeen Enj.*

'But in Lamentations three verse twenty-two, it tells us: the goodness of the Lord is the reason that we're not completely without hope. His mercy has no end, and God has shown that through this brother, as well as through Pastor Heinrich. His mercy had no end.'

Discourse markers (e.g., *so* /so/ 'so', *see* /si/ 'see', *eniwä* /ˈɛnive/ 'anyway') from English are not uncommon in many Canadian Plautdietsch speech communities, although bilingualism causes the line between code mixing and borrowing to sometimes become blurred. Contact has also contributed to loan translations, as in (23), where the English *better V* construction has been mapped onto equivalent Plautdietsch forms:

(23) *[…] se*	***bäta***	***packen***	***opp***	*un*	*seehnen*	*trigj*	*noh*
they	better	pack	up	and	see	back	to
Saskatchewan too	*komen*	*[…]*					
Saskatchewan to	come.INF						

'[…] they **better pack up** and see to getting back to Saskatchewan […]' (Fehr 1993:42)

Contact has also led to semantic shifts, where native Plautdietsch lexical items have come to be used in new contexts similar to their English equivalents. This is the case in (24), where the Plautdietsch verb *(sikj) wundre(n)* 'to wonder, marvel, to be perplexed' (Thiessen 2003, s.v. "wundre") now also appears in a non-reflexive, intransitive form *wundre(n)* 'to wonder, be curious to know', mirroring English usage:

(24) *Un ekj*	***wunda***	*eenzjemol,*	*wua*	*kjriggt*	*de*	*Onkel*	
and I	wonder	sometimes	where	gets	the	uncle	
aules	*häa.*						
everything	hither						

'And I sometimes **wonder**: "Where does the guy get it all from?"' (Fehr 1993:11)

The close typological alignment between English and Plautdietsch, coupled with widespread Plautdietsch-English bilingualism, contributes to the advancement of contact-related innovations in Canadian Plautdietsch. Even so, borrowing is generally restricted to Level 2 (slightly more intense contact) on Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale, with some function words and relatively minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic now appearing in Canadian Plautdietsch as a result of contact with English.

6 Conclusions

As a diasporic language having strong associations with a particular religious tradition, Plautdietsch is perhaps most readily compared to other Germanic languages spoken outside of their traditional linguistic territories by geographically disparate religious minorities, including Pennsylvania Dutch, Hutterian German, and Yiddish. Detailed sociolinguistic comparisons involving these languages represents a nascent area of research (but see Kloss 1989 for one notable exception). Both historical and present-day contact between Plautdietsch-speaking communities and these groups is documented, and merits further attention.

While comparisons with other Germanic-speaking religious minorities may provide insights into both parallel developments and areas of difference, Canadian Plautdietsch still most closely resembles varieties of Plautdietsch spoken elsewhere in the Russian Mennonite diaspora. Among these varieties, however, Canadian Plautdietsch stands out in several respects. For one, the intensity of sustained contact with English and the diminished role played by Mennonite Standard German in most Canadian Mennonite communities is otherwise found only among Plautdietsch-speaking communities in the United States. The diversity of Mennonite and non-Mennonite varieties of Plautdietsch represented in Canada is also largely without parallel, with different waves of immigration offering potential insight into the historical progression of linguistic changes across communities and periods of time that would be difficult to gain in communities with less extensive migration histories. Canadian Plautdietsch also represents an important point of comparison for studies involving other diasporic Plautdietsch-speaking groups. This is perhaps most relevant for those varieties spoken in thriving Plautdietsch speech communities in Latin America, many of whom have their origins in the Canadian Plautdietsch linguistic landscape, but also more generally for cross-community comparisons of the effects of language contact with outside linguistic majorities over time.

Such connections to other diasporic Plautdietsch speaker communities are

thus important for appreciating Canadian Plautdietsch in its proper context, but they also present challenges for attempts to draw a clear, uncontroversial boundary around what should be considered 'Canadian' Plautdietsch. Under this seemingly innocuous cover term, it is not uncommon to find individuals and families with strong ties to diasporic groups elsewhere, often through extended kinship networks separated by emigration or exile. The traditional view of diasporic Russian Mennonite communities as linguistic enclaves (*Sprachinseln*), isolated from one another amidst dominant outside linguistic majorities (and thus seemingly presenting ideal test cases for observing parallel linguistic changes in progress; cf. Klassen 1969:19) is challenged by extensive inter-group contact and the increasing mobility of individual speakers between diasporic settlements. Indeed, mobility within the diaspora is a hallmark of many Plautdietsch speech communities today, and the striking diversity of individual linguistic attitudes, experiences, and competencies that accompany this mobility present new challenges for ongoing sociolinguistic and linguistic research.

Canadian Plautdietsch also stands out among many extraterritorial Germanic varieties in its general vitality. Taken as a whole, Plautdietsch is still spoken by a significant population in Canada, and instances of stable, intergenerational language transmission are widely attested. Yet, marked differences in vitality exist between individual Canadian speech communities. Most Plautdietsch varieties spoken by Catholics and non-traditionalist Mennonites are now moribund, and, in the absence of revitalization efforts, are likely to disappear in the coming decades, as has been the case in formerly Plautdietsch-speaking communities throughout the American midwest (Buchheit 1982; Buchheit 1988; Moelleken 1994). In contrast, trans-statal and other traditionalist Mennonite groups show considerably greater linguistic vitality, with most children still learning Plautdietsch as at least one of their first languages in most such communities. Even where intergenerational language loss is encountered among these groups, ongoing migration between Canada and the rapidly expanding speaker communities in Latin America continues to ensure that these varieties are in no danger of disappearing from Canada in the foreseeable future.

This shift in the proportional representation of different speaker groups has significant consequences for the overall linguistic character of Canadian Plautdietsch, and thus also for the direction of future research involving Canadian Plautdietsch speech communities. In the case of non-traditionalist communities, this demographic transition arguably calls for deeper engagement with baseline documentation and description in collaboration with the remaining proficient speakers of these communities' varieties, bearing in mind the potential use of such information in both present linguistic

research and future revitalization efforts. For traditionalist and trans-statal communities, this shift brings increased attention to and encourages further appreciation of the linguistic practices and attitudes of these groups, who have long been marginalized in Mennonite linguistic research, but who are now increasingly the primary representatives of Plautdietsch in Canada. The range of contrasts and seeming paradoxes presented by Plautdietsch in Canada—of intercontinental mobility alongside fixed, agrarian settlements; of increasingly critical levels of linguistic endangerment alongside instances of exceptional vitality; of extreme underdocumentation of some varieties alongside extensive lexical and grammatical descriptions of others—hint at the richness of the linguistic situation encountered in contemporary speech communities, and invite further attention in linguistic research.

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Notes

[1] Epp draws these numbers from an earlier study by Kloss and McConnell (1978). This same study apparently forms the basis of the estimate presented in Salminen (2007), which in turn serves as the source of information in the current Ethnologue entry on Plautdietsch in Canada (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016). For his part, Epp appears to doubt these estimates, commenting elsewhere that a significantly lower number of L1 Canadian Plautdietsch speakers seems more plausible (Epp 1993:122).

[2] The same features commonly cited as points of differentiation between Chortitza and Molochnaya Plautdietsch (e.g., variation in -e(n) endings, /oa/ realized as [œa] or [oa] before non-palatal velars, etc.) are also reported by members of the Catholic Plautdietsch-speaking community in Canada as being present in their varieties. While certainly not ruling out the relevance of colonial settlement histories on the development of distinctive varieties of Mennonite Plautdietsch, given that Catholic Plautdietsch speakers did not participate significantly in either of the primary Russian Mennonite colonies, it seems probable that these particular features are historical retentions from earlier forms of Plautdietsch spoken in Poland, rather than innovations from settlement in the Russian Empire.

[3] Some analyses omit schwa from phonemic inventory, arguing instead that it should be treated as an unstressed allophone of /ɛ/ (cf. Kanakin & Wall 1994).

[4] This variability is attested in varieties of Plautdietsch spoken outside of Canada, as well. Three-case systems are also reported by Quiring (1928) and Jedig (1966) in Ukraine and western Siberia, respectively, and two-case systems are noted by Klassen (1969) and Nieuweboer (1999) for western Siberia and Buchheit (1978) for Nebraska.

[5] See Goerzen (1950:114–115) and Jedig (1966:67) for further examples of such constructions, and Siemens (2012:153) for discussion of naming practices in Plautdietsch-speaking communities.

[6] In particular, Jedig (1966), in a discussion of the merger of nominative and accusative-dative case marking on adjectives in western Siberian Plautdietsch, noted that the sentence "I gave the little girl a ripe apple" (Standard German: *ich gab dem kleinen Mädchen einen reifen Apfel*, featuring both dative and accusative case marking) was rendered into Plautdietsch by most speakers as *ekj gauf daut kjleene Mäatje een riepa Aupel*, with no dative and accusative marking on articles and adjectives. In constrast, representatives of the older generation, and

particularly "avid readers" (i.e. of Standard German works), Jedig reports, tended to construct this same sentence as *ekj gauf dem kjleenen Mäatjen eenen riepen Aupel*, with full dative and accusative marking. When it was commented that most other speakers did not make these distinctions, the morphologically more conservative group, Jedig states, typically responded that others simply "speak wrong" (73–74). No similar response is noted from the morphologically less conservative group. An association between these case distinctions and 'proper' speech would thus seem likely, though Jedig's analysis admittedly does not present sufficient evidence to conclude that these older speakers have not simply retained case distinctions from earlier forms of Plautdietsch which other speakers have since lost, or that such all dative-accusative distinctions made by the morphologically-conservative group were as clear-cut as this example suggests (cf. Nieuweboer 1999:157–158).

[7] See Cox (2013:62–67) 2013: 62–67 for related discussion of adaptation of English nouns into Canadian and Mexican-descended Plautdietsch varieties spoken in Bolivia.

[8] As Baerg (1960:209–211) points out, there are a number of allomorphs of 2SG preterite forms, generally depending on the final consonant or vowel of the stem. These are not discussed further here.

[9] This allomorph is shared with weak verbs ending in *–re(n)* and *–le(n)*, which also form distinct subclasses of weak verbs.

[10] While Siemens (2012:177) has *schliepd* 'ground' as the preterite form of *schliepe(n)* 'to grind, polish, whet, sharpen', some Canadian Plautdietsch speakers also have the form *schleep*; cf. Thiessen (2003:213, s.v. "schliepe").

[11] While almost all imperatives are regular, a few strong and irregular verbs have unexpected imperative forms, e.g., *nähme(n)* 'to take', imper.sg *nemm*, imper.pl *nemmt*.

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William D. Keel

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

1 Introduction: Historical background

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 **Sociohistorical and sociolinguistic aspects**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4 Morphosyntax

4.1 Nouns and adjectives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Masculine "accusatives" with the definite article:

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

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

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

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

"Datives" with the definite article:

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

"Datives" without the definite article:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Definite articles:

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

Indefinite articles:

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

Possessive adjectives:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following tables summarize adjective endings in the Victoria dialect:

Following definite articles:

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

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

4.2 The verb phrase in the Victoria/Herzog dialect

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1) Simple verb: The verb *sin* 'to be' has no distinctive past perfect as such. In sentences where past perfect would occur with other verbs, the verb *sin* appears in its simple past tense form: *Nochdem dass ich bei den Dokter waar, . . .* 'After I had been at the doctor's, . . .'
2) Auxiliary verb and past participle: Verbs whose past tense auxiliary verb is *sin* form the past perfect with the simple past tense of *sin* (*waar*) and the past participle of the verb in question: *Wie ich bei den Dokter gang waar, . . .* 'When I had been at the doctor's, . . .'
3) Auxiliary verb and double past participle: Verbs whose past tense auxiliary verb is *han* form the past perfect with the present tense forms of the auxiliary verb *han* combined with the past participles of both the main verb and the auxiliary verb *han*: *Nochdem dass ich e Brief gschrieb hot ghat, . . .* 'After I had written a letter, . . .'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Samples of preterite-present verbs:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3 Word order

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 Lexicon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 Conclusions

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

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Mark L. Louden

Pennsylvania Dutch

1 Historical and sociolinguistic background

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Vowels

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

In modern Pennsylvania Dutch there are two diphthongs, [aɪ] and [ɔɪ]. The latter diphthong occurs in both Lancaster and Midwestern varieties, e.g., *Moi* [mɔɪ] ‘May’; *Hoi* [hɔɪ] ‘hay’. The distribution of [aɪ] varies between the two varieties. Lancaster varieties in this respect are more conservative and preserve the diphthong inherited from Palatine German, as in [daɪʧ] ‘PA Dutch, German’, whereas in Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch, [aɪ] has been monophthongized to [ɛ:], as in [dɛ:ʧ]. There is incipient monopthongization of [aɪ] in Lancaster varieties before the liquids [ɹ, ɬ], e.g., *mir heiere* [mi:ɐ hɛ:ɹ]

Table 1: Long monophthongs in Pennsylvania Dutch

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

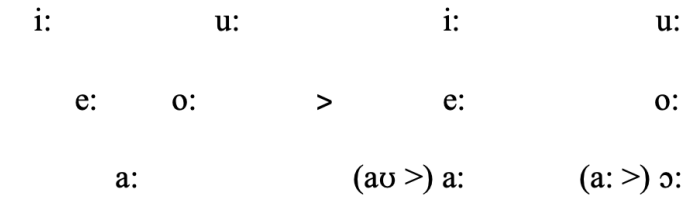
'we marry'; *Meil* [mɛ:ɬ] 'mile'. Conversely, in Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch [aɪ] is retained before unstressed central [ə, ɐ], e.g., *mir heiere* [mi:ɐ haɪərə] 'we marry'; *ich heier* [ʔɪç haɪɐ] 'I marry' (Louden 1997: 81). The difference between [aɪ] and [ɛ:] is the most salient shibboleth between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

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

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

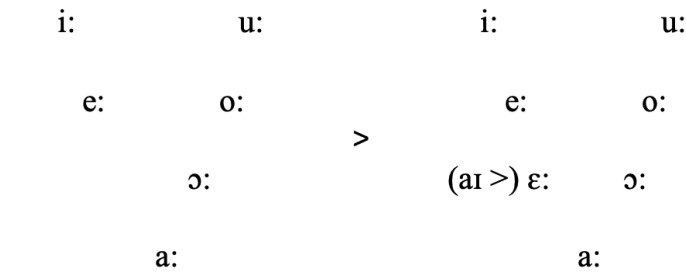
The historical development of the long vowel system of Pennsylvania Dutch likely proceeded as follows. Already in Palatine German, there is evidence that monophthongization of [aʊ] and backing and rounding [aː] were underway. For example, the entry in the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch* (Christmann et al. 1965–1998)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

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



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

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



The system of short vowels in Pennsylvania Dutch involves three levels of height and three levels of backness, as shown in table 2:

Table 2: Short monophthongs in Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

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

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

2.2 Consonants

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

Table 3: Consonants in Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

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

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

Table 4: Lenition in the history of Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

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

2.3 Loanword phonology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Morphosyntax

3.1 Nominal morphosyntax

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

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

Table 7a: Personal pronouns in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

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

Table 7b: Personal pronouns in modern Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

Table 8a: Definite articles in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

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

Table 8b: Definite articles in conservative Midwestern Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

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

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

Table 9a: Strong adjective declension in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 10a: Weak adjective declension in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

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

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

WEAK DECLENSION	masculine	neuter	feminine	plural
Common	ø			-i

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

Table 11a: Possessive articles in Pennsylvania Dutch

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

Table 11b: Possessive article declension in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

Table 12a: Mixed adjective declension in historical Pennsylvania Dutch

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

Table 12b: Mixed adjective declension in modern Pennsylvania Dutch

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

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

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

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

3.2 Verbal morphosyntax

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3 Clause structure

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

(13)

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

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

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

(14)

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

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

(15)

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

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

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

(16)

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

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

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

(17)

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

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

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

(18)

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

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

(19)

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

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

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

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

(20)

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

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

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

(21)

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

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

(22)

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

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

(23)

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

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

(24)

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

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

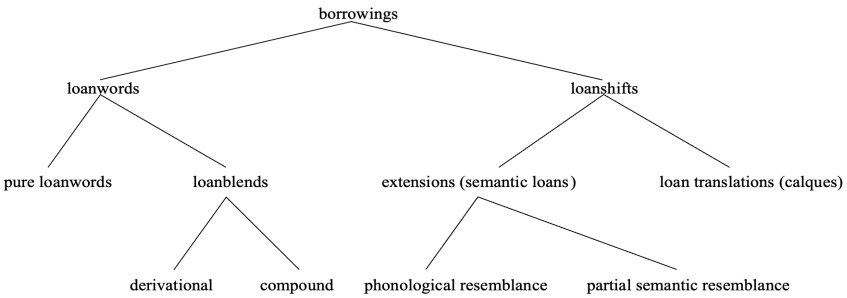
Although Pennsylvania Dutch maintains the basic clausal structure of European German (whereby the left and right verbal brackets are separated by a middle field) as well as the asymmetry between main and subordinate

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

4 Lexicon

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

(25) Typology of lexical borrowing based on Haugen 1969, Winford 2003: 45



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 Conclusions

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

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

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Moundridge (Kansas) Schweitzer German

1 Introduction: Historical background

Moundridge Schweitzer German (MSG) is a strictly oral moribund heritage variety of German spoken in and around Moundridge, Kansas, approximately 30 miles northeast of Wichita. They are a community of Mennonites whose dialect most closely resembles Eastern Palatinate. Today, there are estimated to be fewer than three dozen speakers remaining, all over the age of 65. The speakers are approximately the third or fourth generation of MSG speakers in the area, and also the last. In this chapter, we will present the historical background, describe sociolinguistic aspects, and discuss a number of distinctive linguistic features of the MSG community.

Moundridge is one of two settlements populated in the late 19th century by Anabaptist immigrants who originated from the northwestern region of Switzerland. After leaving Switzerland in 1670/71 for the Palatinate region of Germany due to religious persecution, the community settled in the Eastern Palatinate region of Germany, where they remained for nearly one hundred years. During their time in this region, the language of the community acquired features that define it still today as a Palatinate variety (Putnam 2012). The community emigrated to Russia (1784-1872) – specifically Galicia and Volhynia –, where an Anabaptist colony was formed together with settlers from Bern, Switzerland, and Northern Germany. In this Russian colony, Palatinate served as the common language of communication ("Ausgleichsmundart," Rein 1977: 204) among the various Swiss and German dialects spoken there. The time in the Russian colony was a period of relative linguistic stability, reinforced by societal isolation. Some Russian lexical items were adopted (in particular food items), but the variety of German that came

with these Mennonites to the United States in the 1870s was Palatinate. The community formed two settlements, one in Moundridge, Kansas and one in Freeman, South Dakota. The settlement in Moundridge is adjacent to a much larger Low German-speaking settlement of Mennonites that was also founded in the 1870s.

Emigration from Russia was prompted by several factors. First, mandatory military service was introduced. Being pacifists, the Anabaptists sought a new location for their community. Another development was the establishment of Russian as a mandatory language for education (Moelleken 1987; Brandt 1992). This infringed on the community's religious and ethnic identity. The opportunity to acquire inexpensive land existed in the United States at the time, due to the founding of the Sante Fe and Kansas Pacific railroads, and the Homestead Act of 1862. "The new settlers had the opportunity to acquire a farmstead either free under the provisions of the Homestead Act (1862) or relatively cheaply from one of the transcontinental railroad companies" (Keel 2006a: 33). The Homestead Act allowed an unsettled parcel of land to be settled under the condition that the settler was over the age of 21 and had never taken up arms against the United States government (Huston 2004). Kansas was touted as a place where settlers could find freedom: both religious and ideological. Sent as a recruiter for the Santa Fe railroad, Carl Bernhard Schmidt traveled a number of times to Europe and brought back over 60,000 German-speaking settlers to the region (Keel 2006a: 36). Additionally, other institutions already existed in Kansas, such as the German-language abolitionist newspaper "Kansas Zeitung" (Keel 2006a: 30), which signaled to the settlers that they would find like-minded people.

During the first few decades, the communities were largely religiously homogeneous and, therefore, remained self-contained and isolated. While Mennonites were the most numerous of the German-speaking settlers (Rein, 1977: 8), Jews, Catholics, Lutherans and other protestant denominations settled in their own enclaves throughout Kansas (Keel 2006b: 14). In the immediate vicinity of Moundridge, in McPherson County, the two primary communities were the Palatinate-speaking Mennonites and Low German-speaking Mennonites. According to our MSG informants, there was little interaction between the two settlements. The Kansas Mennonite community in general, though, established a weekly newspaper, "Der Herold" (1909-41), which was published until 1916 entirely in German, then slowly transitioned to English, with the first entirely English edition being published under the name "Mennonite Weekly Review" in 1922 (Keel 2006a: 42). Within their own community, the MSG speakers set up schools and churches in which High German was used as the language of instruction and scripture. According to our informants, the use of German at home and on a monthly basis at church continued into the 1940s.

2 Sociohistorical and sociolinguistic aspects

Remnants of the more densely populated German-speaking communities in Kansas still exist today, but are in decline. This includes the communities of the Volga Germans in Ellis and Russell counties, Low German speakers in Marshall and Washington counties, Mennonite Low German speakers in Marion, McPherson and Reno counties, and Swiss Germans in Nemaha County, as well as the Mennonite Palatinate speakers in McPherson County to which the MSG community belongs (Keel 2006a: 30). The remaining speakers of the dialects in McPherson County have established a heritage event held at the local college in North Newton, Kansas. This "Fall Fest" features theater productions or traditional performances by the Low German and MSG speakers (Keel 2006a). Keel (2006a: 43) views such events as the "final stage" of these speech communities, as they are an effort to maintain what is left of the language and their heritage.

Today, there are estimated to be less than three dozen remaining speakers of MSG, all over the age of 65. The most proficient speakers who report learning MSG as their first language are all over the age of 80. We view the Moundridge community as a case of *bilingualism without diglossia* in the sense of Fishman (1980). Individuals are bilingual, yet there is no community or institutionalized support for the heritage dialect. This a result of strong language contact over the years between the Mennonite and the English-speaking communities. Although the heritage dialect was maintained for approximately four generations, the remaining speakers are dominant in English and report using their German less than one hour per week primarily to greet one another, for the occasional interjection or quick exchange, as slang, or a "secret language" (2014 interviews).

What led to the decline of German in this community? Interviews with our informants have revealed that, in previous generations, English was viewed as the more practical language, as it permitted entry into the English-speaking society and workforce. During the early-mid 20th century, members of the community began sending their children to the English-speaking schools and the churches began holding their services in English. At the same time, informants report that speaking German was frowned upon during the world wars, and even discouraged (2014 interviews) while the informants were in school. According to Keel (2006a) such sentiments accelerated the process of assimilation to English. Ultimately, little attention was paid to maintaining the language, but today, the remaining speakers have recognized the importance of their language for the community's heritage.

3 Phonetics and phonology

The phonology of MSG is very similar to that of its sister colony in Freeman, SD, described by Rein (1977). Both varieties share many traits with Palatinate dialects, such as the lack of front rounded vowels and the diphthong /ɔɪ/ (often transcribed [ɔʏ]) found in many other varieties of German including Modern Standard German. The phonemic inventory of MSG vowels in stressed syllables is given in (1):

(1) Vowel inventory in stressed syllables
/iː/ tierchen [diːrçən] 'little animal'
/eː/ zeh [tseː] 'ten'
/uː/ bu [buː] 'boy', cf. German *Bube*
/oː/ wo [woː] 'where'
/aː/ glas [glaːs] 'glass'
/ɪ/ ausgschidelt [aʊsgʃɪɾl̩t] 'shaken out', cf. German *ausgeschüttelt*
/ɛ/ bett [bɛt] 'bed'
/ʊ/ hund [hʊnt] 'dog'
/ɔ/ grot [grɔt] 'frog',
/a/ wasser [vasər] 'water'
/aʊ/ baum [baʊm] 'tree'
/aɪ/ sei [zaɪ] 'his'

Three vowels are found in unstressed syllables, /ə/, /ɨ/ and /ʊ/. The vowel /ə/ is often found in plural endings as well as in unstressed affixes whereas the /ɨ/ is often found in adjective endings and in epenthetic vowels as shown in (2):

(2) Vowels in unstressed syllables
/ə/ grotte [grɔtə] 'frogs'
/ɨ/ deitschi [daɪtʃɨ] 'German+NOM.PL', karrich [karɨç] 'church'
/ʊ/ zeitung [tsaɪtʊŋ] 'newspaper'

Several of the speakers in our study appeared to have merged MSG /a/ and /ɔ/. In a study of low back merger in the speech of two MSG speakers, Joo et al. (to appear) measured F1, F2, and duration of realizations of MSG /a/ and /ɔ/ and of American English (AE) /ɑ/ and /ɔ/, the vowels in cot and caught respectively. They found that both speakers clearly distinguished AE /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ spectrally. One speaker also showed significant differences in measurements of F1 and F2 for MSG /a/ and /ɔ/ an indication that the vowels were contrastive. For the other speaker, differences in the measurements of F1, F2, F3 and duration between MSG /a/ and /ɔ/ were not significant, an

indication that the vowels may be merged or nearly merged. There is no evidence that contact with American English played a role in the apparent low back merger of this speaker, since he clearly maintains a contrast between the low back vowels /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ in American English.

The consonant inventories include two series of stops, which only contrast word-initially for /p/ and /b/ and word-medially for /t/ and /d/ except in loanwords such as teacher that have an initial /t/. There is also no voicing contrast in final position due to final devoicing. Examples are given in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1. Stops in MSG

	Initial	Medial	Final
Labial /p/	[paː] 'Pa'	---	[kɔp] 'head'
/b/	[buː]	[blaɪbə] 'stay'	---
Alveolar /t/	---	[grɔtə] 'frogs'	[hʊnt] 'dog', [gərɛt] 'talked'
/d/	[doːt] 'dead'	[rɛɾe] 'talk INF', [rʊndər] 'down', cf. German *herunter*	---
Velar /k/	[kuː] 'cow'	[fərʃtɛkə] 'to hide'	[vɛk] 'way'
/g/	[geːt] 'geht'	[foːgəl] 'bird'	---

In initial position before vowels, there is a fortis ~ lenis opposition between /p/ and /b/ and between /k/ and /g/ as illustrated in Table 3.1. The contrast between /p/ and /b/ is only found in this position, whereas the contrast between /k/ and /g/ is also found intervocalically. Initial fortis stops are lightly aspirated. In initial stop-liquid clusters, only lenis stops appear as in [glaɪn] 'small' and [grɔt] 'frog', compare Standard German *klein* [klaɪn] 'small' and *Kröte* [krøːtə] 'toad'. As is the case with many Palatinate-based German dialects in the Americas, there is not a contrast between voiceless aspirated alveolar stops and voiced alveolar stops in initial position in the native lexicon. Compare MSG [doːt] 'dead' with Standard German *tot* [tʰoːt] 'dead', MSG [daːk] 'day' with Standard German *Tag* [tʰaːk] 'day', and MSG [dɪç] 'you ACC' with Standard German *dich* [dɪç] 'you ACC'. In medial position, the fortis-lenis opposition is maintained with voicing of lenis stops. The lenis alveolar stop is consistently flapped when realized intervocalically and followed by an unstressed vowel. Fortis medial stops are voiceless and

have an audible release. In final position, only voiceless stops appear. The stops in final position are fortis, not glottalized, and consistently have an audible release.

The affricate /ts/ is found initially, medially and finally. Examples include [tseː] 'ten', cf. Standard German zehn 'ten'[tseːn]; [ʃvaɪtsər] 'Swiss', cf. Standard German Schweizer [ʃvaɪtsɐ] 'Swiss'. The affricate /pf/ is absent from MSG.

MSG fricatives are listed in Table 3.2. The fricatives /f/ and /v/ contrast word-initially. The fricative /v/ does not occur in morpheme-internal intervocalic position or in word-final position. The fricatives [s] and [z] are in complementary distribution. The allophone [s] occurs intervocalically after short vowels and in final position, e.g., [vɪsə] 'to know' and [glaːs] 'glass'. The allophone [z] occurs in initial position before vowels and intervocalically after long vowels, e.g., [zɪç] 'himself' and [groːzə] 'big'.

Table 3.2. Fricatives in MSG

	Initial	Medial	Final
Labiodental /f/	[fɪndət] 'finds'	[ʃloːfə] 'sleep'	[ʊf] 'on'
/v/	[vas] 'what'	[ʊfvɛkə] 'wake up'	---
Alveolar /s/	[zɪç] 'himself'	[vɪsə] 'to know' [groːzə] 'big' [eːzl̩] 'ass'	[glaːs] 'glass'
Postalveolar /ʃ/	[ʃɪɾl̩t] 'shakes'	[ʃmoːkə] 'smoke',	[flaʃ] 'bottle'
Palatal /ç/ Velar	--- ---	[diːrçən] 'little animal'	[zɪç] 'himself, herself' [ləx] 'hole'
Glottal	[hʊnt] 'dog'	---	---

As is typical in Palatinate-based varieties of German, sibilant plus consonant clusters are always realized with [ʃ] (never with [s]) in all positions: examples are [ʃtiːbl̩] 'boots', cf. Standard German Stiefel [ʃtiːfl̩] 'boots'; [bɪʃt] 'are 2.SG', cf. Standard German bist [bɪst] 'are.2.SG', [aŋʃt] 'fear, cf. Standard German Angst [aŋst].

The voiceless palatal fricative [ç] and the voiceless velar fricative [x] are in complementary distribution and follow the same pattern as in Standard German. The palatal fricative is realized morpheme-initially in the diminutive suffix –chen and after front vowels, e.g., [diːrçən] 'little animal' and [zɪç]

'himself, herself', and after sonorants consonants as in *manchmal* [mançmal] 'sometimes'. The velar fricative is realized after back vowels, e.g., [lɔx] 'hole'. The glottal fricative /h/ is only found in the onset of stressed syllables as in [hʊnt] 'dog'.

The liquids /l/ and /r/ are found in all positions. Examples of /l/ include [lɔx] 'hole', [falə] 'fall', and [gədʊłt] 'patience'. As illustrated by [gədʊłt] 'patience', /l/ is often velarized in the syllable coda, particularly after a high back rounded vowel. The liquid /r/ is found in all positions. It is invariably realized as the trill [r] or tap [ɾ] in syllable onsets. In coda position, the alveolar approximant [ɹ] is in free variation with a trill [r] or tap [ɾ]. The use of [ɹ] appears to be particularly common in unstressed position, with less proficient speakers more likely to use the alveolar approximant [ɹ] found in American English than the trill or tap variants. Examples .include [rɛɾə] 'talk', [grɔt] 'frog', [andəɾɨ] 'other', [ʊnzɻ] 'our', [fɛnʃd̥ər] 'window'. In contrast, Rein reports that /r/ is invariably realized as [r] or [ɾ] in all positions by Mennonite German speakers in Freeman, SD, Moundridge's sister settlement.

The lexical stress pattern in MSG is typical for a variety of German. The first syllable of the root bears lexical stress as in [ˈvaˌsər] 'water'. Separable prefixes are stressed, e.g., MSG [ˈan.gə.ˌlaxt] 'laughed at', cf. Standard German angelacht*;* MSG [ˈʊm.ˌdreːt].'turns around' cf. Standard German umdreht. Inseparable prefixes are unstressed, e.g., [fər.ˈʃteː] 'understand', cf. Standard German *verstehen* [fɛʁ.ˈʃteː.ən] 'understand'; MSG [gə.ˈdʊłt] 'patience', cf. Standard German Geduld. The intonational pattern of MSG is quite unremarkable. A falling pitch contour with a high pitch on the syllable bearing main stress in the intonational phrase (i.e., nuclear stress) followed by a fall in pitch is commonly used for assertions, commands, and questions introduced by a wh-word. A rising pitch contour with low pitch on the syllable bearing nuclear stress followed by sharp rise in pitch at the end of the intonational phrase is typical of yes-no questions, of wh-questions and commands to make them sound more polite, of wh-questions to indicate disbelief, and in the middle of discourse to indicate that the speaker wishes to continue. There is no evidence in MSG of the fall contour used in Pennsylvania German for some yes-no questions as reported by Huffines (1980).

There are remarkably few indications of influence from English in MSG. The alveolar approximant [ɹ] is in free variation with a trill [r] or tap [ɾ] in coda position. As mentioned earlier, this pronunciation is not found in Freeman, SD, and is presumably due to the influence of American English. Similarly, the lateral /l/ is often velarized in coda position in MSG. The use of the occurrence of the approximant [ɹ] and the velarized lateral [ɬ] after back vowels in syllable codas is found in the variety of Pennsylvania German spoken in Lancaster County as well (Louden and Page 2005: 1389). Unlike

in Freeman, the obstruents /b/ and /g/ are not lenited to sonorant consonants intervocallically, whereas /d/ can be realized as a flap in both Moundridge and Freeman. It should be noted that /b/ and /g/ are also typically lenited in medial position in Pennsylvania Dutch, another Palatinate-based variety of German. The realization of /b/ and /g/ in intervocalic position as [b] and [g] respectively could well be due to the influence of American English. Note that both American English and MSG also realize /d/ as a flap intervocallically when the following vowel is unstressed. Unlike American English, MSG /t/ is not produced as a flap intervocallically before unstressed vowels, e.g., grotte [grɔtə] 'frog.' In sum, the phonological system of MSG looks very much like its Palatinate-based cousins and shows only minimal signs of contact-induced change.

4 Morphosyntax

In addition to the phonological factors previously discussed, MSG primarily exhibits a mixture of Eastern and Middle Western Palatinate morphosyntactic features. Similar in structure to other Middle German dialects, MSG possesses a three-gender system, although outside of gender assignment to human entities, the assignment of gender to other objects - both animate and inanimate - can be lossy, even within the same discourse utterances. The reduction in accurate mapping in the gender system is similar in some respect to what is witnessed in nominal plurals as well. Additional evidence can be readily found in the verbal morphology of MSG that indicates its Middle Palatinate heritage. Examples for these traits include: the first person singular inflection of the verb haben 'to have' occurs as han (Post 1992: 131), there appears to be no distinction between present perfect and pluperfect (war...gewest 'had….been') (Post 1992: 134), the lack of an -en ending on the majority of past participles (ex. gefun(d) 'found', Standard German gefunden) (Post 1992: 130), and the reduction of certain high frequency verbs in their participial form to allophonic variation without the perfective aspectual ge- prefix (ex. kum 'come', Standard German gekommen) (Post 1992: 130). The formation of past subjunctive mood with a generic modal derived from the predicate tun 'to do' /de:d/ also supports this hypothesis.

The case system in MSG has a two-way distinction between a combined nominative-accusative case and the dative (König 1998: 154). The dative case is realized predominantly by the addition of the shibboleth prepositional marker an 'on' or zu 'to' as illustrated in example (3):

(3) Saww es net an unser Vater!
say it not to other father
'Don't tell our father!'

The usage of a prepositional dative case is common among Alemannic and Bavarian dialects (cf. Schirmunski 1962; Dal 1971; Seiler 2002, 2003) and appears to be a vestige from one of the base dialects that contributed to the formation of MSG. It is also worth noting that the dative case morphophonological distinctions, such as the -m ending for masculine singular, can optionally occur on the shibboleth preposition or the personal pronoun in example (3) above (see e.g., Putnam 2012: 48). Putnam (2012) notes a peculiar extension of the dative case in a handful of MSG speakers, where the feminine personal pronoun ihr 'her' can be used as a dative determiner as in (4) with feminine singular and occasionally with plurals (from Putnam 2012: 54):

(4) Er schreewt ihre Frau en Brief.
he writes 3SG.F.DAT woman a letter
'He write a letter to the woman.'

Only a few remaining speakers occasionally employ this marking, and it has not been extended to either masculine or neutral forms. In the case of indefinite articles, there are common nominative-accusative forms, and all datives are prepositional datives. The Tables 4.1 and 4.2 below represent the case system for the majority of the remaining MSG speakers (from Putnam 2012: 56):

Table 4.1 Definite articles in MSG

	Singular			Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	
Nominative	der	die	(d)es	die
Accusative	der/n	die	(d)es	die
Dative	an + 'm/'n	an/zu + die	an + 'n/'m	an + 'n

Table 4.2 Indefinite articles in MSG

	Singular			Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	
Nominative	en	eine	(e)s	---
Accusative	en	eine	(e)s	---
Dative	an + 'n zu + einre	zu + eine	an + 'm/'n zu + einem	---

4.1 General properties of word order

With respect to word order, although in matrix clauses MSG still maintains a verb-second ordering which is common place in continental German dialects as well as other Sprachinsel-variants, the situation is a bit more complicated in subordinate clauses. Hopp and Putnam (2015) analyzed the spontaneous speech of eight MSG-speaking informants and discovered that the type of complementizer heading the subordinate clause strongly influences whether verb-second or verb-final ordering takes place.

Two of the seventeen finite subordinate clauses headed by the complementizer dass 'that' exhibited verb-final order of the finite verb as in (5) (data from Hopp and Putnam 2015: 195-6):

(5) Ich denk, dass sie auch da net viel was Schweitzer [$_{\text{V-fin}}$reden]
I think that they also there not much what Schweitzer speak
'I think that they do not speak much Schweitzer there, either.'

The remaining fifteen dass-clauses displayed verb-second order as in (6):

(6) ...dass da lieber Gott [$_{\text{V-fin}}$hot] uns auch net alles genomm wie dat in Oklahoma
that the dear God has us also not everything taken like there in Oklahoma
'that the dear God hasn't taken everything away from us like in Oklahoma.'

A similar pattern is observed with subordinate clauses that begin with weil 'because'; eight of the nine examples beginning with the weil-complementizer also exhibit verb-second ordering:

(7) weil ich du net Hochdeutsch [$_{\text{V-fin}}$redde].
because I do/can not High German talk
'because I can't speak standard German.'

In contrast to subordinate clauses headed by the complementizers dass and weil, verb-last ordering is predominant in both temporal subordinate clauses headed by wenn 'when' (ex. (8)) and relative clauses (ex. (9)), headed by the generic relative pronoun wo 'that':

(8) wenn mir erscht geheirat [$_{\text{V-fin}}$henn]
when we first married have
'When we first got married.'

(9) die wo in die Schul jetz [$_{V\text{-}fin}$sin(d)]
those there in the school now are
'those that are in the school currently.'

Similar to other Palatinate-based diasporic Sprachinseln, the extraposition of adverbial prepositional phrases to the right of the verbal bracket (Ausklammerung) is quite common (cf. Fitch 2011; Stolberg 2014) and should not be misconstrued as a change instituted through contact with English.

4.2 Verb clusters and IPP

MSG has maintained mofdal infinitive pro participio (IPP) constructions as two-verb clusters:

(10) mir [$_{AUX}$hen] immer [$_{MOD}$misse] [$_{V}$mache]
we have always must do
'we always had to work'

Joo (to appear) investigated verb order variation of these constructions and conducted an acceptability judgment task. She found that the verb order in MSG modal IPP structures is strictly a modal verb followed by a lexical verb (MOD-V) and that the informants categorically rejected the Standard German V-MOD order. Some flexibility with regard to the placement of the direct object (DO) exists though. While the canonical position of the direct object appears to be between MOD and V with 72.2% acceptance rate, (11), informants also accepted word orders where the direct object has scrambled out of the verb cluster with 41.7% acceptance, (16).

(11) Mir hen [$_{MOD}$misse] [$_{DO}$die Kieh] [$_{V}$melke]
we have must the cow milk

(12) Mir hen [$_{DO}$ die Kieh] [$_{MOD}$ misse] [$_{V}$melke]
we have the cows must milk
both: 'We had to milk the cows.'

The verb order MOD-V is the same in main and subordinate clauses of MSG as example (13) illustrates.

(13) Ich war froh, immer wenn ich hen net [$_{MOD}$misse] die [$_{DO}$Milch]

I was happy always when I have not must the milk
[$_V$hole] get

'I was happy whenever I didn't have to get the milk.'

Table 4.3 summarizes the differences in permissible verb orders in Standard German, West Central German (to which the source dialect of MSG, Eastern Palatinate, belongs), and MSG main clauses.

Table 4.3 Summary of modal IPP verb order in main clauses.

Standard German (Wurmbrand 2004)	West Central German (Dubenion-Smith 2010)	MSG (2011, 2013 recordings)
V-MOD	V-MOD (42.1%)	
	MOD-V (57.9%)	MOD-V (100%)

The most preferred verb order in West Central German[1] is MOD-V, however, canonical V-MOD is also accepted. According to Dubenion-Smith (p.c.), in modern Palatinate modal IPP constructions the Standard German V-MOD order is only accepted 36% of the time. Based on this information and considerations about dialectal differences in urban versus rural areas and dialectal change due to contact with Standard German in continental Palatinate, Joo hypothesizes that the MOD-V order in MSG modal IPP constructions indicates a conservation of its source dialect.

4.3 Structure of complex clauses

An interesting property of the syntax of MSG concerns the fusion of multiple clauses, especially those involving infinitival clauses. Examples abound in our fieldwork recordings the union of multiple clauses (examples (14) - (18)):

(14) Er will der Grott probiere catche
he wants the frog try catch
'He wants to try and/to catch the frog.'

(15) Mein Grossvater is kumme helfe
my granddad is come help
'My granddad has come to help.'

(16) a. Er hot's Haus gefinisht painte
he has.the house finished painting
'He finished painting the house.'
b. Er is fertig mit dem Haus painte
he is finished/done with the house painting
'He finished painting the house.'

(17) Sie waren dreckich von ins Wasser falle
they were dirty from into-the water falling
'They were dirty from falling into the water.'

(18) Sie henn die Kinder gefragt for heraus geh
they have the children asked for out go
'They asked if the children, if they wanted to go out(side).'

Examples (14) - (16a) indicate that infinitival clauses can be fused with the matrix event structure exhibiting a control predicate (14) or a regular event (15) without the presence of an infinitival marker zu 'to.' Examples (16a) and (16b) show that the finite verb in these fused clauses may be underspecified as to whether they are exclusively infinitives or gerundives (see also ex. (17)). Lastly, examples (17) and (18) demonstrate that the lack of the infinitival marker extends to more complex purposive clauses (see Börjars and Burridge 2011 for a treatment of similar constructions in Pennsylvania German spoken in Ontario, Canada). These structures appear to be a vestigial remnant from their continental source grammar when compared with dialectal structures from their region of origin (see e.g., especially extensive work by Schallert 2014).

In spite of these similarities, Judy, Putnam, and Rothman (to appear) tested whether or not both subject and object control - structures that are commonly used in spoken English - existed on equal footing in MSG. A total of 16 informants participated in a translation task in which the informants were given an English stimulus - consisting of subject and object control predicates - and were asked to translate the given stimulus into MSG. Examples (19) and (20) show that although subject control predicates were easier to translate from English to MSG (ex. (19)) with 87.5% accuracy, certain lexical restrictions - such as the predicate expect in (20) - proved to be much more difficult (success rate of 26.67%). Overall, the informants were able to translate the English stimuli at a success rate of 71.78% (117/163) for the subject control predicates, but they encountered much difficulties in this task with object control predicates with a low rate of success at 24.3% accuracy (37/152). Example (21) below shows an unfaithful target response

by one of the informants (NB: This particular stimulus was only translated 12.5% in a corresponding target form in MSG).

Stimulus: He stopped smoking.
(19) Er hat ufgeheert [$_{INF}$schmoke]
he has stopped smoke
'He stopped smoking.'

Stimulus: He expects to buy a new cow.
(20) Er denkt, er wird eine neie Kuh [$_{INF}$kaufe]
he thinks, he will a new cow buy
'He thinks he will buy a new cow.'

Stimulus: I asked the kids to give me the book.
(21) Ich han die Kinder gefragt, ob sie mir das Buch [$_{INF}$gebe]
I have the children asked whether they me the book give
'I asked the kids if they would give me the book.'

Judy et al. (to appear) hypothesize that the difficulty with object control structures is due to performance-based constraints on the grammar (i.e., the requirement to switch the grammatical function of the linked argument across clauses).

4.4 Loss of passive voice

Putnam and Salmons (2013) draw attention to the observation that the final generation of MSG speakers appear to be losing passive voice distinctions. The procedural passive (*werden* 'to become' + past participle) has given way to periphrastic constructions that are either stative passives (*sein* 'to be' + past participle) or impersonal passives, which consist of a generic, unspecified agent *ebber* 'someone' with a verb inflected for present tense:

(22) Ebber hot mich gesieht
someone has me seen
'Someone has seen me.'

The example (22) illustrates the impersonal passive which has become the common form in MSG.

5 Lexicon

The lexicon of MSG is characterized by relatively few borrowings from English due to the rapid shift in the previous generation to this generation from German to English as the dominant language. The community did not experience a long transition period between the two languages that would have allowed extensive structural borrowing to occur in situations of more intense contact as defined by Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale. Instead, the previous generation used almost exclusively German, and the current generation uses almost exclusively English, creating a situation that can be most accurately described by what Thomason and Kaufman define as language death. Overwhelming cultural pressure has led to "loss of domains of uses, that [led] to loss of stylistic resources and, ultimately, to loss of grammatical structures, as new generations of speakers [failed] to learn forms their elders never or rarely use" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 101).

On the individual level, we could describe the situation today as casual contact, as German is not used frequently in the community. As a result, we observe lexical borrowings or insertions but structural maintenance of MSG. Therefore, the remaining proficient speakers of MSG speak fluently, and fluidly incorporate English lexical items in their speech. This can range from individual lexical items to entire clauses in an utterance. The speakers do this with ease, and in many cases adopt German phonology, morphology and syntax, even maintaining the German verbal bracket. Despite the mixed picture, we can say that MSG speakers are proficient code-switchers, both alternational (between phrases or utterances) as shown in (23) and insertional (single words) as shown in (24), as defined by Muysken (2000) and Matras (2009). Examples (23) and (24) are excerpts from interviews with MSG speakers that demonstrate these concepts.

(23) das is ei grosse karrich, it was built for six-hundred n sixty-five
that is a big church, …
'That is a big church, it was built for 665.'

(24)	un	de	grot	guckt	mit	seine	auge	like:
	'was	in	aller	welt				
	and	the	frog	looks	with	his	eyes	like:
	what	in	all-the	world				
	ist	das?'						
	is	that						

'and the frog looks like: "What in the world is that?"'

It is possible that some instances of insertional code-switching are actually borrowings (items integrated diachronically into the lexicon, Matras 2009), because interviews with our informants have revealed that they are sometimes aware they are using an English word, and sometimes unaware. An example of this can be seen in (25), where the informant comments on the use of English because of a lexical gap in their MSG. In example (26), the informant uses the prepositional phrase 'from each other' without any indication that insertion of this English lexical item is due to dysfluency.

(25)	un	sie	hen	ge-waved			am	grot…
	das	is	auch	net				
	and	they	have	PART.PREF-waved		to-the	frog	that
	is	also	not					
	recht	aber	ich	weeß	net	was	es	is
	right	but	I	know	not	what	it	is

'and they waved to the frog…that is also not right, but I don't know what it is'

(26)	die buben wohn ibber	de	weg	von	each	others
	the boys live over	the	way	from	each	others
	'the boys love across from each other'					

Of course, lack of comment does not equal lack of awareness, but our recordings of MSG are the only source of information we have on this dialect. Nevertheless, in the many conversations we have had with our informants, we have witnessed numerous examples of English lexical items being incorporated seamlessly into the German sentence structure, see examples (27)-(29).

(27)	any	wer (?)	of	us	will	komme		helfe
	kann	komme		helfe				
	any	who(?)	of	us	wants	come		help
	can	come		help				
	und	dano	sollen	sie	net	uns	bezahle	
	aber	geve	a	donation				
	and	then	shall	they	not	us	pay	
	but	give	a	donation				

'any of us who wants to help, can come help and then they shouldn't pay us, but give a donation'

(28) die bube hen doch sure ball gespielt
the boys have AFFIRM.PART sure ball played
'the boys definitely played ball'

(29) jetz sin mer ziemlich low an junge leit
now are we quite low on young people
'at the moment we are quite low on young people'

English is observed in MSG in just about every word class. Examples of nouns include animals that were not part of their daily farm life, e.g., 'squirrel', 'beehive', 'deer'. Farming vocabulary is almost exclusively in English, such as 'grain', 'dairy', 'beans', 'farm', and English verbs with German morphology, such as '*ge*-bale-*t*' (baled, as in hay). This incorporation of English verbs with German morphology is a common phenomenon. Other examples include 'watch-*e*' (to watch) and '*uf*-speed-*e*' (to speed up), and '*ge*-order-*t*' (ordered). English adverbs, adjectives and discourse markers such as 'well' or 'anyway' are also easily incorporated individually or as chunks into the German.[2]

One point to highlight is how structurally fluent the MSG speakers can be. They are not just capable of incorporating individual lexical items seamlessly into their utterance, they are also capable of building compound nouns out of German and English parts (*Schul*teacher, Grand*kinder*) while maintaining German phonology and syntax. This is not to say that breakdown does not occur. There are certain domains in which German words are lacking for the speakers, and where the speakers will switch to English when they cannot speak on a topic in German. There are also situations in which the speakers switch completely to English due to an asymmetry in proficiency.

The situation in MSG, an immigrant language, is similar to that of Flathead, an Interior Salishan language spoken in Montana and discussed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 101-102). Flathead was undergoing language shift over the course of a few generations due to intense pressure from English. All the speakers were fully fluent in English and the Flathead as spoken by younger speakers showed structural simplifications but relatively few lexical borrowings and no structural borrowings from English. As was the case in Flathead, MSG has been under intense contact from English and the shift to English will be complete after this final generation of speakers with above average proficiency. While MSG has borrowed both content and function words from English characteristic of category 2 on Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale, other characteristics of intense contact such as extensive structural borrowing are lacking. This is a result of the rapid shift experienced by the community due to cultural pressure from and a desire to integrate into Anglo-American culture.

6 Conclusions

The phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon of MSG is similar in structure to many Palatinate-based German dialects spoken in the Americas and elsewhere. In the realm of phonology, there are no front rounded vowels; there is not a robust contrast between a voiceless and voiced series of obstruents, and epenthesis is common in *r*+consonant clusters, e.g., *karrich* 'church', cf. German *Kirche*. We also see evidence of a low-back vowel merger in the speech of at least some MSG speakers although the speakers do not have a low-back merger when speaking American English. In the area of morphosyntax, subordinate clauses maintain the V-last order except for dass 'that' and weil 'because' where V2 order is preferred. As for verb clusters the order of modal verb + infinitive is preferred. In all areas of the grammar, we see relatively little influence from English but evidence of the loss of grammatical structures. For example, the remaining MSG speakers no longer produce the procedural passive, which is still found in Pennsylvania Dutch.

In summary, MSG is a moribund language. There are approximately 30 remaining speakers and all are age 65 or older. Although MSG is the first language for most, if not all of the current speakers, they do not currently use the language more than an hour per week and have not spoken it on a daily basis for decades. In spite of the rather limited usage of MSG, it is remarkable that some can still hold full conversations in MSG. The awareness of their language heritage displays a certain togetherness-feeling for their community and language, expressed for example in events such as the annual Fall Fest held at Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas, where they use MSG even in a playful manner.

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Notes

[1] An exception is Rhine Franconian which prefers the Standard German V-MOD order (Dubenion-Smith 2008).

[2] As demonstrated in the previous section discussing the loss of passive voice in MSG, example (26) displays another common trend in the morphological formation of past participles in moribund heritage varieties of German; namely, the reduction in ablaut class discussions accompanied by a reduction in the inventory of strong verbs in the grammar (MSG: ge-sieh-t vs. standard German: ge-seh-en) (see e.g., Gross 2000 for a treatment of these processes in the Matrix Language Frame-model; also Myers-Scotton 1993; Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995).

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Hans C. Boas and Marc Pierce

Texas German

1 Introduction: Historical background

German immigration to the United States began as early as the 1670s, but German immigration to what is now the state of Texas came somewhat later. The first German immigrants to Texas arrived in the late 1820s, when Texas was still part of Mexico (Campbell 2003). The first well-documented German settler to Texas was Johann Friedrich Ernst, who arrived in Texas in 1829 (Boas 2018). Ernst's 1832 letter to his relatives in Oldenburg, extolling the virtues of Texas (cheap and readily available farmland, religious freedom, etc.), was republished widely in German-speaking newspapers. In 1836 Texas declared its independence from Mexico, and the newly independent country needed, among other things, to develop its infrastructure more fully, to expand its agricultural efforts, and to build an army to defend itself against Mexico. To help accomplish these goals, Sam Houston, then President of the Republic of Texas, instituted a system of land grants (later superseded by the Homestead Act of 1854). At the same time, political and economic hardships in Germany also made Texas a more attractive destination for many Germans. The result was greatly increased European immigration to Texas.[1]

In 1842, the *Mainzer Adelsverein* was set up to aid German immigration to Texas (Biesele 1930, Kearney 2010, Boas 2018). Between 1844 and 1847, this society (later renamed *Der Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas*) brought over 7000 Germans to Texas. These immigrants settled primarily in the Texas Hill Country and what is now called the German Belt, founding cities such as Fredericksburg and New Braunfels, some of the traditional strongholds of Texas German.[2] Active recruitment of German-speaking immigrants to Texas ended around 1850, but the number of Germans in

Texas continued to increase. By 1880 about 1/3 of the population of San Antonio (out of a total population of about 20,000) was German-speaking (Jordan 1969), by 1890 there were about 40,000 Texas Germans (Boas 2018), in 1907 there were approximately 75,000-100,000 Texas Germans (Eichhoff 1986), and the number of Texas Germans peaked in 1940, at approximately 159,000 (Kloss 1977). Since then, the Texas German population has declined drastically; the best current estimate is about 3000 speakers (Boas 2018).

Texas German (hereafter TxG)[3] is particularly well suited to studies of language contact and change, mainly because of three large-scale studies of the dialect conducted at intervals of several decades. These studies are Eikel (1954), based on data collected in the 1930s and 1940s; Gilbert (1972), based on data collected in the 1960s; and the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP; www.tgdp.org), directed by Hans C. Boas, which has been underway since 2001.[4] These studies provide scholars with a rich pool of real-time data for analysis.[5] In this chapter, we first outline the sociohistorical background of TxG (section 2) and then its structure (sections 3, 4, and 5). Section 6 concludes. We focus largely on New Braunfels German (hereafter NBG), the best-studied dialect of TxG (e.g., by Fred Eikel [1954], himself a native speaker of TxG, and Boas [2009a], for instance).[6] We also note that there is widespread variation in all dialects of TxG today; the examples cited here are representative.[7] As is traditional in the study of NBG, we use Standard German as a point of comparison, which is not meant to imply that we see TxG as a descendant of Standard German. Finally, space constraints prevent us from discussing a number of sociohistorical topics, e.g., the formation of TxG and the role of Standard German in Texas,[8] and force us to limit the discussion of linguistic issues to some of the most important developments since the appearance of Eikel (1954).

2 Sociohistorical and sociolinguistic aspects

A number of political and social factors kept Texas Germans largely isolated up until about the turn of the 20th century, including conscious attempts at self-sufficiency (e.g., Texas Germans had their own flour mills) and the abolitionist views held by most German settlers (which would have certainly isolated such settlers in a slave state like Texas).[9] In addition, Texas Germans strove to maintain their language. There were numerous German-language churches and periodicals (some with excellent circulation numbers for the time),[10] as well as a wide range of German-language literature (e.g. Friedrich Armand Strubberg's 1860 novel *An der Indianergrenze*), extensive German-language education (Heinen 1982, Boas 2009a),[11] and numerous German-speaking social organizations, ranging from choirs to shooting

clubs (Nicolini 2004: 46-49). German was also well established in official contexts, e.g., until 1890 the meetings of the New Braunfels City Council were conducted in German (Eikel 1954). As a result, up until the early 20th century, TxG was clearly in a state of language maintenance.

The decline of TxG began in 1909, when an English-only law for Texas public schools was passed (Salmons 1983: 188).[12] It is difficult to assess the exact impact of this law on TxG, since some school boards were composed entirely of Texas Germans, making it unlikely that they put this law into full practice (Boas 2009a). Moreover, had this law been totally effective, another law would not have been necessary less than a decade later. In 1918, another such law was enacted, which seems to have had more impact than the 1909 law (Salmons 1983, Blanton 2004). At around the same time, World War I led to the widespread stigmatization of German and the beginning of its decline.[13] During the period between the World Wars, the TxG situation did stabilize somewhat.

Up to about World War I, there had been an overlapping diglossic situation in New Braunfels. In some domains (e.g., schools and churches) TxG was the L language, with Standard German being the H language; while in other domains (e.g., administration and commerce), Standard German was the L language, with English as the H language (Boas 2009a: 54).[14] But by about 1920, the situation had changed considerably, with English being established as the H language in almost all domains, and TxG as the L language in such domains. Standard German remained the H language in a few domains (churches and newspapers). At this point, then, it seemed as if the diglossic situation would soon stabilize with English as the H and TxG as the L language across the board (Salmons 1983, Guion 1996, Boas 2009a). This was not to be the case, however.

World War II reinforced the stigma attached to German and hastened its decline. Especially following World War II, German was largely abandoned in a number of spheres. German-language newspapers and periodicals either folded or began to publish in English (e.g. *Das Wochenblatt*, then published in Austin, folded in 1940, while the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, the last German-language newspaper in Texas, switched to publishing in English in December 1957);[15] German teaching ceased in a number of schools, and German-speaking churches shifted to using English (Nicolini 2004).

Various other factors contributed to the decline of Texas German after World War II. The migration of non-German speakers to the traditionally German-speaking areas of Texas, coupled with the consistent refusal of these newcomers to accommodate linguistically to Texas Germans by learning German, raised the public profile of English in these areas, at the expense of Texas German. A number of Texas Germans had served in the US

military during World War II, and after the end of the war, younger Texas Germans continued to leave their homes for military service, for other types of employment, or for education (Jordan 1977, Wilson 1977, Boas 2009a). Such Texas Germans generally gave up speaking German in favor of English, which led to declining fluency in Texas German. Moreover, many such Texas Germans married non-German-speaking partners, and normally spoke English with their spouses and children, resulting in the further abandonment of TxG. Finally, developments in transportation and infrastructure ended the isolation of the traditional German-speaking areas, especially after the American interstate highway system was developed starting in 1956. Once these communities were no longer isolated, it was considerably more difficult to preserve the German language. All of these factors led to the current state of TxG (critically endangered). We turn now to the linguistic aspects of NBG.

3 The phonetics and phonology of New Braunfels German

Eikel proposes the following vowel system for New Braunfels German:[16]

(1) The NBG vowel system (Eikel 1954, 1966)

	Front				Central (unrounded)		Back (Rounded)	
High	y:	y	i:	i			u:	u
Mid	ø:	ø	e:	e		ə	o:	o
Low					a:	a		

Eikel also proposes "three falling diphthongs," /ai/, /au/, and /oi/. [17]
Examples of these vowels and diphthongs include:[18]

(2) Examples of NBG vowels and diphthongs (Eikel 1954, 1966)

a. /y:/: *Bücher* 'books' [by:çəʁ]
b. /y/: *Küste* 'coast' [kystə]
c. /ø:/: *schön* 'pretty' [ʃø:n]
d. /ø/: *zwölf* 'twelve' [tsvølf]
e. /i:/ *Vieh* 'cattle' [fi:]
f. /i/ *Kiste* 'box' [kistə]
g. /e:/ *mäht* 'mows' [me:t]
h. /e/ *elf* 'eleven' [elf]
i. /a:/ *Abend* 'evening' [a:bənt]
j. /a/ *Land* 'land' [lant]
k. /u:/ *Schule* 'school' [ʃu:lə]

l. /u/ *Hund* 'dog' [hunt]
m. /o:/ *Brot* 'bread' [bro:t]
n. /o/ *Kopf* 'head' [kopf]
o. /ə/ *bitte* 'please' [bitə]
p. /ai/ *Eimer* 'bucket' [aimɐ]
q. /au/ *Maus* 'mouse' [maus]
r. /oi/ *heute* 'today' [hoitə]

According to Boas (2009a), there have been three major changes in the NBG vowel system since Eikel (1954). The first, and most important, involves the front rounded vowels.[19] Although Eikel (1954) does include these vowels in his table of NBG phonemes, they were already being lost when he collected his data. Eikel (1954: 28) mentions this in his discussion of /y:/, stating that

> Of the oldest generation of speakers of NBG two round this vowel distinctly and consistently, two show occasions of unrounding, and two do not round at all. Of the twelve informants of the second generation, one rounds consistently, all the others fluctuate, showing more instances of unrounding than rounding. All six informants of the third generation show no signs of rounding. Here /y:/ is completely replaced by /i:/.

He also reports this change for the other front rounded vowels (i.e. /y/, /ø:/, and /ø/).[20]

Gilbert (1972) notes that many of these front rounded vowels had been eliminated. Gilbert (1972: 3) writes that "[f]or many speakers, all front vowels are non-round," and his maps underscore this statement. Gilbert (1972) contains five maps for words that contain front rounded vowels in Standard German and where front rounded vowels therefore might also be expected to occur in NBG.[21] Following Pierce et al. (2015), we look only at the maps for *die Tür* and *zwei Töchter* here (i.e., one form each containing a high front rounded vowel and a mid front rounded vowel). All of Gilbert's New Braunfels informants use a high front long unrounded vowel, i.e., [i:] in *die Tür*. However, in *zwei Töchter*, Gilbert's informants use the rounded variant much more consistently than they did for the high front vowel. In New Braunfels, although one speaker does retain a mid-front rounded vowel, other speakers normally unround the vowel to [e:].

Boas (2009a) indicates that front rounded vowels have been almost completely eliminated in present-day NBG. Again considering only the two forms examined when discussing Gilbert (1972), in *die Tür*, 49 of Boas' 52 New Braunfels-area informants (98%) produced a high front unrounded vowel, i.e., [i:], while one informant produced the high front rounded vowel [y:], and two did not provide any answer. In *zwei Töchter*, 3 of his 52

informants (6%) produced [ø], 27 (55%) produced [e], 19 (39%) produced [o], and 3 produced *Schwestern* 'sisters' instead of *Töchter*. The open-ended interview data yielded much the same results (the general loss of front rounded vowels). Pierce et al. (2015) note that none of the nine instances of *Tür* found in an August 2011 search of this data contains a front rounded vowel, nor do any of the seven instances of *Töchter* contain a front rounded vowel. But there are nine instances of *Gemüse* in the open-ended data, four of which contain a front rounded vowel; and 46 instances of *zwölf* 'twelve', eleven of which contain a front rounded vowel. The oddity here is that speakers are producing a form in their (presumably) less monitored casual speech that they do not produce in their more monitored word-list tasks. The presence of these front rounded vowels in the open-ended interview data thus demonstrates that these vowels are still part of the NBG phoneme inventory today, if only for a few speakers. The bottom line for these vowels is therefore that there are more of these vowels in the Eikel data than in the Gilbert data, and there are more of these vowels in the Gilbert data than in the TGDP data.

Pierce et al. (2015) attribute this development to the following factors: (1) some of these instances of missing front rounded vowels are due to their absence from the donor dialects of NBG. If the donor dialects of NBG lacked front rounded vowels, then NBG itself would also not contain them.[22] However, the data discussed in works like Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1972) shows that front rounded vowels were indeed more common at earlier stages of NBG than today, which cannot be entirely accounted for by reference to the lack of such vowels in some of the relevant donor dialects. (2) Front rounded vowels are rare cross-linguistically (Maddieson 2013), indicating that they are highly marked and thus subject to elimination. (3) Since English generally lacks such vowels, and since all speakers of NBG are English-dominant bilinguals, contact with English is reinforcing an ongoing change (although it is not the main cause of this change). (4) Exposure to Standard German has decreased dramatically since Eikel (1954) collected his data. Thus, most speakers of NBG have far fewer opportunities to use a form of German with front rounded vowels, which Pierce et al. (2015: 128) contend has also "reinforced any lack or loss of front rounded vowels in NBG." (5) Gradual language death can have profound linguistic consequences (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 53). In this case, as speakers' fluency in NBG has declined, its speakers have generally abandoned front rounded vowels for more English-like vowels.

The second important development involves the NBG diphthongs.[23] One of the major sound changes from Middle High German (MHG) to Modern German involves the diphthongization of the MHG long vowels *î*, *û*, and *iu* ([y:]) to Modern German *ei*, *au*, and *eu*, e.g., MHG *mîn niues hûs* > Modern German *mein neues Haus* 'my new house'.[24] Although this

change was eventually fully implemented in the standard language, its implementation in the dialects of German varies widely (König 2015), and TxG is no exception to this generalization, with some variation involving [aɪ] and [aʊ] reported in various sources. As noted above, Eikel includes both of these diphthongs in his account of the NBG phoneme system, in words like *Eimer* 'bucket' [aiməʁ] and *Maus* 'mouse' [maus], respectively (as well as /oi/, in words like *heute* 'today' [hoitə]), but notes no variation involving these diphthongs. Gilbert (1972) reports variation involving [aɪ] and [i:], as one of his 15 Comal County (the county containing New Braunfels) informants varies between [aɪ] and [i:] in *mein* 'my' (Gilbert 1972: Map 25, *mein Kopf* 'my head'). He does not report variation involving [aʊ].[25] Boas (2009a) reports variation between [aʊ] and [u:] in NBG, but not between [aɪ] and [i:]. To the first of these, Boas (2009a: 129) notes that the vast majority of his NBG informants use the diphthong (88% in the resampled Gilbert data from Map 23 in Gilbert 1972; 95% in the resampled Gilbert data from Map 56 in Gilbert 1972; and 100% in the resampled Gilbert data from Map 129 in Gilbert 1972). He offers no account of this beyond noting the facts, however, "[s]ince the factors leading to this … are unclear" (Boas 2009a: 128-130). To the second, 100% of his NBG informants use the diphthong in *mein* in the resampled Gilbert data from Map 25 in Gilbert 1972 (Boas 2009a: 127), meaning that the variation noted by Gilbert (1972) has been completely eliminated in present-day NBG.

In our view, the elimination of variation between [aɪ] and [i:] reflects the completion of a sound change in progress at earlier stages of NBG (and already largely complete by the 1960s, in light of the scarcity of attestations of [i:] in this context in Gilbert 1972).[26] The variation between [aʊ] and [u:] is more difficult to account for (Boas 2009a). Since Boas's informants are consistent in their use of the individual variants – speakers who use the diphthong never use the long vowel in this context and vice versa – we suggest that this variation is due to the fossilization of an earlier, once more widespread pattern of variation in NBG. This suggestion must remain tentative, however, as neither Eikel (1954) nor Gilbert (1972) present the necessary data to determine this precisely.

The final major vocalic development discussed by Boas (2009a) involves the replacement of earlier [e] with [æ]. Eikel (1954) and Clardy (1954) both note this change, specifically in loan words from English, e.g., *pantry*, *handle*, *tractor*, and *candy*, among others. Clardy (1954: 28) notes that some of her informants have taken this development further, using [æ] in some German words with English cognates that contain [æ], e.g., *Giesskanne* 'watering can', where the presence of [æ] in English *can* is the cause of its presence in NBG *Giesskanne*. Clardy (1954: 59) further notes that one of her informants uses

[æ] "very frequently in words which are not cognates," a point which we take up again below.

Gilbert (1965: 131) writes that:

> [A] speaker of Standard German fails to distinguish between *Tex* 'a man from Texas' and *tax*; for him they are both /teks/. However, in Texas German a separate phoneme, /æ/, exists as opposed to /e/; the Texas German says *die* /rəntš/ and /tæks/ (= Steuer), but: /teks/ *der Mann*.

Gilbert (1972) reaffirms the presence of this vowel in NBG in English loanwords, although there is some variation in its integration into NBG. According to Gilbert (1972: Map 142), all 15 of his New Braunfels-area informants used [æ] in *tank*, showing that this loanword had not been fully integrated phonologically into NBG, but these same 15 informants all used [a] in *pasture*, showing that this loanword, in contrast, had been fully integrated phonologically into NBG (since it contains a native German vowel, as opposed to a vowel loaned into NBG from English).

The TGDP data discussed in Boas (2009a) shows that this vowel has spread farther into the NBG lexicon. In the resampled TGDP data for *tank* and *pasture* all of the New Braunfels area TGDP informants use [æ] in *tank* (as was already the case for Gilbert 1972's informants as well), and [æ] is considerably more common in *pasture* than was the case for Gilbert's (1972) informants, with 5 out of 36 (13%) TGDP informants using it (as opposed to none of Gilbert's informants). Moreover, [æ] turns up fairly frequently in the TGDP open-ended interview data as well, albeit only in English loanwords like *gecampt* 'camped' (past participle) and *dancehalle* 'dance hall' (Boas 2009a: 133). Thus, the TGDP data shows that [æ] is more widely used today than at earlier stages of NBG, and also contradicts Clardy's (1954: 59) claim about the use of [æ] in native NBG words (since none of the present-day TGDP informants use it in such words). Boas (2009a: 133) concludes that Clardy's sole informant who used [æ] in native NBG words must have been an outlier,[27] and that [æ] "has become more of an everyday part of the Texas German phonological inventory, albeit restricted to English loanwords (or parts thereof)." We echo these conclusions here and turn now to the NBG consonantal system.

Eikel proposes a system of consonants for NBG that is essentially identical to the Standard German system, as follows.

(3) The consonant system of NBG (Eikel 1954: 26)[28]

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Palato-Velar	Velar
Stops					
Voiceless	p		t	k	
Voiced	b		d	g	
Fricative					
Voiceless		f	s, ʃ	x (h)	(h)
Voiced		v	r	j	(r)
Affricates			ts, tʃ		
Nasals	m		n		ŋ
Liquids			l		

The most important differences between the NBG system described by Eikel (1954) and that of the standard language are the following. First, /g/ is rare intervocalically, where it is generally manifested as [j], e.g., *liegen* 'to lie' [li:jən] (pronounced [li:gən] in Standard German). Second, the Standard German affricate [pf] does not occur word-initially in NBG (which is presumably why Eikel omitted it from his table), and words like *Pferd* 'horse' and *Pfeffer* 'pepper' are pronounced with an initial [f] (Eikel 1954: 32). In other positions, "/pf/ competes with /p/" (Eikel 1954: 32), leading to doublets like [kopf] and [kop] for *Kopf* 'head' (pronounced with [pf] in the standard language). Third, Eikel (1954: 32) notes that some speakers lenite [t] to [d], e.g., for some speakers *Hüte* 'hats' is pronounced with a medial [d], although he does not note this process for the other voiceless stops. Fourth, the /s/ phoneme, which follows the same distribution pattern in NBG as in the standard language for most speakers (i.e. [z] initially before vowels, intervocalically, and between a liquid and a vowel, and [s] elsewhere) behaves differently in NBG for some speakers, who exhibit "a free interchange of the two allophones without any regularity" (Eikel 1954: 34). Such speakers exhibit doublets, sometimes pronouncing words like *selten* 'seldom' as [zeltən] and sometimes as [seltən], without any apparent regularity. Fifth, the dorsal fricative /x/ has an allophone not present in Standard German, [h], described by Eikel (1954: 35) as "an aspirate, which occurs only initially."[29] Sixth, Eikel proposes that [tʃ] is a phoneme in NBG, although it is not a phoneme in Standard German.

According to Eikel (1954: 38), this phoneme, which he describes as "a voiceless assibilated stop" and which we transcribe here as a voiceless affricate, can be found "in all positions in words borrowed from English," e.g., *match* and *ranch*, among others. Eikel (1954: 38) notes that his worksheets "were not designed to elicit this phoneme in NBG words," as it is not found in

Standard German, but also calls it "quite common in NBG," listing a number of native NBG words that contain it, e.g., *Peitsche* 'whip'.

A number of changes have affected the NBG consonant system since the 1950s, but we limit the following discussion to the development of /pf/, the lenition of voiceless stops, changes in the distribution of [s] and [ʃ], and the borrowing of certain consonantal phonemes from English, due to space constraints and the available data.[30] We begin with the development of [pf]. Gilbert (1972) points out that a number of words contain [pf] where it would perhaps be unexpected, e.g., all 15 of his New Braunfels-area informants use [pf] word-initially in *Pferd* 'horse' (Gilbert 1972: Map 103), which according to Eikel (1954) was pronounced with an initial [f]. The following figure, adapted from Boas (2009a: 136), summarizes Gilbert's NBG data for words containing affricates in the standard language:

(4) Affricates in NBG (Gilbert 1972)

	pf	p
Apfel 'apple' (Map 4):	13 (86%)	1 (7%)[31]
Eiszapfen 'icicles' (Map 5)	7 (64%)	4 (36%)[32]
Kochtopf 'cooking pot' (Map 6)	8 (57%)	6 (43%)[33]
Kopf 'head' (map 7)	6 (40%)	9 (60%)
Köpfe 'heads' (map 71)	11 (73%)	4 (27%)
Pferd 'horse' (map 103)	15 (100%)	0

The post-2001 TGDP data generally resembles the Gilbert data in this regard, although there are some clear differences. The similarities lie in *Apfel* 'apple' and *Kochtopf* 'cooking pot': 44 of Boas's 52 informants (88%) use [pf] in *Apfel*, which is roughly the same percentage that used [pf] in the Gilbert data; and roughly the same percentage of TGDP informants use [pf] and [p] in *Kochtopf* that do in the Gilbert data (46% of the TGDP informants use [pf] and 50% use [p], as compared to 57% of Gilbert's informants and 43%, respectively). On the other hand, the distribution of the variants in *Kopf* and *Köpfe* 'head ~ heads' is quite different. Whereas 40% of Gilbert's informants had used [pf] in *Kopf*, as opposed to 60% who had used [p], in the TGDP data 61% use [pf] and 39% [p], and in *Köpfe*, where 73% of Gilbert's informants had used [pf] and 27% [p], in the TGDP data 27% of the informants use [pf] and 69% [p] (two speakers used [f]). That is, in these two words the TGDP informants do the exact opposite of the Gilbert informants. Other differences

can be found in *Pferd* 'horse' (while 100% of Gilbert's informants had used [pf] in *Pferd*, only 8% of the TGDP informants did) and in *Eiszapfen* (only 2 of the 52 TGDP informants used *Eiszapfen* 'icicles', against 4 who used some kind of lexical variant, 14 who used *icicles*, and 32 who gave no response).

It is difficult to account for these developments. Boas (2009a: 137-138) links the differences between the Eikel data and the Gilbert data to the model of new dialect formation proposed by Trudgill (2004) and noted above, stating that "the data illustrate an instance of new dialect formation that is characteristic of Trudgill's second stage of new dialect formation, where we find variability between speakers" (Boas 2009a: 138).[34] There are also a handful of explanatory possibilities for the differences between the Gilbert data and the TGDP data. We suspect that they are the result of sound change. That is, [pf] > [f] is a relatively common sound change in German (as noted by Barbour and Stevenson 1990, among other scholars; see also Boas 2009a: 141 for additional discussion of this possibility). This change would be reinforced by the increased role of English in the linguistic lives of all NBG speakers; since English lacks such affricates, it would be unsurprising if NBG were also to eliminate them, especially in salient positions like word-initially.[35] Boas (2009a: 142) states that "the TGDP data show a mixed picture for the distribution of [pf] and [p], which makes it difficult to draw any definite conclusions about their development over the past 40 years and their current status in Texas German," and we once again see no compelling reason to dissent from this conclusion.

We now discuss the lenition of the voiceless stops. This process is very common in the German dialects (as demonstrated by the traditional term, *die binnendeutsche Konsonantenschwächung*), and is described in detail in works like Schirmunski (1962), Simmler (1983), and König (2015). As such, it might be expected to be common in NBG as well; if the donor dialects of NBG exhibited lenition, it should also occur in NBG. Eikel (1954: 32), however, reports only a very limited amount of lenition in NBG, stating that "[a]mong a few speakers /t/ appears lenis initially and medially." Gilbert (1972) also reports a relatively limited amount of lenited [t], e.g., in 14 of his 15 New Braunfels-area informants (93%) used [t] in *Tür* 'door', with the remaining informant alternating between [t] and [d] (Gilbert 1972: Map 8), and records similar results for other words containing this consonant (e.g., *Tisch* 'table'). As was the case with the Eikel data, the other voiceless stops are not lenited in the Gilbert data for New Braunfels.[36] The post-2001 TGDP data paints a similar picture: a few speakers lenite /t/ to [d], e.g., 2 of 52 informants produce [d] in *Tisch* 'table', against 50 who produce [t] in this word (Boas 2009a: 147). There are a few more examples of lenited /t/ in the open-ended interview data, e.g., [d]*otgeschossen* for expected [t]*otgeschossen*

'shot dead' ([1-28-1-5-a])[37] and *El*[d]*ern* for expected *El*[t]*ern* 'parents' ([1-76-1-3-a]; Boas 2009a: 147). In general /k/ is also not lenited to [g], e.g., none of the TGDP informants produced lenited [k] in words like *Kopf* during the interview tasks, although there are relevant examples in the open-ended interview data, e.g., *Zuc*[g]er for expected *Zuc*[k]*er* 'sugar' [1-85-1-3-a] (Boas 2009a: 152). There are apparently also no examples of lenited /p/ in the TGDP NBG data. In sum, then, although lenition is quite common in some dialects of TxG, especially for /t/, it is considerably rarer in NBG. A more recent development in NBG involves the distribution of [s] and [ʃ], which has changed since Gilbert (1972).[38] Gilbert (1972: Maps 14-16) reports the following distribution in words with consonant clusters. In *Donnerstag* 'Thursday', 12 of his 15 informants (80%) used [s], with 2 (13%) using [ʃ], and 1 (7%) alternating between the two sounds; in *Wurst* 'sausage', 1 of his informants (7%) used [s], with 13 (87%) using [ʃ], and 1 (7%) alternating between the two sounds; and in *Haarbürste* 'hairbrush' 7 (47%) used [s] and 8 (53%) used [ʃ]. This distribution has since changed somewhat, as Boas (2009a: 152-55) notes. In the TGDP data, 11 out of 48 informants (23%) use the standard German [s] in *Donnerstag*, against 37 informants who use [ʃ]; only 3 informants (6%) use [s] in *Wurst*, against 46 (94%) who use [ʃ] in this word; and in *Haarbürste* only 1 informant (4%) uses [s], while 24 (96%) use [ʃ], and the remaining 27 speakers consulted either gave a different answer or did not respond. In other words, the use of the non-standard [ʃ] variant has increased dramatically in *Donnerstag* and *Haarbürste*, while generally remaining consistent in *Wurst*.[39]

The causes of this development are difficult to pin down precisely. On the one hand, it could be a corpus issue, as Gilbert's sample size is considerably smaller than that of the TGDP. Perhaps Gilbert's New Braunfels-area informants are therefore not fully representative of NBG of his time. A different account is presented in Boas (2009a: 154-55), who suggests that it is due to leveling in favor of the non-standard variant, motivated by the speakers' desire to express their identity as speakers of Texas German, not Standard German.[40] As long as the nonstandard variant is seen as a sign of TxG identity, then, it will be preferred by those who identify as Texas Germans. Echoing Boas (2009a: 155), we conclude that "a multiple causation scenario" is the most likely, even if it currently remains unclear.

4 Morphosyntax

Here we focus on case, plurals, gender, word order, and changes in the tense system, in that order. The standard language has four cases, nominative (used for subjects), accusative (used for direct objects), dative (used for indirect objects), and genitive (typically used for possession). There are also

prepositions that assign each of these cases except for the nominative. Various special considerations also play a role, e.g., accusative case is used for definite time (e.g., *nächsten Montag* 'next Monday') and genitive case is used for indefinite time (e.g., *eines Tages* 'one day'); we leave these considerations aside here.[41]

According to Eikel (1949), the nominative and accusative cases are used in NBG as they are in Standard German. The dative case has generally been lost and replaced by the accusative, although dative occasionally occurs following *mit* 'with'. The genitive case has also generally been lost, with the dative and/or accusative replacing it, although it is occasionally used with last names. Eikel (1954) draws largely the same conclusions, but fleshes his arguments out considerably. In the later work, based on data from 24 informants put into three age groups, Eikel demonstrates that at least some of changes in the NBG case system are linked to age: his oldest informants use the dative more often than the next oldest age group, and his youngest age group uses the dative the least often (Eikel 1954: 51-54). There are 102 instances in Eikel's worksheets where Standard German would require the dative; his oldest group of speakers used the dative an average of 61 times, while his middle group used it an average of 52 times, and his youngest group used it an average of 15 times. While this seems to indicate the straightforward reduction of the case system, the data for the genitive case contradicts this claim, as it is in fact the middle group that uses the genitive the most often.[42] In addition, Eikel notes considerable variation among individual speakers, e.g., one speaker uses dative with *während* 'during', although *während* is a genitive preposition in the standard language, but then states that "[t]he same informant used the genitive with *während* the next time" (Eikel 1954: 53). Finally, some idioms were also resistant to case loss (Boas 2009a, 2018). These issues, as well as those noted in Boas (2009a: 187-189), with Eikel's analysis aside, the bottom line is that the NBG case system in Eikel's time already differed somewhat from that of the standard language, in that for at least some speakers it had become a two-case system (a type also recorded for dialects in Germany; cf. König 2015).

The material presented in Gilbert (1972) indicates that case syncretism in TxG had continued; specifically, the genitive case is almost entirely lost and that the dative case has also retreated substantially since Eikel (1954).[43] Gilbert (1972: Map 57) presents a sentence that would involve the use of the dative case in Standard German, *Es liegt dort unten auf dem Boden* 'it's lying down there on the floor'. Of his 15 New Braunfels-area informants, 3 (20%) used the non-standard accusative, while the remaining 12 (80%) used the standard dative in this sentence. This observation contradicts the point just made about the loss of the dative, but when Gilbert's other data is considered, it becomes clear that the dative had indeed retreated substantially

in the several decades separating his data collection from Eikel's. For instance, Gilbert (1972: Map 51) presents another sentence that would require the dative in Standard German, *Das Bild hängt über dem Bett* 'the picture is hanging over the bed'. Here only 2 of his 15 New Braunfels-area informants (13%) used the standard dative; the remaining 13 (87%) used the non-standard accusative. Similar results obtain for some of Gilbert's other maps (e.g., Map 53, *Er sitzt unter dem Baum* 'he's sitting under the tree', where Standard German requires the dative, but 13 (87%) of Gilbert's informants used the accusative, against only 2 (13%) who used the dative). Gilbert also finds that certain contexts are more resistant to case loss, e.g., the pronominal system (as in Modern English). The bottom line(s) for the case data reported in Gilbert (1972) are that case loss had indeed continued since Eikel's time, and there was considerable variation in the case systems among individual TxG speakers (e.g., in the cases assigned by individual prepositions, etc.).

The TGDP data paints a similar picture (widespread case loss, accompanied by widespread variation among individual NBG speakers). The resampled data collected for the TGDP for the three Gilbert maps just mentioned, for instance, yields the following results. For Map 57 (*Es liegt dort unten auf dem Boden*) the vast majority of TGDP informants used the accusative instead of the standard dative (38 of 54 informants, i.e. 94%), with only 3 (7%) using the standard dative, while 6 gave no answer and the remaining 5 gave other answers. For Map 51 (*Das Bild hängt über dem Bett*) all 49 of the TGDP informants who answered this question (3 others gave no answer) used the accusative instead of the standard dative. Finally, for Map 53 (*Er sitzt unter dem Baum*), 42 of the 45 TGDP informants (93%) who answered the question (7 others gave no answer) used the accusative, while only 3 (7%) used the dative (see Boas 2009a: 197-98 on the TGDP results for all three maps). The TGDP data also indicates the resistance to case loss in pronouns mentioned above.

A number of possible causes of this development have been suggested in the literature, including the following. Eikel (1949) connects it to the NBG donor dialects and to contact with English, suggesting that language contact is "much more important since the older people use the dative more freely than does the present generation" (Eikel 1949: 281).[44] Salmons (1994) and Salmons & Lucht (2006) link the decline of the TxG case system to exposure to Standard German. They contend that the greater preservation of the case system in the speech of the oldest generation of Eikel's speakers is connected to their greater exposure to Standard German, i.e., that more exposure to the more extensive case system of Standard German led to the preservation of a more standard-like case system in their NBG. In their view, once the position of Standard German had begun to recede, the systematic

case distinctions found in the older generations of TxG speakers also began to recede.[45] Most recently, Boas (2009a, 2009b) defends a multiple causation scenario, invoking internal factors like the phonological similarities between some of the individual case markers as well as external factors like contact with English. The last scenario is the most likely, as it best fits with what we know about language change in general and the development of TxG in particular.

Turning now to gender assignment in TxG, Standard German has a three-gender system (with the individual genders traditionally referred to as masculine, feminine, and neuter), and NBG has roughly the same system. Eikel (1954; 1967: 84) reports that "[t]he gender of the nouns in NBG follows S[tandard]G[erman]. The gender of English loanwords is quite uniform in NBG and differs frequently from the gender attributed to English loanwords that have been recorded in the studies of other German dialects in the United States." Eikel (1967: 84-85) further reports the following English loanwords in Texas German with their genders.[46]

(5) The gender of English loanwords in Texas German (Eikel 1967)
Masculine: basket, blanket, closet, desk, farmer, grocery store, honeymoon, shelf, tire
Feminine: box, car, cotton, fountain pen, match, napkin, office, station
Neuter: barrel, closet, depot, desk, garbage, loaf, movie, picnic, trash

As for the reasons behind these gender assignments, Eikel (1967: 85 fn 4) pessimistically writes,

> It is of course impossible to see what 'logic' was at work in determining the gender of loanwords acquired in Texas. Frequently the principle of logical gender operated, as in *farmer* (masculine) and *home* (neuter). In many cases the gender of the borrowed noun was determined by the gender of its German equivalent, as in *der store*: *Laden* …. However, when the word suggests no German word from which it could have received its gender (e.g., *der blanket* and *der bottom*, i.e. river bottom) or when the word names an object that was unknown to the people while in Germany or was 'invented' later (e.g., *die fence*, … *die car*, *der globe*… and *die ranch*), one cannot accurately account for the gender applied, and the linguist is reduced to mere speculation.[47]

More recently, Boas (2009a) notes that in the TGDP data gender assignment in NBG very closely follows gender assignment in the standard language.[48]

He reports only 37 instances where gender assignment in NBG differs from gender assignment in the standard language (in a corpus then containing over 305,000 words of TxG). Non-standard gender assignment is largely limited to only three speakers, which we interpret as meaning that the gender system is not breaking down for TxG in general, but only for these three speakers. Also, Boas argues that most non-standard gender assignments in TxG are neuter, e.g., *das Platz* 'place' (standard German *der Platz*) and *das Arbeit* 'work' (standard German *die Arbeit*), although a few of them are feminine (e.g., *die Krieg* 'war', Standard German *der Krieg*; *die Kopf* 'head', Standard German *der Kopf*; and *die Bus* 'bus', Standard German *der Bus*). This point is of particular interest here, as earlier work on Pennsylvania German gender, e.g., Buffington (1941) and Reed (1942), has argued that in Pennsylvania German there is a tendency for feminine to be the default gender (as opposed to the standard language, where the default gender is masculine).[49] Boas's data contradicts this claim. We see these non-standard feminine genders as the straightforward result of speakers' choosing the closest TxG equivalent to the English definite article *the*, presumably as the result of their fading fluency in TxG. Finally, Boas (2009a) notes that the relative stability of gender assignment in TxG contradicts results from some other dying languages, e.g., Southern Sutherland Gaelic (discussed in Dorian 1977), where gender assignment is considerably more variable and unstable.

We now address plural formation. Standard German has a number of rules for plural formation, some of which are given in (6):

(6) Plural formation in standard German
   a. Add –e, e.g., *Brief ~ Briefe* 'letter ~ letters'
   b. Add –e and umlaut the stem vowel, e.g., *Zug ~ Züge* 'train ~ trains'
   c. Add –er, e.g., *Kind ~ Kinder* 'child ~ children'
   d. Add –er and umlaut the stem vowel, e.g., *Buch ~ Bücher* 'book ~ books'
   e. No changes, e.g., *Mädchen ~ Mädchen* 'girl ~ girls'

The situation is further complicated by factors like irregular plurals (which are presumably lexicalized), an ongoing trend to mark plurals explicitly, and a broad range of dialect variation in plural formation.[50] Previous research on plural formation in TxG includes the following.[51] Eikel (1967), based on Eikel (1954), essentially equates TxG plural formation with plural formation in standard German. Eikel (1967: 83) writes: "[t]he plurals of nouns in NBG are often formed like the plurals of native nouns in Standard German (SG)," and further that "[s]ome nouns in NBG form their plurals by adding *–s* or *–es* to the singular of English nouns." Interestingly, Eikel (1967: 83 fn 2)

notes that "[s]ome nouns borrowed from English have been Germanized and, beside the regular English plural, may have a competing form with a German plural ending." He unfortunately does not cite any examples of such forms.

The data collected in Gilbert (1972) reveals a somewhat different picture: although some of Gilbert's informants use plural forms that are identical with those of standard German, others do not. A representative sample of Gilbert's material is as follows (Boas 2009a: 228-233).[52]

(7) Texas German plurals (Gilbert 1972)

Map 62, *zwei Zimmer* 'two rooms':	21% zero ending (as in the standard)
	79% -n
Map 64: *zwei Wagen* 'two wagons':	87% zero ending (as in the standard)
	13% -s
Map 65: *zwei Jungen* 'two boys':	14% -n (as in the standard)
	71% -ns
	14% zero ending
Map 68: *zwei Kühe* 'two cows':	80% *Kiehe*
	20% *Kieh*

While some of these plurals clearly resemble standard German, others do not, for various reasons (in the case of *zwei Kühe*, for instance, the widespread loss of front rounded vowels prevented speakers from using the standard form).

Boas (2009a) found a great deal of variation in the present-day system, as in the following forms.[53]

(8) Texas German plurals (Boas 2009a: 233)

a. No ending: *Tag* 'days', *Jahr* 'years', *Hirsch* 'deer'
b. Umlaut the stem vowel: *Kieh* 'cows', *Männ* 'men'
c. Add –s: *Mädchens* 'girls', *Jungs* 'boys'
d. Add –en: *Tagen* 'days', *Tiren* 'doors'
e. Add –n: *Zimmern* 'rooms'

This data led him to draw two conclusions. First, "the decrease in morphological plural markers signals a breakdown of a particular part of Texas German morphology" (Boas 2009: 232).

Second, the "increase in productivity of two plural morphemes, namely *–s* and *–n*, [is] a change characteristic of dying languages and dialects" (Boas 2009: 233). In other words, Boas (2009a) sees the plural system of current TxG as the result of the looming death of Texas German, which has led to the breakdown of this aspect of TxG morphology.

Here we propose a scenario involving influence from English, prosody, explicit plural marking, and the changing linguistic and social contexts of NBG. At first blush, influence from English could be seen as the key factor; since English forms regular plurals by adding –s, perhaps TxG speakers have simply replaced the older TxG plural rules with English plural rules.

Although this does account for plurals like *Amerikaners* 'Americans' (standard German *Amerikaner*), an explanation based solely on contact with English cannot be sustained in this case. This is because (1) *-s* is only one of the possible ways to form plurals in Texas German (as noted above), meaning that English cannot be the source of all of these different plurals; and (2) research on other changes in NBG has demonstrated that contact with English cannot always account for ongoing changes. We thus prefer to see contact with English as a factor reinforcing ongoing developments, not the cause of the developments themselves. As to prosody, a number of Texas German plurals fit the prosodic pattern described by Wiese (2009) for Standard German, i.e., some monosyllabic nouns add a second syllable in the plural (for at least some speakers), e.g., *Tagen* 'days' and *Tiren* 'doors', and some disyllabic nouns do not add an additional syllable in the plural (again, for at least some speakers), e.g., *Ziegen*/ *Ziege* 'goats'. However, a number of Texas German plurals do not fit this pattern, e.g., some monosyllabic nouns like *Hirsch* 'deer' (plural) do not add a second syllable in the plural. This leads us to conclude that, while prosody certainly plays a role in Texas German plural formation, it is not the dominant factor involved (as it does seem to be in the standard language). We note also the same trend towards explicit plural marking found in colloquial standard German, e.g., *Fenster* 'window' ~ *Fenstern* 'windows'. A handful of TxG plurals, e.g., *Kiehe* 'cows' have presumably been lexicalized. Finally, imminent language death can indeed result in morphological meltdowns of the type Boas (2009a) describes for Texas German plurals for a few speakers. The changing linguistic and social contexts of NBG have also had a significant linguistic effect, in this case, the widespread retention of standard German plural morphology in Eikel's data (and, to a lesser extent, in Gilbert's data) vs. the significant differences from standard German plural morphology found in Boas' data.

We turn now to word order. Although Standard German is generally interpreted as having underlying SOV word order (e.g., by Haider 2010), this word order is not found in all of the German *Sprachinseln* (see, e.g., Louden 1988, 2016 on Pennsylvania German, etc.). As for NBG, word order has been a largely neglected phenomenon; neither Eikel (1954) nor Gilbert (1972) comments on it. Clardy (1954: 3) does suggest that NBG might also not have the SOV word order of Standard German (although she did not couch her observation in those terms), but fails to provide any data in support of this suggestion. Other scholars of NBG do not comment on it.

Louden (1988: 184-186) argued on the basis of the following criteria that Pennsylvania German is underlyingly SOV: (1) the finite verb is in final position in embedded clauses; (2) the infinitive is in final position in "infinitival complement constructions"; (3) "In main clauses with prefixed verbs, the verbal prefix remains in final position"; and (4) "In dependent clauses with prefixed verbs, the finite verb remains attached to the prefix in final position." Boas (2009a: 220-23) applied these criteria to TxG, with the following results.

5 Word order in TxG

1. TxG word order varies considerably in embedded clauses, e.g., in subordinate clauses it varies according to conjunction, e.g. *weil* 'because' is generally followed by SVO word order (where Standard German has SOV), but *bis* 'until' instead tends to follow the Standard German pattern.[54] Other conjunctions, e.g., *dass* 'that', appear with either SVO or SOV word order. The following examples illustrate these points:

(9)
- a. . . . weil die sollten nich fliehen. [1-24-3-5-a]
- b. . . . bis ich wie alt war. [1-28-1-9-a]
- c. …dass ich ein richtige beste Freund gehabt hab. [1-24-1-17-a]

In other types of dependent clauses, specifically such clauses introduced by "question words" like *wo* 'where' and *wie* 'how' (cf. Louden 1988: 184), NBG generally exhibits SOV word order. For more details on TxG dependent clauses headed by *wo*, see Boas et al. (2014). The following examples from Boas (2009a) reflect this:

(10)
- a. wo er Milchkieh gehabt hat. [1-35-1-1-a]
- b. wie mir es alles gemacht habn. [1-27-1-19-a]

2. In infinitival complement constructions, the TGDP informants normally place the infinitive at the end of the clause, as in the following examples:

(11)
- a. Das war ziemlich schwer gewesen, so 'n Prüfung zu machen. [1-24-1-18-a]
- b. Ich muss denn nächsten Montag anfang zu lernen. [1-35-1- 19-a]
- c. Da hat er mich geholt zu tanzen. [1-80-1-13-a]

3. In constructions involving prefixed verbs, the TGDP informants normally place the prefix at the end of the clause, as in Standard German, as illustrated by the following examples:

(12)
a. Ja, da kam 'n Brief an. [1-28-1-25a]
b. Dann stop die Wurst un dann hängst zum hinten schmoken auf. [1-82-1-7-a]
c. . . . das kommt wieder zurick. [1-1-1-14-a]

4. Finally, the TGDP informants normally place the finite prefixed verb at the end of the clause, as in Standard German, as illustrated by the following examples:

(13)
a. dass die Federn leicht rauskam. [1-30-1-7-a]
b. dass de ein bisschen wegkommst. [1-8-1-13-a]
c. dass das Schiff losgingt. [1-28-1-2-a]

TxG word order generally agrees with that of the standard language and fits three of Louden's four criteria for SOV word order (with the one exception being the mixed SOV/SVO pattern found in dependent clauses and varying by conjunction). The conditions governing the choice of SVO or SOV word order following *dass* remain unclear. Boas (2009a: 220) points out that "Some speakers … switch between the two word orders…, apparently without any systematic pattern." Boas (2009a: 223) concludes that underlying word order in TxG is SOV, as in Pennsylvania German and in the standard language.[55]

We conclude this section with some remarks on the loss of the preterit and its replacement by the perfect in TxG.[56] This change is very common in the German dialects (König 2015; see e.g., Rosenberg 2005 and Salmons 2018 for diachronic discussions), and it would therefore be unsurprising to find it in TxG as well. This is in fact the case. Eikel (1954: 61) points out that his oldest generation of speakers still uses the preterit, but that his youngest generation does not; it instead "seems to be characterized by the normal tendency of informal Colloquial German in the use of the past and present perfect." Gilbert (1972) contains three maps with relevant forms. His results are as follows:

(14) Gilbert (1972) and the preterit
a. Map 97: *Er kam gestern* 'he came yesterday': 10 of his 15 (67%) New Braunfels-area informants who responded used present perfect; 3 (20%) used preterit; 2 (13% used both)

b. Map 98: *Wir gingen nach Hause* 'we went home': 11 (79%) used present perfect, 3 (21%) used preterit
c. Map 99: *Ihr wart beide gestern hier* 'you were both here yesterday': all 15 informants (100%) used preterit.

Gilbert's data is typical for spoken colloquial German, which usually uses perfect tense with all but a handful of verbs (normally *haben*, *sein*, and the modals), with which the preterit is used, in that most of his speakers used perfect tense, except with *sein* 'to be'.

The TGDP data reveals a similar picture, with a few refinements. The TGDP results are as follows (Boas 2009a: 225).

(15) The preterit in the resampled Gilbert data
a. Map 97: 19 (40%) perfect, 28 (58%) preterit
b. Map 98: 34 (92%) perfect, 3 (8%) preterit

This shows a slight increase in the use of the preterit from the Gilbert data for Map 97, but slight decreases in its use for Maps 98 and 99. Due to this, and the relatively small sample size, Boas (2009a: 224) suggests only that further research is necessary to pin down the exact usages.

Boas and Schuchardt (2012: 4-6) offer a frequency-based comparison between TxG and the standard language, with frequency counts for the standard language taken from the Leipzig/BYU corpus (Jones and Tschirner 2006). Their search of the data collected between 2001 and 2007 in the TxG corpus yielded the following counts of the distribution of perfect and preterit forms for the most common German verbs.

(16) Distribution of perfect and preterit in the TGDP corpus, 2001-2007

Rank	Verb	Preterit	Perfect
1	*sagen*	14	441
2	*machen*	3	419
3	*geben*	16	85
4	*kommen*	781	148
5	*gehen*	113	348
6	*wissen*	75	11
7	*sehen*	25	76
8	*lassen*	0	16
9	*stehen*	2	27
10	*finden*	0	73

This data indicates that the perfect is indeed gaining ground at the expense of the preterit, except for *kommen*. At this point, we have no solid explanation for this variation, and can only agree with Boas (2009a) that further research is necessary to see if this issue can be pinned down.

6 Lexicon

The most conspicuous characteristic of TxG semantics and the lexicon is the impact of English. TxG exhibits a number of examples of semantic transfer (i.e. cases where the semantics of an English word have affected the meaning of a TxG word, based on some perceived similarity, normally semantic or phonological). Examples include *gleichen*, which means something like 'to resemble, to be like something' in the standard language, often means 'to like' in TxG (where Standard German would use *mögen*), e.g., *Gleichen Sie Kochkäse* 'do you like cooked cheese', Standard German *Mögen Sie Kochkäse* (1-8-1-2-a); [57] and *Grad*, which means 'degree' in Standard German, but often means 'grade (in school)' in TxG (Fingerhuth 2016), as in *Meine Großmutter an die Mami ihr Seit, is in die zweite Grad gegang* 'My maternal grandmother went to the second grade' (1-76-1-19).

The current TxG lexicon is characterized by a number of loan words from English, and this number has increased steadily: there are more English loan words in the TGDP data than in the Gilbert data, and more English loan words in the Gilbert data than in the Eikel data. Studies like Gilbert (1965), Jordan (1977), and Wilson (1977) identify a number of semantic domains for English loan words, including flora and fauna (*Armadillo, Prickly Pear, Pecanbaum*), education (*Principal, Teacher, Schulyard*), technical expressions (*Carburetor*, *Truck*), agricultural terminology (*Fence*, *Pasture*), and political terminology (*County Commissioner*, *to naturalize*). Loan words include nouns, verbs, and adjectives, as well as discourse markers like *you know* and conjunctions like *but* and *because* (see e.g., Boas (2010), Boas and Pierce (2011), Weilbacher (2011), and Dux (2017) for recent studies of loan words in TxG).

Other relevant issues today include the following. Boas and Pierce (2011) note that for some forms, e.g., 'garden rake', there is more variability in the TGDP data than in the Gilbert data. That is, where 14 of Gilbert's 15 New Braunfels-area informants (93%) gave *Rechen* for this word, with the other giving *Harken* (Gilbert 1972: Map 108), the TDGP informants gave a number of different answers, e.g., *Gartenrechen*, *Gartenrake*, and *Harken*. Also, a number of TGDP informants could not remember specific words, although lexical loss appears to be rarest with native German words from core semantic domains (e.g., *Fussboden* 'floor') and well-established English loan words like *creek* or *candy*. Additionally, although in cases of language death loanwords

from the dominant language tend to increase, there are some counterexamples to this in the TGDP data, e.g., *sink*. In the case of this particular word, all of Gilbert's (1972) informants used the English loanword, but a number of TGDP informants use German hybrid compounds like *Kichensink* instead. At this point it is not entirely clear if there are truly systematic patterns in the data which would allow for predictions about the development of particular word types. Finally, despite the large numbers of English loan words in present day TxG, Boas and Pierce (2011) reject the idea that lexical erosion has taken place, instead attributing developments that might stem from lexical erosion to factors like situationally-bound vocabulary use,[58] fading fluency in TxG, and general age-related cognitive factors.

7 Conclusions

To state it frankly, Texas German is dying. At its peak just before World War I, Texas German was the dominant language in a number of Texas cities and towns (including New Braunfels and Fredericksburg). Between the two World Wars, Texas German was still in a state of language maintenance, but by 1970 it had moved from this state of language maintenance to a state of language shift. Since the late 1960s Texas German has quite simply been overwhelmed by a number of social challenges and developments (as discussed in more detail above). The number of Texas German speakers has declined precipitously, from a high of around 159,000 in 1940 (Kloss 1998) to only about 3000 speakers today.[59] There are no monolingual speakers of Texas German today, or even any Texas German-dominant bilinguals, and the remaining speakers of Texas German are moreover almost all over the age of 80. In light of this, as well as the complete absence of any indications that the continuing shift to English can be stopped, let alone reversed, we reject the claim of Nicolini (2004: 165) that "Interviews mit alten Texanern lassen den Schluss zu, dass die deutsche Sprache am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts lebendiger ist, als es in der germanistischen Forschung gemeinhin gesehen wird." Instead, TxG is unfortunately on the list of about 3000 languages and dialects world-wide that are expected to go extinct by the end of the 21st century, with no way to prevent this (see Boas & Fingerhuth 2017).

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Notes

[1] The extent to which Texas resonated with German imaginations can be seen in Karl May's novel *Der Scout*, which takes place partially in La Grange, Texas.

[2] The "German belt" encompasses the area between Gillespie and Medina Counties in the west, Bell and Williamson Counties in the north, Burleson, Washington, Austin, and Fort Bend Counties in the east, and DeWitt, Karnes, and Wilson Counties in the south (Boas 2009a).

[3] Following Boas (2009a), we use the term "Texas German" to refer to a set of standard-near varieties of German currently or formerly spoken in Texas, descended from the varieties of German brought to Texas by German speaking settlers in the 19th century.

[4] There are a number of smaller-scale studies of TxG, e.g. Clardy (1954), Salmons (1983), and Guion (1996). Such studies generally reinforce the descriptions of TxG presented in the three large-scale studies, and we therefore focus on the large-scale works here. See Boas (2009a), Boas et al. (2010), and Boas (2021) for details on the design of the TGDP and the accompanying Texas German Dialect Archive (TGDA).

[5] TGDP members have re-recorded the word and sentence lists used by Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1972), and have also resampled the Gilbert data (i.e. collected data using the same questionnaire), which makes comparison with these earlier studies fairly straightforward. (One speaker from New Braunfels was in fact recorded both by Fred Eikel in the late 1930s or early 1940s, and by the TGDP team in 2004.)

[6] See e.g. Roesch (2012, this volume) on Texas Alsatian, another German dialect spoken in Texas.

[7] See Gilbert (1972) on the distribution of various linguistic features across the dialects of TxG.

[8] To these two points, we note only that TxG was shaped by the process of new dialect formation proposed by Trudgill (2004), but that it apparently did not complete this process (Boas 2009a); and that the role of Standard German in Texas requires further investigation. See Boas and Fuchs (2018) and Salmons and Lucht (2006) for different perspectives on this question.

[9] See Benjamin (1909) on the first of these points and Salmons (1983) on the second.

[10] *Texas Vorwärts*, published in Austin, had a circulation of over 6000 in 1900, for instance (Salmons and Lucht 2006: 174).

[11] Although the exact number of German-language schools during this time period is difficult to determine, the statement of Boas (2009a: 48) that "German continued to dominate as a language of school instruction … throughout the German Belt well into the 1900s, especially in the more rural areas" is certainly valid.

[12] This situation was not unique to Texas; similar situations arose in various other states with a strong German presence at around the same time.

[13] We follow the viewpoint defended in Boas (2009a) and Boas et al. (2010) here. Others have contended that World War I should be viewed as something that exacerbated already-existing tendencies, not as a cause for these tendencies. We do not engage with this issue further here.

[14] We employ a fairly loose definition of "diglossia" here.

[15] See Salmons and Lucht (2006: 173-178) for further discussion of the German-language press in Texas. Note also that as late as 1949 the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* had a circulation of 4000 (Eikel 1949: 278).

[16] Eikel (1954) presents the fullest overview of the NBG phoneme system, so we rely on his work here. For an evaluation of Eikel's research on Texas German, see Pierce et al. (2019) and Pierce et al. (2021).

[17] For a recent analysis of diphthongs in Texas German, see Warmuth (2023).

[18] We have modified Eikel's transcriptions slightly in accordance with more current practices, e.g. he transcribes *Bücher* 'books' as [by:çəR] and describes [R] as "a weak post-velar fricative" (Eikel 1954: 37). Following Pierce et al. (2015), however, we have retained Eikel's transcription of all vowels as tense. Additionally, Eikel's examples indicate that his informants spoke a version of Texas German that was very close to Standard German. To the best of our knowledge, his examples are indeed representative of the NBG of his time. His examples also largely agree with those cited in other then-contemporary works like Clardy (1954).

[19] The following discussion draws on Pierce et al. (2015), the most recent treatment of the problem. (That paper builds on the earlier discussion given in Boas 2009a.)

[20] This observation is echoed in Clardy (1954), who points out that her oldest informant has front rounded vowels in all contexts where they appear in standard German, that the next oldest group of informants uses front rounded vowels less consistently, and that her youngest informant lacks front rounded vowels altogether. See Boas (2009a: 107) for some commentary on Clardy's data.

[21] These maps are: Map 17, *the door/ die Tür*; map 18, *two daughters/ zwei Töchter*; map 19, *sweet potatoes/ Bataten*, *Süßkartoffeln*; map 20, *two cooking pots/ zwei Kochtöpfe*; and map 21, *a hairbrush/ eine Haarbürste*. There is some inconsistency among speakers in this regard, which we leave aside here. See Pierce et al. (2015) for details.

[22] Gilbert (1972: 1, fn 5), Boas (2009a), and Salmons (2018: 258 fn 4) make similar points.

[23] This account builds on Boas (2009a).

[24] See Salmons (2018) for a recent handbook account of this sound change.

[25] Several of Gilbert's maps involve the preposition *auf* 'on', which contains the relevant diphthong in Standard German, but they only give lexical information, not phonological.

[26] Gilbert's one Comal County informant who used the long vowel variant is an outlier, whose use of this variant may just be an idiosyncratic speech pattern, or a stylistic choice, or something similar, although it is impossible to determine this with any certainty at this remove.

[27] Alternatively, this informant could have been at the forefront of an ongoing change in NBG, but this seems considerably less likely, given that the change is apparently not complete today, despite the nearly 60 years separating Clardy (1954) from Boas (2009a) and the increased contact with English characteristic of NBG speakers today.

[28] We have altered Eikel's transcriptions slightly in accordance with more current practices and have also reformatted his consonant chart slightly for convenience.

[29] Eikel's presentation of this consonant is somewhat unclear to us, e.g. when he states that *Hühner* 'chickens' and *China* 'China' "are homophonous in NBG," despite transcribing them differently (Eikel 1954: 35), and we therefore do not discuss it here.

[30] See Boas (2009a: 134-160) for a fuller treatment of these and other phonological issues in NBG.

[31] One informant alternated between [pf] and [p].

[32] Four informants gave no response.

[33] One informant used *Kochdopp*.

[34] He also considers the possibilities that these differences result from contact with other dialects or the influence of Standard German, but ultimately contends that there is no conclusive evidence in favor of either of these hypotheses. We note here that this could also potentially be the result of an issue with Eikel's corpus. As noted above, Eikel (1954: 32) reports variation between /pf/ and /p/ in non-initial position, and perhaps it was just by chance that none of his informants exhibited the same variation word-initially. It is of course impossible to verify this hypothesis at this point. Moreover, we have taken Eikel's data at face value throughout this paper, and do not propose to change our approach at this point.

[35] Boas (2009a: 141-142) suggests that lexical erosion could also play a role, but we see this as less likely than the sound change mentioned above.

[36] /k/ is lenited to [g] by a few speakers in Gillespie and Medina Counties, however (Gilbert 1972).

[37] The combination of numbers following each example is a unique file identification number that allows users of the TGDA to find the examples in the transcripts, thereby allowing for access to the relevant contexts in which the examples occur (see Boas et al. 2010 for details). For more details on the transcription conventions of the TGDA, see Blevins (2022).

[38] This development is discussed in neither Eikel (1954) nor Clardy (1954).

[39] For a more recent analysis of the variation of [ʃ] in Texas German, see Lindemann (2019).

[40] Similar phenomena have been recorded in other dying languages, on which see e.g. Schilling-Estes and Wolfram (1999) and Wolfram (2002), among others.

[41] Boas (2009a, b) treats the individual uses of each case separately. For reasons of space, we lump our discussions of each usage together here.

[42] We do not, however, want to make too much of this observation, due to the relatively small sample size and the closeness of the results (e.g. the oldest generation used the genitive an average of 4 times out of a possible 20, while the middle generation used it an average of 6 times out of 20).

[43] See Gilbert (1965) and Salmons (1983, 1994) for other discussions of the TxG case system.

[44] Eikel (1949: 281) labels the dative case an "überflüssiger Luxus" and the accusative "das Mädchen für Alles" (a term he attributes to Hermann Hirt), which gives some insight into his views on language change.

[45] For a different view, see Boas & Fuchs (2018).

[46] Eikel notes that some of these nouns show variable gender, e.g. *closet* can be masculine or neuter. We leave this refinement, which we view as an artifact of the borrowing process, aside here.

[47] By "the principle of logical gender" Eikel presumably means something like "individual semantic analogy to an existing German word."

[48] Because Glenn Gilbert does not discuss gender at length in any of his work, and no real conclusions can be drawn about TxG gender from the Gilbert data, we jump from Eikel to the TGDP here.

[49] Page (2011) argues instead that the default gender in Pennsylvania German is masculine and that the gender assignment rules for standard German and Pennsylvania German differ sharply, which he attributes to developments in the history of Pennsylvania German (e.g. the apocope of word-final schwa, which created a number of monosyllabic feminine nouns).

[50] See Köpcke (1993), Davies and Langer (2006), Wiese (2009), Birkenes (2014), and Salmons (2018) for discussion of these and other issues in German plural formation.

[51] See Salmons (1983) and Guion (1996) for additional analyses of TxG plurals.

[52] As there are a few outliers, percentages do not always add up to 100%.

[53] To save space, singular forms are not given. In addition, there is a great deal of variation in plural formation in present-day Texas German. The forms in (2) are representative.

[54] SVO word order in *weil*-clauses seems to be increasingly common even in relatively standard forms of German, cf. Salmons (2018).

[55] Fuchs (2017), which focuses on dependent clauses, draws largely the same conclusion. For additional information on word order in Texas German, see Dux (2018).

[56] This issue is discussed less often than some other phenomena and our discussion is therefore somewhat brief. Some speakers either gave no response or gave a response that cannot be characterized precisely, e.g. one speaker gave "Er gekommen gestern" as a response for Map 97 (Boas 2009a: 225), meaning that the numbers differ slightly from map to map here. For a discussion of progressive aspect in TxG, see Blevins (2018).

[57] This usage of *gleichen* is very widespread in American German, see e.g., Schach (1951) on Pennsylvania German, Keel (2014) on Kansas German, and Dux (this volume, 2020) on Wisconsin Low German and TxG, respectively.

[58] They report on one informant, for instance, who could speak very fluently about hunting in TxG, but nothing else. (He had often gone hunting as a younger man with his father and brothers, and they had only spoken TxG on those trips, whence his retention of TxG in this one domain.)

[59] Texas does have considerable financial and social connections with Germany, and a number of native speakers of German have recently immigrated to Texas. These new immigrants, however, are too few and have arrived too late to "rescue" Texas German. See Salmons (1983) or Boas (2009a) for some discussion.

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Karen A. Rösch

The Texas Alsatian Dialect in Medina County, Texas

1 Introduction: historical background

The Alsatian dialect was transported to Texas in the early 1800s, when entrepreneur Henri Castro recruited colonists from the French Alsace to comply with the Republic of Texas' stipulations for populating one of his land grants located just west of San Antonio. Castro's colonization efforts succeeded in bringing 2,134 German-speaking colonists from 1843-47 (Jordan 2004: 45-47; Weaver 1985:109) to his land grants in Texas, which resulted in the establishment of four colonies: Castroville (1844); Quihi (1845); Vandenburg (1846); D'Hanis (1847). Castroville was the first and most successful settlement and serves as the focus of this chapter, as it constitutes the largest concentration of Alsatian speakers. This chapter provides both a descriptive account of the ancestral language, *Alsatian*, and the current Alsatian language as spoken today, as well as a discussion of sociolinguistic and linguistic processes (e.g., use, shift, variation, regularization, etc.) observed and documented since 2007.

The casual observer might conclude that the colonists Castro brought to Texas were not German-speaking at all, but French. Because Alsatian is spoken within the political borders of France, it is often mistakenly assumed to be a French dialect.[1] Linguistically, Alsatian is a Low Alemannic variety which traces its roots to the *Alamanni*, one of several Germanic migratory groups or 'tribes,' whose political influence extended over areas of southern Germany, parts of Austria, Switzerland, and the Alsace (cf. Salmons 2012: 91, Krüger et al: 1983:13). The Alsatian dialect,[2] which is on the decline but still remains robust in France today with approximately 550,000 speakers (Heran 2002:4), differs measurably from the north and central German dialects in its phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon, but shares some common syntactic,

morphological and lexical features with the west-central and southern varieties. Due to a bundle of isoglosses running west-east across the middle of the Alsace just north of Colmar, one can speak of two regional varieties of Alsatian, a southern and northern variety (Matzen 1973, Keller 1961).[3] The northern variety today has been heavily influenced by contact with Franconian dialects to the north, and is of lesser interest to this discussion, as it is the southern Alsatian regional variety of the Upper Rhine County (*Haut-Rhin Département*) and its many local varieties that were spoken by the early Castro settlers. This southern variety, or *Upper Rhenish*, also shares several features with the High Alemannic variety spoken in the southern borderlands of Alsace and Switzerland.

Erny (1999) substantiates that 93.9% of the Alsatians who immigrated to Texas from 1843 – 1869 were from the 'Upper Rhine County.' Laybourn (1986 II: 243-5) provides a list of thirty-nine Upper Rhine villages of Castroville immigrants from passenger lists, most of which are located in a radius of 25 miles to the northwest of Mulhouse (Mühlheim), France. The majority of informants in this study cited ancestral villages in this area from family genealogies. Laybourn (1986) also identifies three Castroville families from Altdorf in the Lower Rhine County (*Bas-Rhin Département*) to the north, which substantiates a small representation of the northern regional Alsatian variety brought to Castroville in its founding years.

Due to extended contact with English, other German varieties, and to a lesser degree, Spanish, a spoken form has developed over the past 175 years in the communities clustered in and around Castroville in Medina County, Texas, that differs from the transported ancestral variety and will heretofore be referred to as *Texas Alsatian*. The linguistic features of this language variety and its relation to the donor dialect(s) are described in Sections 3 (Phonology and Phonetics), 4 (Morphosyntax), and 5 (Lexicon).

It is important to first situate the Alsatian language in its historical, sociohistorical, and sociolinguistic settings of the Alsatian homeland and the Texas settlements in order to understand conditions which contributed to bilingualism, language shift, and maintenance of the ancestral language. Section 1 provides a brief look at the push-and-pull factors in nineteenth-century Central Europe and Texas that spurned emigration to Texas; it also provides a brief history of the settlement of the Castro Colonies and the religious and educational institutions the colonists brought with them. Section 2 traces the sociohistorical and sociolinguistic contexts in the establishment of Castroville, its ethnic constellations and languages in contact, and language use and shift. I then describe the methodology and data collection methods utilized from 2007-2009 and in 2016, which resulted in an informant pool of thirty-nine Texas Alsatian-speakers and forms the base for linguistic descriptions in Sections 3, 4, and 5.

1.1 Nineteenth-century German immigration to Texas

Economic, political, and social conditions in Central Europe and Texas in the nineteenth century were ripe for transplanting German-speaking[4] immigrants to Texas soil. Economically, as in other parts of Central Europe, Germany[5] was suffering from poor harvests and overpopulation in the first half of the century, and additional effects of industrialization in the latter half, which resulted in widespread hunger, unemployment, and impoverished living conditions. Politically and socially, strict economic policies put into effect by the German authoritarian monarchies to squelch demands for equality, freedom, and a unified Germany culminated in the Rebellion of 1848 against the ruling class. When the Rebellion failed, many of the participants joined the steady flow of emigrants from European ports to avoid incarceration, conscription, and death. In the Alsace, economic factors mainly contributed to a critical situation: its population more than doubled from 1784-1876 and land plots shrank due to inheritance laws on the division of land which could not sustain its dependents. 73% of landowners had fields smaller than twelve acres (Erny 2003: 125).

These economic, social, and political conditions affected a broad base of the German-speaking population, and pushed farmers, artisans, merchants, and academics to look outside of Europe for better living conditions and employment opportunities for themselves and their families. The lure of the new Republic of Texas with its freedoms and economic opportunities provided a prime solution. Texas had achieved independence from Mexico in 1836 and was looking for ways to boost its financial viability as a new nation and to lay claim to and protect its vast and relatively unsettled lands from Mexico and Native American tribes. Populating its lands provided a solution to both. The new Republic created incentives to attract settlers and offered free parcels of uncultivated land in return for cultivation and homesteading with certain time, acreage, and survey restrictions. A bill passed by the Texas legislature in 1841 gave the president authority to enter into settlement contracts of public lands with individual immigration agents or *empresarios*. The basic terms required the agent to settle 600 families within three years, one-third of whom had to be in Texas within one year. As incentive, the agent would be compensated with ten sections[6] of land for every 100 families or with five sections for every 100 single men (Weaver 1985: 21). Henri Castro and his partner Jassaud were awarded a contract to settle two land grants on February 15, 1842, but Castro decided to concentrate settlement efforts on the grant occupied by the Lipan and Comanche Indian tribes in what is now Medina County, Texas.

1.2 Establishment of the Medina County Castro Colonies

A loss in political support in Paris a few months earlier forced Castro to move his recruiting efforts away from Paris to Alsace, Baden, and Switzerland located in the highly-populated Rhine Valley area (Weaver 1985: 33). Castro had based his recruiting strategy on the view that farmers would be best-suited to settle the frontier lands, but soon discovered that they were difficult to find (and perhaps recruit) and widened his search to include other livelihoods, such as merchants and artisans. The first group of Castro's colonists set sail from Le Havre, France, in November 1842 on the *Ebro*, the first of a total of twenty-seven ships. They arrived in Galveston in January 1843 with 144 farmers and artisans from the Alsace and Lorraine—forty-two of whom were eligible to receive land—and a year ahead of the first ships of the *Adelsverein*,[7] a competing colonization society that recruited heavily from central and northern areas in Germany.

After many hardships encountered on the ocean journey and a long land trek from Port Lavaca to San Antonio, Castro and company officials escorted by six Texas Rangers arrived at the grant with only twenty-seven of the contracted settlers and twenty hired Mexican cart drivers (Weaver 1985: 50). Many had succumbed to disease (e.g., yellow fever) and lack of food and shelter at Galveston, or decided to remain there or at other places along the road to San Antonio, In San Antonio, some were recruited by the *Adelsverein* or remained there, discouraged by the extreme heat and continuous rain during the summer of 1844. Forty-eight individuals of the first Castro colony, which they named Castroville, signed the founding document on September 12, 1844 (CCHA 1983:62).[8] Among this group were thirty-three "French"—twenty-two of which were Alsatian—and ten Germans (Erny 1999: 13).

1.3 Settlement patterns in the Castro Colonies

The period of Texas immigration and settlement in the 19th century (~1820-90) spanned five different governments: Spain, Mexico, the Republic of Texas, the United States of America, and the Confederacy. Indigenous Indian tribes, Spanish and Mexican settlers, and more recent Anglo settlers from the southern states already occupied parts of the territory when the first wave (~1830-60) of German-speaking immigrants arrived. These German immigrants settled isolated grants on the western frontier which were still occupied by nomadic native tribes. This geographic isolation of these "Western Settlements" supported the development of relatively homogenous German *Sprachinseln* 'speech islands', whose nearest neighbors were also German-speaking communities. The Western Settlements in particular presented an

almost continuous belt of German-dominated communities along the frontier from Mason and Llano counties in the northwest to Gillespie, Kendall, and Comal counties in the southwest, and reached south to the counties of Bexar and Medina. Castro's settlements were laid out in a pattern reminiscent of the colonists' European villages, with a small town lot and larger plots of twenty to forty acres for farming.

Another salient factor playing an important role in settlement patterns was religion. Castro's first colonists were mainly Catholic—indicative of France's long history of Catholicism—although subsequent efforts also brought a small percentage of Germans to his four colonies from the predominantly Lutheran northern and north-central areas of Germany. The two smaller Castro settlements of Quihi and D'Hanis illustrate this settlement pattern which reflects the religious practices of their ancestral villages.[9] Quihi, first settled by families from Alsace and East Frisia, was gradually influenced by an influx of Lutheran Germans and now has only one Lutheran church. D'Hanis, twenty-five miles to the west of Castroville, was settled by twenty-nine Alsatian families, most of whom "were of Catholic faith" (CCHA 1983: 92), and remains a predominantly Catholic community, but divided between two ethnic groups, the Alsatians and Mexicans, who each maintain a separate place of worship. Also to be mentioned here is the importance of recruiters, travelers, and communications back to the homeland, who praised (and often over-exaggerated) the abundance and beauty of the Texas homeland. This often inspired groups from the homeland to emigrate and join family and friends in the new settlement. This process known as *chain migration* created a steady flow of Alsatian immigrants to the Castro Colonies.

Given the tradition of Catholicism in Alsace, it is not surprising that when Castro organized the first ships of emigrants, he also contracted Jean Marie Odin, the Catholic bishop of Texas in Houston, to consecrate the site for the colony's first Catholic church. St. Louis Church was completed in 1846, two years after settlement. Bishop Odin was also successful in recruiting a French priest, Father Claude Dubuis, from the seminary in Lyons, France, who established a free school in the first years of the community, the parent of Castroville's parochial school. To be noted here is the establishment of Zion Lutheran church in 1858, which represents the other German-speaking element in Castroville mentioned above. Alsatian speakers today refer to these speakers as *Dietsche* 'Germans' versus their self-designation as *Elsasser* 'Alsatians', indicating the differentiation still made between the two speech communities.

One can ascertain several important factors from this historical overview, some of which will be elaborated upon in the next section: (1) we know that Castroville was predominantly an Alsatian settlement and Catholic;

(2) we can identify the donor dialect(s) of the Alsatian colonists who settled Castroville as predominantly Upper Rhenish; (3) we know the main contact languages and German dialects present during the early settlement years; (4) we can identify institutions, e.g., churches, schools, etc., which the Alsatians brought with them to their new Texas homeland.

2 Sociohistorical and sociolinguistic aspects

Five phases similar to Mattheier's (2003: 28) five phases in the life-cycle of a speech island become apparent in the historical, political, and economic developments of the Texas Alsatian community: (1) establishment (~1840-60); (2) stabilization (~1860-80), (3) isolation (~1880-1940), (4) modernization (~1940=80), and (5) disintegration or decline (~1980-present). It is important to link the Alsatian community's linguistic development with Castroville's lengthy period of isolation from 1880-1940 and the accompanying political decisions that heavily influenced the maintenance of the Alsatian language and culture.

2.1 Sociohistorical events and decisions: 1880-1940

Castroville's pattern of political decisions illustrates the continuance of local control, or *horizontalization*,[10] which insulated and preserved cultural constructs. Three interrelated political decisions between 1880 and 1900 created an economic crisis which relegated Castroville to relative obscurity: (1) rerouting of the westward-expanding railroad, (2) loss of its county seat status, and (3) disincorporation in 1897.

Medina County was created from Bexar County by an act of the Second Legislature of the State of Texas on February 12, 1848, at which time Castroville was also designated as the county seat.[11] Two year later, Castroville was incorporated and officially recognized as a local governing body. In 1880, Castroville's city council rejected a demand for an additional $100,000 bonus by the Southern Pacific Railroad and as a result, was bypassed, cutting off Castroville from any rail enterprise. In 1886, 1856 efforts to move the county seat to a more central location were resumed and succeeded in the designation of Hondo as the new county seat in 1892. This further isolated Castroville by removing it as a potential influential political and economic hub. Due largely to these developments, its economy and population expansion came almost to a standstill by 1896. In 1897, Castroville citizens petitioned the state to revoke the 1850 incorporation, which was accepted, and the county resumed governance of the town. This self-governance lasted for fifty years until 1947, when Castroville voted to re-incorporate into the county. Ahr (2003: 139) notes that this "disincorporation and a tendency among the

descendants of the pioneers to be independent, self-sufficient, and, arguably, resistant to change, explain in part why the Alsatian culture lasted." City historian Rihn (CCHA 1983: 65) writes of this period that "The culture of the early Alsatian settlers was retained both in daily and religious life. The dialect was still spoken."

2.2 Language and dialect contact in early Castroville

> To complicate matters further, the considerable confusion of languages led the French, German, Texan, and Mexican workers to establish separate camps and refuse to cooperate with one another.
> (Weaver 1985: 53)

At the time of immigration in the 1840s, the "frenchification" of the Alsace was by no means complete and the rural population spoke many different varieties of Alsatian (Craig 1984: 24; Vassberg 1989: 60). Castroville's first Catholic priest, Father Dubuis, writes that the colonists did not speak his language (French), but an "unqualifiable jargon" (Waugh 1934: 47-48). Erny (2003: 125) also writes that "by the end of Louis Philippe's reign (1830-48) a majority of the peasantry could neither read nor write and spoke only a dialect."

Five linguistic groups are evident from accounts and documents of the founding of Castroville: English, French, Spanish, German, and Alsatian.[12] What seems fairly straightforward, however, is more complicated than it appears. The majority of the first colonists spoke Alsatian, but also included High and Low Alemannic speakers from linguistically-related areas of Baden to the east of the Rhine and Switzerland to the south. Castro recruited other colonists from central and north-central German areas, whose varieties belong to the Central German dialect areas and are not mutually intelligible with Alemannic varieties. Castro and company employees also included a breadth of languages, with native French speakers such as himself, a German merchant from Baden, and a Scottish doctor. He also enlisted the help of native English speakers such as the Texas Rangers, Spanish-speaking Mexican workers, and native French-speaking priests who were accompanied by the Alsatian Sisters of Divine Providence. This order recruited Alsatian-speaking novitiates from the Alsace-Lorraine, who were educated in both German and French.

Questions on the influence of French or German "standard varieties" inevitably arise here for the linguist, but it is highly unlikely that French or

even a standard written German played any significant role in the Alsatian-speaking community. Findings of my 2012 study also support this absence of possible influence from written materials or prestigious spoken varieties, inasmuch as one can even speak of established standard varieties in the mid-nineteenth century (cf. Durrell 1999, Elspaß 2002): (1) all forty-three speakers polled reported they could neither read nor write Alsatian; (2) there were no German newspapers or periodicals published in Castroville from 1732-1955 (Arndt & Olson 1961: 60); (3) none of the informants in my study possessed or knew of the existence of any ancestral immigrant letters; and finally, (4) there was no evidence of any French borrowings or structures in the speech of current Texas Alsatian speakers.

2.3 Language use in nineteenth-century Castroville

(i) *Official languages*

The acceptance of Texas into statehood only a year after Castroville's settlement in 1845 essentially mandated the use of English in official domains. English had served as the trade and administrative language after Texas gained independence from Mexico in 1836 (Boas 2009: 38) and was already an established *lingua franca* by Castroville's settlement in 1844. This is supported by the fact that all Castroville public records from its earliest official beginnings are in English.

(ii) *Newspapers and periodicals*

In contrast to relatively homogenous German-speaking communities where German printed materials in German seemed to be readily available in public domains of government, press, and schools, there seem to have been no comparable publications in German from settlement time forward, although church records and private journals in French from the first priests and Castro do exist (e.g., Castro 1839 – 1846, Abbé Domenech 1858, Perrichon 1900). There were no German newspapers or periodicals published in Castroville from 1732 – 1955 (Arndt & Olson 1961: 60).[13]

(iii) *Schools*

The Catholic tradition of parochial education with its roots in European monasteries and convents was also transplanted to Texas. As noted in §1.3, Father Dubuis established a free school in the first years of settlement, where he taught the Catechism and gave lessons in French, English and German, writing of "sixty-six pupils, not twelve of who spoke English" (Waugh 1934: 48). Father Dubuis also convinced the Sisters of Divine Providence at St. Jean-de-Bassel in the Alsace-Lorraine to send Sisters to Texas to open schools;

two Sisters accompanied him to Texas in 1866 as missionaries from the Lower Rhine. In 1868, twenty-two years after the founding of Castroville, Sister St. Andrew established the St. Louis Catholic School.[14] The school was closed in 1968 after 100 years of service to the community, but re-opened in 1986 after renewed interest in parochial education. Headed by Dutch Sister Marie Elise of the Sisters of Divine Providence until 2009, the elementary school is currently administered by a school principal, Karen Rothe. No German language course is now included in the curriculum.[15]

2.4 Diglossia and language shift

Trying to establish the extent of English/Alsatian bilingualism with or without *diglossia* (i.e., language alternation of a high and low variety) and its use in certain domains over one hundred and fifty years ago is virtually impossible without the aid of written documents such as letters and newspapers.

The linguistic diversity present from the beginning and the use of English as a *lingua franca* in local government and commerce further complicates pinpointing the stages of shift to English within the Alsatian-speaking population in Castroville. Early diaries and public records suggest, however, that already during Castroville's establishment and stabilization (1844-80), the beginnings of bilingualism without diglossia existed between English and Alsatian.[16] Many Alsatian speakers possessed only a passive knowledge of English, while an educated element such as clergy, doctors, and public officials had a more active command of English. During the long period of Castroville's isolation (~1880-1940), the ethnic culture and language of the Alsatian community remained fairly intact as described in §2.1. Supporting this are narratives by Alsatian speakers born ~1920-30 attesting that they did not learn English until they attended school.

However, a complex interaction of factors was already beginning to push language shift in immigrant speech islands toward the end of the nineteenth century. Mattheier (2003: 24-25) points to the prevalent Anglo-American ideology already present in administrative, social, and economic structures at the beginning of the 20th century that demanded full assimilation with no room for other languages already present. The expansion of the public school system and legislative language policy that propagated an English-only ideology went hand-in-hand. In Texas, educational legislation passed in 1909 and 1918 restricted schools to English-only instruction (Moore 1980: 20). For Alsatian families, it meant the necessity for their children to learn English. The World Wars only accelerated the disintegration already in progress. To gain further insights into the path and timing of the shift

to English in Castroville, I present data from the current Alsatian-speaking community.

2.5 Texas Alsatian today: Data collection and methodology

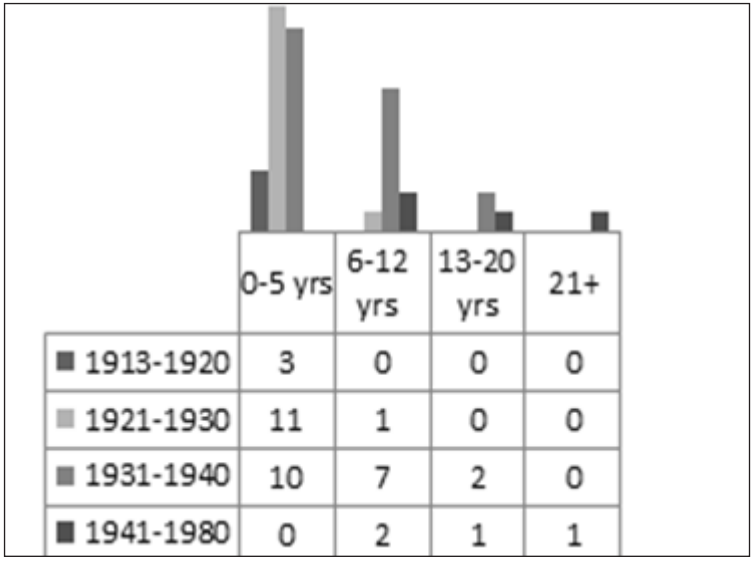
I interviewed thirty-nine Texas Alsatian speakers of varying linguistic competence in Castroville and environs from January 2007 through May 2009 and again in May 2016 for the purpose of collecting linguistic and sociolinguistic data pertinent to an analysis of language use, shift, and loss of this colonial German dialect in Medina County, Texas. For comparative purposes, I interviewed ten Texas Germans from Castroville and adjacent communities (Quihi, LaCoste, Hondo) and ten European Alsatians from the Upper and Lower Rhine counties in France. Community historians, priests, former mayors, and other residents involved in historical preservation efforts were also interviewed or completed a questionnaire.

Methods of data collection similar to those used by the Texas German Dialect Project (Boas et al. 2010) were utilized to facilitate future comparisons with German-American colonial dialects. Phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical data were obtained from informants using open-ended interview techniques and re-samplings of Gilbert's (1972) elicitation tasks, which provide a diachronic base that facilitates a real-time comparison with current data. Gilbert (1972) interviewed twenty-seven German heritage speakers in Medina County, noting Alsatian ancestry or language competency in thirteen informants. Informants 9, 19-21, 23-25, 27 consistently produced distinctive Alsatian features (see Table 5.1). Gilbert (1972: 17-18) also notes intermarriage between German and Alsatian-speaking parents/grandparents for speakers 4, 7, 8, 12, 18, where more than one variety was spoken at home. Only limited data from these re-samplings can be provided here to show phonological and morphological preservation due to necessary space restrictions.

Each informant completed a written survey eliciting biographical data as well as opinions, feelings, and beliefs toward aspects of their language. The questionnaire addressed aspects such as language use, acquisition, and fluency, the results of which are used in this section to provide an apparent-time analysis of language shift. Questions have been raised as to the reliability of self-reported data and to the limitations of categorical responses typical of written questionnaires (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 52). To help compensate for the limitations of this data collection method, many of the same survey questions were posed during the interviews and comment sections were provided throughout the questionnaire.

In general, informants reported a range of learning environments and reasons for learning Alsatian, which ranged from acquisition at home as a first language (0-5 years), learning from parents or grandparents in order to understand "secrets" or communicate (6-12 years), to learning it later from a spouse or family member "because they realized how important it was" (13+). Figure 2.1 arranges speaker data according to birth year and acquisition age to gain a general overview of acquisition.

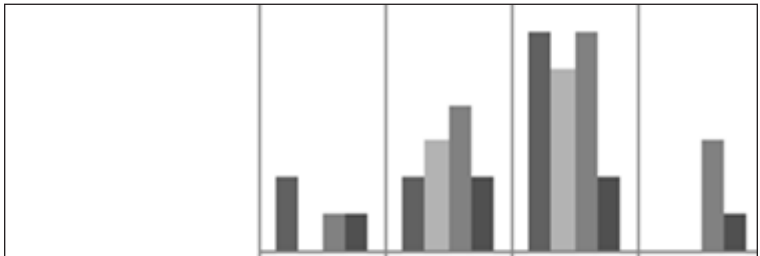
Figure 2.1: When did you learn Alsatian?



	0-5 yrs	6-12 yrs	13-20 yrs	21+
1913-1920	3	0	0	0
1921-1930	11	1	0	0
1931-1940	10	7	2	0
1941-1980	0	2	1	1

As shown in Figure 2.1, it was still possible to locate speakers born pre-WWI. Most speakers interviewed were born from 1921 – 1940 and are now in their 80s and 90s. The three decades spanning from 1913 – 1940 illustrate that transmission at an early age (0 – 5) was still occurring at home in some families up until approximately 1930.[17] However, the 1930s indicate an increasingly unstable environment with acquisition fluctuating between 0 – 5 and 6 – 12 years. There is a dramatic halt in childhood acquisition by 1941 which indicates a probable end to transmission during the WWII years of 1941 – 1945 (see *Appendix*). The shift to English seems to have been driven gradually by family and/or speaker decisions during the 1930s – 1940s.

Figure 2.2



	1913-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1980
Fluent	2	2	6	0
Strong Semi	0	3	5	0
Weak Semi	1	4	6	3
Rememberer	1	2	2	1

This is also supported by data on participant fluency paired with their birth year shown in Figure 2.2. The relatively high number of fluent and strong-semi speakers in the 1930s shows that Alsatian continued to be spoken in the home until 1940. This reveals that age-grading is not an effective predictor of fluency in this community, as fluent speakers are spread across the age continuum. Interesting is that the two most fluent speakers born in 1939 and 1940 are the youngest of the fluent or strong semi-speaker 2012 informants.

A third compilation of data on language use in Figures 2.3 and 2.4 illustrates where, how often, and with whom the language is mainly spoken today.

Figure 2.3: *Where* do you speak Alsatian?

	always	often	some-times	seldom	never
home	1	2	9	10	5
social gatherings	2	2	11	11	4
restaurants, shops	0	2	5	4	14
work	0	0	2	2	13
other	1	0	1	1	7

Figure 2.3 investigated the use of Alsatian in selected public and private domains. The responses indicate that Alsatian is mainly used "sometimes" to "seldom" in private domains of home and social gatherings and essentially "never" in public domains of church, restaurants, shops, and work. The higher response rate for "restaurants/shops" is influenced by one popular local restaurant and bakery. It is operated by the great-great-grandson of an early Castroville Alsatian who still speaks Alsatian fairly fluently and has been active in Castroville politics as councilman and mayor. His restaurant is a favorite destination for lunch and the men's afternoon *Kaffeeklatsch* 'coffee gossip.'

Figure 2.4: *With whom* do you speak Alsatian now?

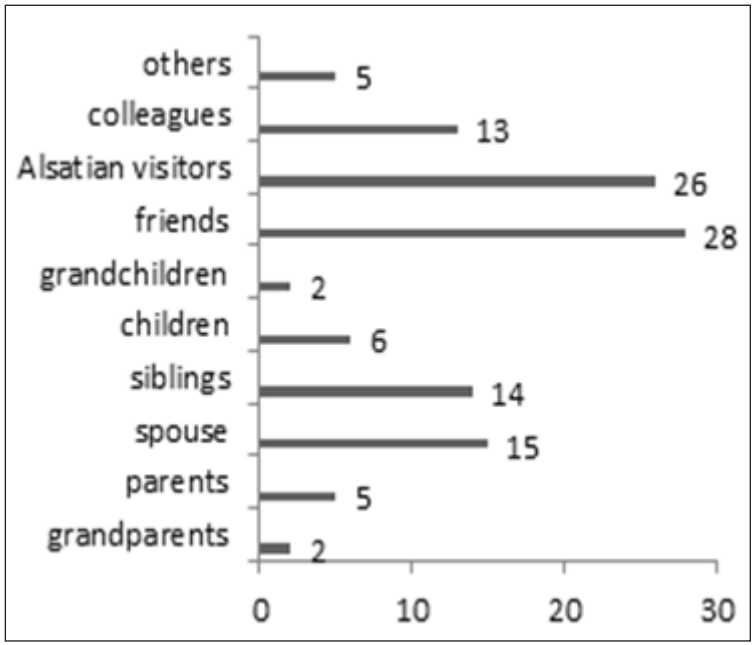


Figure 2.4 shows that Alsatian is moving out of the home and family domain and into the domain of friends, such as the European Alsatian visitors, and colleagues. Alsatian is rarely spoken with the younger generations, which is indicative of the break in transmission shown in Figure 2.2 and underscores that the language shift to English is complete. The most frequent conversation partners are friends and Alsatian visitors by a significant margin, which is elaborated in §2.6.

Figures 2.1-4 illustrating the use of Texas Alsatian today indicate a language in crisis:

(1) no transmission to the next generation, (2) infrequent use by heritage speakers, and (3) its use restricted to private domains of home, family (older siblings or spouses), and friends.

2.6 Contact with the Alsatian homeland

The use of Alsatian in the Castroville community was positively affected by the initiation of an exchange with the Upper Rhine city of Eguisheim, south of Colmar. In 1975, a church leader and Texas Alsatian community member initiated a trip to the "Old Country" in the spirit of visiting the villages of their ancestors. The group of twenty-five travelers was welcomed with such interest and enthusiasm that they extended an invitation to

the French Alsatians to visit Castroville. These language partners quickly established friendships, which many informants today place within a family construct, calling their Alsatian friends "extended family." Only a few months later, a group of over three hundred French Alsatians arrived in Castroville, which set a chain of events into motion that still defines the Castroville community and has been instrumental in the maintenance and revitalization of Texas Alsatian.

Castroville community leader Mayor Tschirhart captured the rapport between the long-separated communities in his 1976 farewell speech after the community's second trip to the Alsace. The following excerpt is taken from a handwritten original and constitutes a rare written example of Texas Alsatian as perceived by the speaker:

> *Farewell. As komet immer a ziet wo mir sheite mien, und sheite isch immer a bittere word, awer alles guetes müest oui zum a and komme. Das war yo so a wunderbare gelegenheit fer dei reise mit zu mache zu dam grosse Elsase. Das muest unbadinked ienst fo da greastch erin erung say fo unserum lawanslaufe. Mit drenne in da ouige und a schware hartz mien mir die liawe lit do im Elsase wider ferlo awer fergasse, nie, nie mol. . . So wan mir noch amol saga, VIVA LA FRANCE VIVA LA ALSASE, VIVA LA AMERICKA, VIVA LA TEXAS, VIVA LA KLEINE ALSASE.*
>
> 'The time always comes when we must part, and "parting" is always a bitter word, but everything good must also come to an end. This was such a wonderful opportunity to take part in the trip to the 'big' (French) Alsace.[18] This must be without a doubt one of the greatest memories of our entire life. With tears in our eyes and a heavy heart, we must leave you dear people here in the Alsace again, but forget you, never, ever. . . So we want to say once again, long live France, long live the Alsace, long live America, long live Texas, long live the Little Alsace'

3 Phonetics and phonology of Texas Alsatian

To preface a phonetic description of Texas Alsatian (hereafter TxAls), it is helpful to view a representative speaker sample as shown in Example (3.1).

(3.1) TxAls #254

> "Myettr hàt Wäsche inna g'numma un g'biigelt fir d'Lit, fer a Laawa màcha un mir hàn ihr myessa haalfa und denn noch speetr han i a Ongl kàà und simlick guet abg'see und ar hàt g'see wie sini Tant isch krank g'woora un ar hat k'saijt, mir solla ruuwakumma un wohna mit deena"
> [myətr hɑt vɛʃə ɪna gnʊma un gbi:glt fɪr dlit, fɛr a la:va mɔ:xə un mir hɑ:n ɪr myəsə ha:lfa ʊn dɛn nox ʃpe:tr hɑn i a ongl kɑ: ʊn sɪ:mlɪk gyət abgse: un ɑr hɑt kse: vi sini tɑnt iʃ krɑnk kvo:rɑ ʊn ɑr hɑt ksaɪt, mɛr sollɑ rʊ:vɑkʊmɑ ʊn vo:nɑ mɪt de:nə]
>
> 'mother took in laundry and ironed for people to make a living and we had to help her and then a little later I had an uncle who made a good living and he saw how his aunt became ill and he said we should come over and live with them'

To be mentioned here again is the broad range of variation across speakers as also noted by TxAls #238 during an interview:

> "I think you're gonna find that you have something here that's not as Alsatian as apple pie because it's too many different versions of it…even though we can communicate with those people, it's still not the same."

This is not surprising, given the rural setting and relative isolation of local family ranches, but makes the task of providing an accurate phonetic inventory of TxAls difficult at best. The following description is an attempt at a representative picture of its phonetic system:

a. Vocalic phonemes, (:) indicates that a phoneme can occur both long and short
   (i) front vowels / i(:), ɪ, e(:), ɛ(:), a / and rounded vowels / y(:), ʏ /;
   (ii) central unstressed vowel / ə /;
   (iii) back vowels / o(:), ɔ(:), ɑ / and rounded vowels / u(:), ʊ(:) /;
   (iv) diphthongs / iə, yə, ɛɪ, aɪ, oɪ, oʊ /.

Both tense and lax vowels in open and closed syllables are lengthened in TxAls. Table 3.1 shows examples of minimal pairs for some of the vocalic phonemes which also indicate a phonemic difference between long and short. [19]

Table 3.1: Minimal pairs for TxAls vowels

Phonemes	TxAls	English
/i/ ~ /iː/	mi ~ miː	my ~ mine
/ɔ/ ~ /ɔː/	mɔl ~ mɔːle	time ~ paint
/ɛ/ ~ /ɛː/	mɛr ~ mɛːr	we ~ more
/ʊ/ ~ /ʊː/	ʊr ~ ʊːr	(prefix) ~ ear
/eː/ ~ /ɔː/	eːβr ~ ɔːβr	over ~ but
/a/ ~ /ɔː/	ka ~ kɔː	that ~ paint
/aː/ ~ /ɔ/	laːsɑ ~ lɔsɑ	read ~ leave
/a/ ~ /oː/	har ~ hoːr,	from ~ hair
/o/ ~ /ɔ/	rot ~ rɔt	red ~ rat
/iː/ ~ /iːə/	liːb ~ liːəb	body ~ nice
/ʏ/ ~ /yə/	mʏs ~ myəs	mouse ~ must

b. Consonantal phonemes:
(i) voiceless plosives with fortis/lenis distinctions / p, t, k, b, d, g /;[20]
(ii) fricatives / β, f, v, z, s, ʃ, ç, x, h /;
(iii) nasals / m, n, ŋ /
(iv) affricates / pf, ks, ts, tʃ, dʒ /
(v) liquids /l, r/ and allophones [ɾ, occasionally ɽ].

3.1 Texas Alsatian vowels

TxAls has several distinctive vocalic features that mirror the Upper Rhenish (hereafter UR) donor dialect(s) such as both long and short vowels in stressed and unstressed positions.[21] These features also distinguish TxAls from standard-near Texas German (TxG) dialects in contact.[22] Comparison with TxG forms also emphasizes the preservation of UR donor dialect features despite intense contact situations (Thomason 2001) with TxG. Five of these are highlighted in Example (3.2) and seem to pose comprehensibility issues between Texas Alsatians and fellow TxG speakers, much like the comprehensibility between European Alsatians and Standard German speakers. The vocalic features described in (3.2) still occur in UR today and can generally be linked historically with the retention of Middle High German features.

(3.2) TxAls/UR distinctive vocalic features vs. Texas German (TxG)

a. TxAls/UR [a, ɑ] in contexts where TxG [ɛ] occurs:
i. TxAls/UR [ʃaːr] TxG [ʃɛːrə] 'scissors'
ii. TxAls/UR[fɑn(ː)ʃr] TxG [fɛnstəː] 'window'

b. TxAls/UR rounded vowel [y(:)] where TxG diphthong [aʊ] occurs:
   i. TxAls/UR [hy(:)s] TxG [haʊs] 'house'
   ii. TxAls/UR [kry(:)t] TxG [kraʊt] 'cabbage'
c. TxAls/UR front vowel [i(:)] where TxG diphthong [aɪ] occurs:
   i. TxAls/UR [i:s] TxG [aɪs] 'ice'
   ii. TxAls/UR [mi:] TxG [maɪn] 'my'
d. TxAls diphthong [oɪ] where TxG [aʊ] occurs:
   i. TxAls/UR [oɪ] TxG [aʊx] 'also'
   ii. TxAls/UR [boɪm] TxG [baʊm] 'tree'
e. TxAls/UR rising diphthongs [i:e, y:e] where TxG [i:, ʊ] occurs:
   i. TxAls/UR [sies, syəs] TxG [zi:s] 'sweet'
   ii. TxAls/UR [myetər] TxG [mʊtəʁ] 'mother'

Table 3.2 shows an example of TxAls phonological variants for Example 3.2.

Table 3.2: TxAls plural formation Map 61 "two windows"
UR [ɑ] Fanschteř (vs TxG/SG [ɛ] Fenster)

fɑ(:)nʃt(ə)ř (UR) 20	202, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 243, 247, 248, 249a, 249b, 249d, 250, 251, 252a, 252b, 253, 254, 256, 257	
fɑnʃtřɑ	1	255
fɑ:nʃtřs	1	235
fenʃtəř	3	241, (236), 242, 249c
fɛnstər (SG)	0	
Unknown	2	

Roesch (2012) TxAls resampling of Gilbert (1972)

3.2 TxAls consonants

TxAls also has several consonantal features which can be traced to the UR donor dialect(s) and which distinguish it from standard-near TxG dialects in contact. Example (3.3) shows representative responses which reflect the most frequent variant produced by speakers.

(3.3) TxAls/UR distinctive consonantal features vs. Texas German (TxG)
a. TxAls/UR apical trill or tap [r, ɾ] where TxG [ʀ, ɾ, ɽ] or glide [ʁ] occurs:
   i. TxAls/UR [kry:t] TxG [kʀaʊt] 'cabbage' REPLACE
   ii. TxAls [gɛʃtərt] TxG [gɛstəʁn] 'yesterday'

b. TxAls/UR [v, β] where TxG [b] occurs intervocalically:
   i. TxAls/UR [oːvə] TxG [abɛnt] 'evening
   ii. TxAls/UR [ɑːβər] TxG [abəʈ] 'but'
c. TxAls/UR [s] where TxG [z] occurs initially:
   a. TxAls/UR [siːh] TxG [ziːh] 'look'
   b. TxAls/UR [si] TxG [zaɪn] 'his'
d. TxAls/UR [ʃ] where TxG [s] occurs before [t] and [p]:
   a. TxAls/UR [ɪʃ] TxG [ɪs(t)] 'is'
   b. TxAls/UR [hoːɑboɑʃt] TxG [haʀbʊɐst] 'hairbrush'
e. TxAls/UR [x] where TxG [ç] occurs:
   a. TxAls/UR [mɛlx] TxG [mɪlç] 'milk'
   b. TxAls/UR [ɛx] TxG [ɪç]

TxAls speakers produce the apical trill or tap systematically with little variation, as is the case with most of the other consonantal features. Both vocalic and consonantal features described above can be traced back to the UR donor dialects as a representative sample from an ALS speaker in Example (3.4) illustrates.

(3.4) *Ech han scho a Ding bkumma...s Marie scho un ich hàn a, a Taafela bekumma will mir immr so Lit hàn mir zwei...s Mariela isch schlaier g'sei as ech, sie hàt a COUPE Bier ufg'macht, so ebbes dann fer alli wu kumma, weisch dü... isch doch das gliecha*

'I also got a thing like that…Marie and I already got a, a plaque because we two always have people…Marie was cleverer than me, she opened a *coupe* of beer or something like that for everyone who came, you know—it's all the same'

3.3 Phonological phenomena in TxAls

Phonological phenomena in TxAls consist of relatively conservative changes when compared with current UR donor dialect(s), such as differences in plosive fortis and lenis distinctions, the occurrence of [z] instead of [s] word-initially, [ç] word-finally, diphthongization of lengthened vowels. There are a variety of possibilities to account for these phenomena: (1) the many UR donor varieties which exhibit only minimal differences; (2) shifting speakers and "imperfect" learning (Winford 2003: 56); (3) intermarriage between speakers of Alsatian and standard-near TxG varieties; (4) (phonic) transference (Clyne 2003: 78);[23] (5) reverse transference from English into TxAls due to infrequency of use; and (6) the rare occurrence of speakers with formal education in German, as is the case for Speaker #241.

The variation shown in Table 3.2 also provides the opportunity to illustrate how biographical and sociolinguistic data on individual speakers can more accurately account for mixed forms in TxAls, such as *Fenschteř*, *Fanschtřa*, and *Faanschters*:

(1) *Fenschteř*:
   a. TxAls #241, a fluent speaker and educator with college training in Standard German, responds with mixed form *Fenschteř* (SG [ɛ], UR [ʃ]
   b. TxAls #236 is a semi-speaker, who reports that both TxAls and TxG were spoken in the home
   c. TxAls #242 is a weak semi-speaker, a TxG speaker who learned TxAls from her spouse
   d. TxAls #249c is a weak semi-speaker, and the second eldest of five sisters who learned Alsatian in the home, but speaks only "a little bit"

(2) *Fanschtřa*:
   TxAls #255 is a strong semi-speaker, who learned Alsatian from his father (#254), a fluent speaker. Here he hyperextends with the most common UR plural ending *a*

(3) *Faanschters*:
   TxAls #235 is a fluent speaker, but an Irish girl who learned Alsatian at age 16; she responds with the English plural suffix *–s* where UR Ø-ending should occur, as she does with other plurals.

The most noticeable phenomena occurring in TxAls versus the UR donor dialect(s) have been (1) an extension of the UR vowel system to include [o:] and [u:], (2) a systematic vowel lengthening of all vowels in both open and closed syllables and (3) a further diphthongization of these lengthened vowels in open syllables, particularly [o:] > [o:ʊ], [e:] > [e:i], and [i:] > [i:j], as shown in Example (3.4).

(3.4) Vowel lengthening in open and closed syllables

	UR	TxAls	Gloss
a.	[fɑnʃtř] >	[fɑ:nʃtř]	'window'
b.	[diɑ] >	[di:ə] > [di:ja]	'the.fem.'
c.	[kse] >	[kse:] > [kse:i]	'been'
d.	[do] >	[do:] > [do:u]	'here'
e.	[dʊnʃɪk]>	[dʊ:nʃɪk]	'Thursday'

Prosodic features such as accent, tone, and nasalization have been noted

to be especially prone to diffusion (a process by which linguistic changes gradually spread) in language contact situations (e.g., Matisoff 2006, Epps 2006). Both UR and certain Texas accents have a prosodic feature of vowel lengthening in common, which might account for this structure exaggeration. Several European Alsatians also remarked on a "drawl" in the speech of the Texas Alsatians when asked about the Alsatian spoken in Castroville.[24] Supporting this is the unequal bilingualism of most current TxAls speakers: English is now their dominant language.

4 The morphosyntactic features of Texas Alsatian

This section describes morphosyntactic features of the TxAls noun, pronoun, and determiners (case, gender, and number), and the TxAls verb (tense, mood, and aspect). In general, TxAls mirrors the features of the ancestral (and current) UR donor dialects unless otherwise noted.

4.1 The TxAls noun and its determiners: Case, number and gender

The TxAls nominal case system is characterized by a merger of the nominative and accusative forms as in the UR donor dialects. (This contrasts with standard-near TxG dialects, which are characterized by an accusative-dative merger.) As in UR donor dialects, the dative and genitive cases are expressed by periphrastic constructions using prepositions. The TxAls pronominal and determiner systems, however, show an incomplete merger of the nominative and accusative forms.

The TxAls noun does not show case as a result of (1) the loss of final *–n* in masculine nouns, and (2) periphrastic constructions using prepositions for dative and genitive functions. Both are features of UR donor dialect(s). TxAls generally distinguishes between three grammatical genders as in UR: masculine, feminine, and neuter. The indefinite and definite articles and demonstratives 'this' and 'that' are exhibited in Table 4.1. (see also §4.4).

Table 4.1: TxAls determiner forms

	indefinite 'a'	definite 'the'		demonstrative 'this'		demonstratives 'that'	'those'
		NOM/ ACC	DAT	NOM/ ACC	DAT	NOM/ ACC	DAT
masc.	[ɑ]	[dr, d]	['m]	[dɑ]	[dɑm]	[salr]	[saləm]
fem.	[ɑ]	[d]	[dr]	[di:ə]	[dɛrə]	[salɑ]	[salr]
neuter	[ɑ]	[s]	['m]	[dɔ:s]	[dɑm]	[sal]	[salɛm
plural		[d, di, diə]		[di:ə]	[de:nə]	[salɑ, sali]	[salɑ]

The TxAls noun is marked only for number. The plural article is *d'*. The noun diminutive is *–le* [lə] or *–la* [la]. There are four main types of plural formation which are identical to the UR donor dialect(s).

(1) Without ending or mutation (Ø):	[fɑnʃtr] >	[fɑnʃtr]	'windows'
(2) Stem-vowel mutation:	[kɔpf] >	[kɛpf]	'heads'
(3) Addition of *–e* [ɑ, ə]:	[gaɪs] >	[gaɪsɑ]	'goats'
(4) Addition of *–eř* [ər]:	[kɪnt] >	[kɪndr]	'children.'

4.2 The TxAls pronominal system

The TxAls pronominal system shows an incomplete merger of the nominative and accusative forms. TxAls stressed and unstressed pronoun forms are shown in Table 4.2.

4.3 The TxAls verb: Tense, mood, voice

TxAls exhibits the following verb tenses: present indicative, a compound past tense, and a future tense expressed utilizing temporal adverbials with present tense forms. Speakers make use of grammatical mood using modal auxiliaries and to a limited degree, past subjunctive forms, and frequently produce passive constructions without difficulty. The TxAls infinitive ends in [ɑ] ~ [ə]. The TxAls past participle (p.p.) formation distinguishes between three verb classes: strong, weak, and preterite-present. The past participle is characterized by prefix *ge-, g', or k*, as in the p.p. of haben 'have,' *k'haa*, with the exception of verbs beginning with [g] or [k], as in *kumma* 'to come' or *gaa* 'to give.' The past participle ending in *-t* characterizes the weak and preterite-present verbs and the ending *–a* the strong verbs. There are also monosyllabic verbs in TxAls as in UR: [ga:] 'to give,' [ge:] 'to go,' [ha:] 'to have,' [sa:] 'to see,' and [se] 'to be.'

TxAls uses five modal auxiliaries: *deřfa*, *duřfa* 'to be allowed to,' *müessa*, *mien* 'to have to,' *solla* 'to be supposed to,' *kenna* 'to be able to,' and *wella, wulla* 'to want.' According to Werlen (1985: 9) the most frequently occurring modals as in other German varieties are *müessa* and *kenna*. In the present tense, the nonfinite modal occupies second position and the finite main verb stands at the end of the clause, as in the UR donor dialect(s). The present perfect uses the temporal auxiliary *han* with a double infinitive at the end of the clause in which the modal precedes the dependent infinitive as shown in Example (4.1). There is no modal past participle.

Table 4.2: TxAls pronouns

	1st person			2nd person			3rd person							
SING	'I, me'			'you'			'he, him'			'she, her'		'it'		
Nom	ɪç	ɛç	i	dy:	dy	de	ɑ:r	ər	si:	sɪ	sə	a:s ɪns	as	s
Acc	mɪxmɪç	mɛx mɛç	mi	dɪx dɪç	dɛx dɛç	di	ɪ:n	ɪn	si:	sɪ	sə	a:s ɪns	as	s
Dat	mi:r	mɛr	mr	dɪr	dɛr	dr	ɪm	m	ɪr	ər	r	ɪm	m	
PLURAL	'we'			'you'			'they'							
Nom	mi:r	mɛr	mr	i:r	ər	r	si:	sɪ	sə					
Acc	ʊns			aɪx, aɪç, oɪs			si:	sɪ	sə					
Dat	ʊns			aɪx, aɪç, oɪs			i:nə							

(4.1) a. #234: *Ař hàt nitt kenna tanza*
'He couldn't dance'
b. #254: *Miř hàn iř müessa halfa.*
'We had to help her'
c. #239: *Àwř miř hàn müen alles màcha.*
'But we had to do everything'
d. #254: *Ař hàt nitt wulla zahla.*
'He didn't want to pay'

(i) *Tense*: In the present tense, strong and weak verbs distinguish between three forms in the singular, *–ø*, *-sch*, *–t*: *i(ch) màch, dü màsch, ar màcht* 'to make, do'. There is only one plural ending, *–a*. The plural forms of the irregular verbs *see* 'to be' and *han* 'to have' are an exception and do not take this *–a* ending, *mir sin* 'we are,' *mir han* 'we have.' Weak verbs and most strong verbs maintain the same stem vowel in the present as in the infinitive: *i schlàf, dü schlàfsch, ar schlàft* 'I sleep, you sleep, he sleeps'.

As in most Upper German varieties like UR, TxAls uses the present perfect compound tenses for expressing the past. The present perfect is formed by means of temporal auxiliaries *see* 'be' and *han* 'haben' with a past participle. There is also vowel gradation in past participle forms of strong verbs as throughout German varieties as shown in Table 4.3. The future is expressed with the present tense and temporal adverbials such as *morga* 'tomorrow', or *nachschta Wucha* 'next week'.

Table 4.3: TxAls present perfect verb forms

TxAls/UR	INFINITIVE	PAST PARTICIPLE	Gloss
WEAK	heera, hera	g'heert [kʰe:rt]	'to hear'
	màcha	g'màcht [gmɔxt]	'to do, make'
	saija	gsaijt [ksaɪjt]	'to say'
STRONG	assa	gassa [ġasə]	'to eat'
	finda	g'funda [gfʊndə]	'to find'
	hàlfa	g'hulfa [kʰʊlfə]	'to help'
	schriiwa	g'schriiwa [gʃři:və]	'to write'

(ii) *Mood*: Due to the context of narratives relating past events, there were rarely statements made which required the subjunctive. Only the most fluent TxAls speakers were able to produce subjunctive forms elicited in Eikel (1954) translations, as in Example (4.2).

(4.2) TxAls subjunctive forms

a. #239: Eikel 2.10: 'I wouldn't be satisfied with only eleven'
Ich war nitt z'fred wenn ich n ...wenn ich nur elfi het.

b. #202: Eikel 4.7: 'If I were a farmer I'd plant more cotton.'
Wenn ich a Büer war, tat ich mehr Bäumwull pflanze

(iii) *Voice*: The passive voice is formed with the UR auxiliary verb *wooŕa*, (SG *werden*) and a past participle and stands in stark contrast to the auxiliary 'to be' used to express the passive in English. Although this presents a stumbling block to second language learners of German, there is no evidence of the English auxiliary in the TxAls passive as in Example (4.3).

(4.3) TxAls present perfect passive constructions

a. #240: *D' meischti hàn alli Ànglisch un es isch gàŕ z'halba veŕgassa wooŕa*.
'Most spoke all English and it was completely or half forgotten'

b. #234: *Wu'ŕ vergŕàv wooŕa isch, sin alli di ältscht davoŕna gsatzt mit dŕ Wàg.*
'When he was buried, all the eldest (sisters) sat up front on the wagon'

Example (4.3b) also provides an example of the sole relative pronoun in TxAls *wu* 'who, that'.

4.4 Other morphosyntactic phenomena in TxAls

My data analyses comparing already-reduced UR definite articles marking gender *d'r* (masc.nom/acc.), *d'* (fem.nom/acc.) and *'s* (neut.nom/acc.) indicate a regularization to one common article *d'* in progress. Conversely, there is a high occurrence of dative case markings for the definite and demonstrative article indicating retention of the UR NA/D opposition in the nominal system.[25] Interesting is the high percentage (84%) of dative forms produced after the two-way prepositions *auflan* before masculine noun *Booda* 'floor' in dative contexts of location as exhibited in Example (4.4).

(4.4) Two-way prepositions *auf*, *an* (Roesch 2012: 138-9),

a. UR *Es liigt dert am/uufm Booda* 'it's lying there on the floor'

Dative (UR):	[am bo:də, uf:m bo:də]	84%
Common case:	[an, u:f dr bo:də]	0%
Reduced form:	[d]	16%

b. UR *Mach's an d'r Booda! Mach's uuf d'Booda!* 'put it on the floor'

Common case (UR):	[an dr bo:də, u:f dr bo:də]	36%
Dative forms:	[am, u:fm]	32%
Reduced form:	[d]	32%

A resampling of the pronominal system which still maintains a three-way case distinction (N/A/D) in UR also showed a significant retention of pronoun forms with this same paradigm. However, there is some loss of the pronoun *ihr*.nom.pl. Example (4.5) shows TxAls variants produced for Gilbert's (1972) "You were both here yesterday:"

Example (4.5): TxAls plural pronoun [ir] 'you,' UR *Ir sin baida geschteřt do gseh*

a. you.2pers.nom/acc.pl:	i(:)r	71%
b. we.1pers.nom/acc.pl:	mi:r, mɛr	19%
c. you.2pers-he.3pers.nom.sing:	dy, ař	10%

The opportunity for addressing other speakers in the plural is greatly reduced in this endangered state of TxAls; i.e., the conversational context has been reduced to conversations between two people and requires only the 2pers.sing form *dü*.

A development in TxAls which suggests structural transference from the speakers' dominant language (English) is the placement of time adverbials in ENG phrase-final position instead of UR placement after the finite verb. My 2012 resampling of Gilbert's (1972) phrase in Example (4.5) "You were both here yesterday" also showed a syntactic shift indicative of English placement: nineteen of the twenty-four respondents placed the time adverbial *geschtert* 'yesterday' in ENG final position.

5 The lexicon of Texas Alsatian

This section focuses on traceable lexical items of TxAls to the UR donor dialect(s), which also differentiate this variety from standard-near TxG varieties in contact. Language contact phenomena that can affect the lexical inventory such as borrowing, code-switching, and convergence are also examined.

There are readily apparent lexical differences between European Alsatian (ALS) and Standard German, which are reflected in TxAls and standard-near TxG varieties, respectively. For example, TxAls speakers use *lüega* 'to look' and *keeija* 'to fall' in contrast to TxG *sehen* or *gucken* 'see, look' and *fallen*

'to fall.' Table 5.1 gives a few examples of these differences between TxAls and TxG varieties: (see §2.5 on Alsatian speakers included in Gilbert's 1972 survey).

Table 5.1: Lexical variation in TxAls

	Gilbert (1972): 27		Roesch (2009): 27
a.	"falls" TxG *fellt*		TxAls *–ke:it*
	-ke:t (UR), am ke:ja	0	22
	-falt, -fɛlt (SG), am falən	25	0
b.	"a girl" TxG *Mädche(n)*		TxAls *Maidla*
	maidlə (UR):	11	27
	metçən (SG), me:tʃən, etc.:	8	0
	metçə, me:tʃə, etc.:	3	0
c.	"a horse" TxG *Pferd*		TxAls *Ross*
	rɔs (UR)	11	25
	pfɛ(:)rt (SG), fɛ(:)rt, peɑt	15	0

Roesch 2012 Resampling of Gilbert's (1972) translation tasks

5.1 Lexical borrowing

It is not surprising to find a one-way directionality in borrowing in TxAls, i.e., words are borrowed from the dominant language, English, into the recipient language, TxAls, but not vice-versa. There was no occurrence of the reverse during interview sessions. Supporting this directionality and a correlation to the power and prestige of the source language is also the rare borrowing of any Spanish words into TxAls. The only Spanish word encountered occurred during the Gilbert (1972) translation task for English "pumpkin," which was usually translated as *galawasa* (Span *calabasa*). Borrowing into TxAls is mainly limited to single-item occurrences of English nouns and verbs, and occurs mainly in semi-fluent speakers who use TxAls too infrequently to recall the Alsatian word.

(i) *Nouns*

Borrowed nouns largely represent cultural borrowings from English (Myers-Scotton 2006: 212), i.e., items for which there was no adequate Alsatian word in the homeland, as in words pertaining to the immigrants' new environment such as Johnson grass, pasture, tank, and creek [krɪk].

These cultural borrowings also include technological innovations which took place after immigration, such as TxAls [kara] 'car,' [bʊ:gi] 'buggy,' or [ti:r, taijər] 'tire' as in Example (5.1).

(5.1) TxAls cultural borrowings from English

a. #202: *mir hàn hett morga 's* JOHNSON GRASS *g'brieselt*
'we sprayed the Johnson grass this morning'

b. #254 : *un dr* PICKUP *isch a sidis un d'* tir isch kapütt un i bin nitt üssagflooga, i bin am STEERING WHEEL verbooga'
'and the pickup is on its side and the tire is ruined and I wasn't thrown out, I was wrapped around the steering wheel'

c. #238: *d Esel hàt a Horboascht kàà—sall wiss ich—fer d MANE kemma, un dann hàn si a SPRINGLOADED Schaar kàà*
'the donkey had a hairbrush—that I know—for combing the mane, and then they had springloaded scissors'

ii. *Verbs and adverbs*

There are also examples of verbs borrowed into TxAls as shown in Example (5.2), although fluent community leaders have expressed disapproval for using English lexical items in their discourse. Many TxAls speakers also integrate borrowed English lexical items phonologically and structurally. Fluent speaker #202 often quotes a TxAls speaker (with a shake of the head) who integrates English verbs into his sentences, as shown in Example (5.2a).

(5.2) TxAls borrowed verbs

a. C.G.: *hett morga hàn ech durch's Fansteř k'*vatcht *un's hàt* blenty *geragent un das* like *ich*
UR: hett morga hàn ech durch's Fansteř g'lüegt un's hàt viel geragent un das hàn ich gàrn
'this morning I looked out the window and it was raining a lot and I like that'

b. #235: *i hàn's* enjoyed
UR: Ech han's g'niasa
'I enjoyed it'

c. #249d: *i hàn Elsàssisch geřeeda, sie hàn in Ànglisch ge*ànser*t*
UR: ich hàn Elsàssisch g'řett, un sie hàn's in Ànglisch g'saijt
'I spoke Alsatian, and they answered in English'

The English adverb "plenty" in (5.2a) is used by TxAls speakers, so much so that it has almost replaced the TxAls lexical item *viel* 'a lot'. Many informants noted that "plenty" was usually used instead of *viel*, but they were careful not to use it in the translation tasks. It seems certain prescriptive (and purist) efforts by fluent speakers have emphasized that *viel* is the *Alsatian* word and should be used instead of the English "plenty."

iii. *Discourse markers*

Pragmatic elements such as English discourse markers "well" and "you know" occur only sporadically in the conversation of TxAls speakers." There is still ample evidence of Alsatian modal particles in TxAls, which most likely accounts for the low frequency of English discourse markers. In a case with two couples of a "mixed" marriage, i.e., where one spoke the standard-near TxG variety and the other TxAls, there was a noticeable absence of English discourse markers in the discourse of TxAls speakers versus TxG speakers.

In reviewing the types of borrowing that occur in TxAls and comparing these with the stages described by Thomason (2001), it appears that the extent of lexical borrowing did not progress past the first stage, i.e. past borrowing nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. These borrowed items were predominantly cultural borrowings of content morphemes.

5.2 Code-switching

Given that the majority of the TxAls-speaking community (1) can no longer be considered sufficiently fluent in both English and TxAls to spontaneously switch between the two codes (most are formerly-fluent speakers who rarely use Alsatian), and given that (2) the use of TxAls is extremely limited in scope (mainly to the informal domains of home and friends), discussing socio-psychological motivations (strategies) for code-switching is fairly moot, and analyzing grammatical constraints on such a small scale is not informative.[26]

5.3 Borrowing in Texas Alsatian and European Alsatian

This section examines lexical items shared between contact varieties, in particular between TxAls and TxG varieties, but also between the UR donor dialect(s) and TxAls. Interesting in both TxAls and TxG are certain loan translations and innovations which are shared across these varieties. Haugen (1953) offers a classification of lexical contact phenomena ranging generally from pure loanwords to loanblends to creations, with various intermediate stages. The examples such as *křick* and *buggy* already introduced represent

"pure loanwords" (Winford 2003: 43). There are also examples of creations TxAls and TxG have in common, such as *Stinkkatz* 'stink cat' (skunk) or *Eichkatz* 'oak cat' (squirrel). Other common loanwords found in both TxAls and TxG such as *Gallerie* 'porch' or *Patatas* 'sweet potato' provide some lexical evidence favoring the hypothesis of the beginning formation of a TxG koiné (Boas 2009, Gilbert 1980: 229).

It is evident that the Alsatian exchange has replenished the lexical inventory of TxAls to some extent, especially with regard to English words borrowed and integrated long ago. For example, #249a remarked that she learned the Alsatian word *Dorf* for "village" from her visits to the Alsace. Her father had always referred to D'Hanis as a "depot" [di:po:] and she had assumed this was the Alsatian word for "town". #251 reports that the Alsatian word *Wàga* for "car" (TxAls *cara*) was learned during visits to the Alsace and #202 relates his discovery of the UR word *Reifa* for "tire" (TxAls *taijər*) during one of his visits. The frequently utilized adverb *blenty* has even been borrowed back into the discourse of visiting European Alsatians and transported back to the European homeland.

6 Conclusions

Texas Alsatian speakers have maintained distinctive lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features of their ancestral language for up to six generations. This constitutes an unusual example of a language undergoing death with minimal change, i.e., without considerable structural and semantic loss (cf. also Nützel 2009). This Texas Alsatian variety mainly owes its longevity to a long history of prestige as the founders of Castroville and a tight social network of Texas Alsatians loyal to their culture and language. Similar attitudes of self-reliance on the part of Texas Alsatian speakers which enabled the maintenance of their language over this length of time also resulted in failing to recruit institutional support. Instead of soliciting regional and state support, the community focused on lateral ties with the Alsace. This served to revitalize the current community of speakers, but did not create a next generation of speakers. The break in transmission within families, strong pressures for the immigrant to assimilate, and the willingness to fully integrate into American society in the first half of the 20th century began a process which is now doubly accelerated by a shrinking and aging speaker population. Unfortunately, this variety rooted in the Upper Rhenish varieties brought to Texas by the immigrants Henri Castro recruited in 1842 will disappear within the next few decades—a colonial German variety that has survived in Medina County, Texas, over a period of almost two hundred years.

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Appendix

TxAls Participant Profile

TGDP #	Age-graded #	Birth Yr	Age 2008	Age TxAls Learned	Self-reported fluency	Assessed	Religion
235	**1**	1913 †	95	13 – 20	fluently	FLUENT	Catholic
254	**2**	1914 †	94	0 – 5	fluently	FLUENT	Catholic
B.E.	3	1917	91	0 – 5	little bit	Rememberer	Catholic
4	4	1920	88	0 – 5	fair	Weak-semi	Catholic
256	**5**	1921 †	87	0 – 5	pretty well	Strong-semi	Catholic
248	**6**	1922 †	86	0 – 5	fluently	Strong-semi	Catholic
249d 208	**7** 8	1923	85	0 – 5 0 – 5	pretty well little bit	Rememberer Rememberer	Catholic Catholic
D.E.	9	1924	84	0 – 5	little bit	Weak-semi	Catholic
241	**10**	1925	83	0 – 5	fluently	Strong-semi	Catholic
239	**11**	1926	82	0 – 5	fluently	FLUENT	Catholic
Z.V.	i.			n/a; survey only	no Alsatian	Non-speaker	Catholic
242 249c	**12** **13**	1927	81	0 – 5 0 – 5	fair little bit	Weak-semi Weak-semi	Catholic Catholic
247	**14**	1928	80	0 – 5	pretty well	FLUENT	Catholic
250 B.C.	**15** 16	1930	78	0 – 5 6 – 12	little bit little bit	Weak-semi Rememberer	Catholic Catholic
252a T.R.	**17** ii.	1931	77	6 – 12 n/a; survey only	fair no Alsatian	Weak-semi Non-speaker	Catholic Catholic
234 249b	**18** **19**	1932	76	0 – 5 0 – 5	pretty well little bit	FLUENT Weak-semi	Catholic Catholic
240 243 251 T.B.	**20** **21** **22** 23	1933	75	0 – 5 6 – 12 6 – 12 13 - 20	pretty well little bit fluently pretty well	Strong-semi Rememberer FLUENT Strong-semi	Catholic Catholic Catholic Catholic
252b T.A. F.C.	**24** 25 iii.	1934	74	0 – 5 13 – 20 n/a; survey only	pretty well pretty well no Alsatian	FLUENT Strong-semi Non-speaker	Catholic Catholic Catholic
249a 253 236 257	**26** **27** **28** **29**	1936	72	0 – 5 (D'Hanis) 0 – 5 6 – 12 6 – 12	little bit pretty well fair pretty well	Weak-semi Weak-semi Weak-semi Strong-semi	Catholic Catholic Catholic Catholic
H.P.	30	1938	70	6 – 12	fair	Weak-semi	Catholic
202 237 255 K.R.	**31** **32** **33** 34	1939	69	0 – 5 0 – 5 0 – 5 6 – 12	fluently pretty well pretty well little bit	FLUENT FLUENT Strong-semi Rememberer	Catholic Catholic Catholic Catholic
238	**35**	1940	68	0 – 5	fluently	FLUENT	Catholic

		1941					
B.D.	iv.	1942	66	n/a; survey only	no Alsatian	Non-speaker	Catholic
		1943-45					
E.B.	36	1946	62	6 – 12	little bit	Rememberer	Catholic
W.M.	37	1948	60	6 – 12	little bit	Weak-semi	Catholic
T.C.	38	1959	49	36 – 50	little bit	Weak-semi	Catholic
233	**39**	1979	29	13 – 20	little bit	Weak-semi	Catholic

Notes

[1] For example, the 2000 U.S. Census categorizes Alsatian under the French language.

[2] The difference between language and dialect revolves around mutual intelligibility, i.e., if two language varieties are not mutually intelligible it is termed a language, but if mutually intelligible, they are considered dialects.

[3] Matzen (1973: 110) notes there are as many varieties of Alsatian as there are "speakers, villages, or cities."

[4] The term "German-speaking" transcends political borders and includes German dialects spoken in current political entities such as Austria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Poland, and Switzerland.

[5] At the time of the main wave of immigration from German-speaking areas (1830-1860), Germany was still a loose confederation of states and principalities and was not unified as a nation until 1871.

[6] One section = 1 square mile or 640 acres (260 hectares)

[7] The Society for the Protection of German Immigrants to Texas, commonly known as the Adelsverein ("nobles' society") is credited with bringing the main wave of German immigrants to Texas from 1844-1846 with 7,380 immigrants versus Castro's 2,134.

[8] CCHA = Castro Colonies Heritage Association

[9] Even in modern Germany today, villages remain predominantly Catholic or Protestant (evangelisch), a remnant of the turbulent religious wars ignited by the Reformation.

[10] Local or regional political, social, and economic control versus verticalization, which is characterized by state or national control (Salmons 2005: 129).

[11] Texas achieved statehood in 1845.

[12] Alsatian is designated separately here as a language due to the limited intelligibility between Alsatian and most other German varieties.

[13] With the exception of one lone "Lost German Paper" published by Ed. Meyer in May 1915.

[14] Sister St. Andrew (Feltin) of this order from the Bas-Rhin, Alsace, established the well-known St. Joseph's school in San Antonio in 1875. Information on Sisters of Divine Providence is taken from Callahan (1955), CCHA (1985), and Langford (2007).

[15] For a discussion of parochial education, cf. Roesch (2012), Chapter 2.

[16] Other studies on Texas German communities describe similar diglossic situations (Boas 2009: 43ff.); Salmons 1983: 190).

[17] The eldest speaker born in 1913 (age group 13-20) was not included, as she was raised in an English-speaking Irish Catholic family, who learned Alsatian from her spouse at age 16, and does not represent transmission in the usual sense.

[18] Castroville is designated as the "Little Alsace" among Alsatians.

[19] These examples do not represent the extent of speaker variation present in TxAls today.

[20] cf. also Waterman (1991:191) the complexity of distribution patterns for the labial, alveolar, and velar stops in the various Alemannic dialects

[21] Philippe and Botherel-Witz (1989: 316) also describe vowel lengthening as a phonemic difference in Colmar Upper Alsatian to the north.

[22] Examples for TxG are taken from Gilbert (1972) and Boas (2009).

[23] Transference is defined by Clyne as where a "form, feature or construction has been taken over by the speaker from another language, whatever the motives or explanation" (2003: 76-78). Most of the current TxAls speakers learned Alsatian first and their second language, English, when they attended first grade (see Appendix).

[24] One native Alsatian noted that when he first met #202, he noticed was Schleppendes 'a dragging' about his speech that "sounded like Willie Nelson."

[25] Boas (2009a: 209) also notes a tendency in New Braunfels TxG to maintain the opposing N/AD characteristic of TxG standard-near donor dialects.

[26] cf. Roesch (2012) for a discussion on TxAls code-switching.

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Wilfried Schabus

The Hutterites: Anabaptists in Isolated Colonies in North America

1 The Hutterites today: A description

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

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

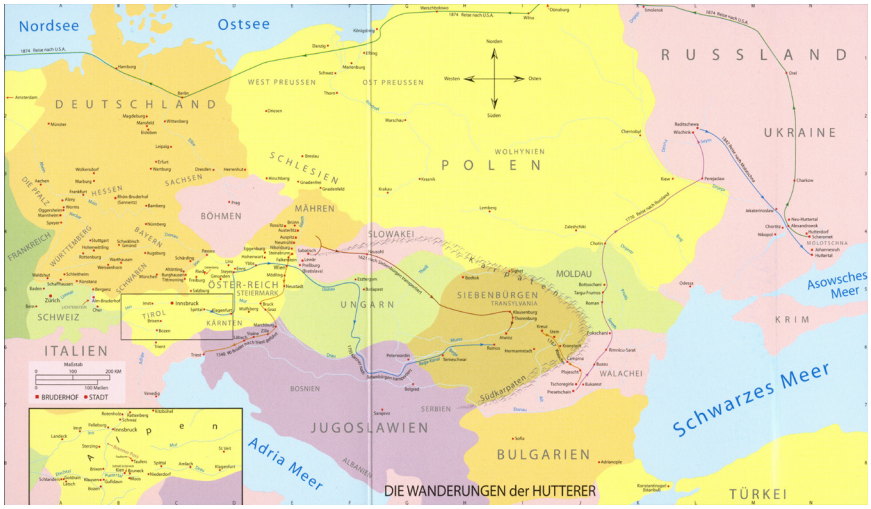

Figure 1. Routes and Stopovers of the Hutterite Migratory Speech Island.
© Gerald Hofer, Starlite Colony.

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

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

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

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

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

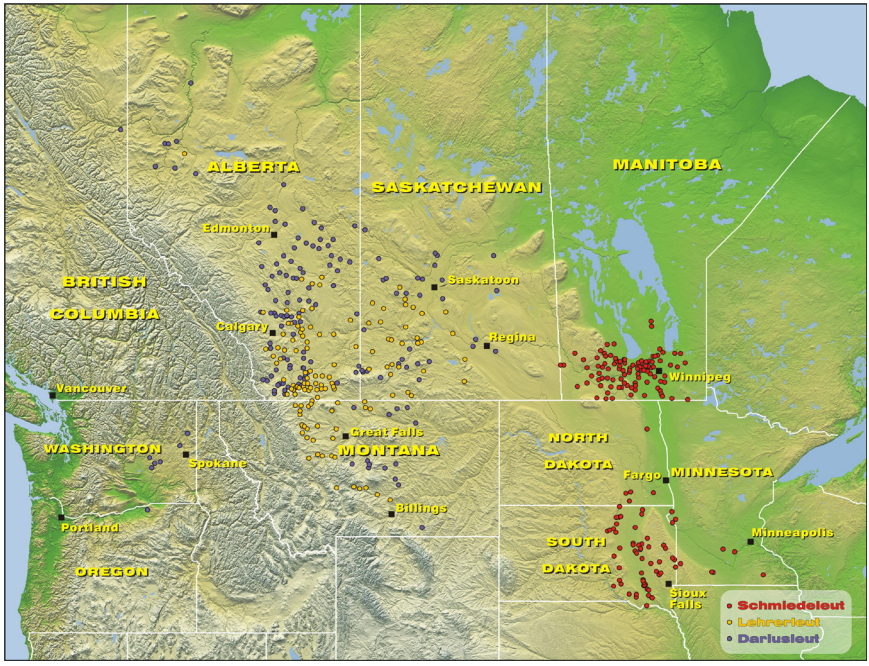

Figure 2. Hutterite Colonies in N. America.
© John C. Lehr, Dep. of Geography, University of Winnipeg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 The establishment of a migratory speech island

2.1 The Reformation in Europe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

authorities, but resorted to the walking stick.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3 A decisive encounter: Hutterites and Carinthians in Transylvania

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

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

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

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

2.4 Escape through Wallachia to Southern Russia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Hutterite texts and their transmission

3.1 Anabaptist writing

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

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

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

3.2 Written tradition

3.2.1 Compiling and copying by hand

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

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

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

Another handwritten book with the following title is from 1792 (see Figure 3): Erklärung und / Außlegŭng Etlicher Kapitel / aŭs dem Newẽn Testament. / Handlen von der frölichen / Sigreichen aŭfferstechŭng ŭnd / Himmelfarth unsers Lieben / Herrn und Heillandts / Jesu Christo. / Aus Etlicher Alten Leerer / der Jacob Hŭetterischen gmain, Sch= / rifften, Zu samen getragen, ŭnd aŭf / ein Newẽs Beschriben in Klein Rŭß= / land im

Figure 3. A book of the Hutterite Brethren, written by hand in 1792 in Little Russia (now Ukraine). Photograph W. Schabus 2003.

dorff Wischink. Im Jar /1792.

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

3.2.2 The transmission of the teachings

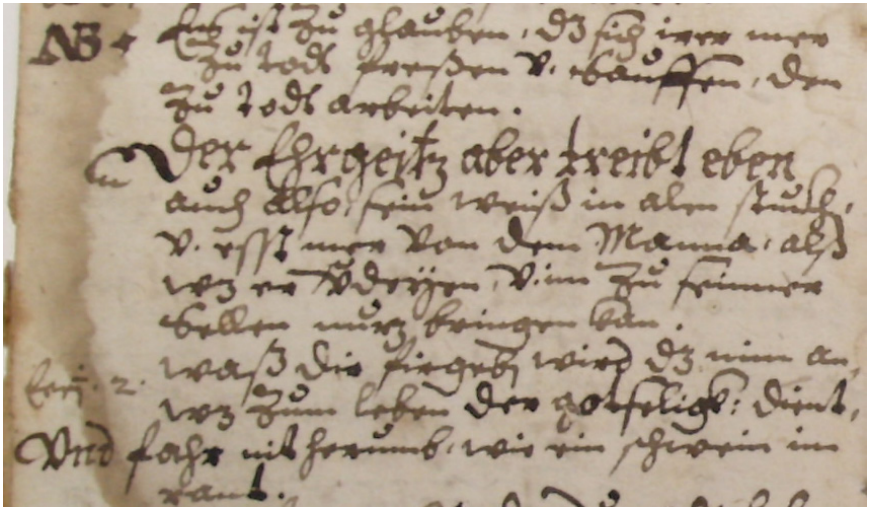

Figure 4. Excerpt from the Old Testament's Book of Sirach, written about 1600. Foto W. Schabus 2003.

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

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

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

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

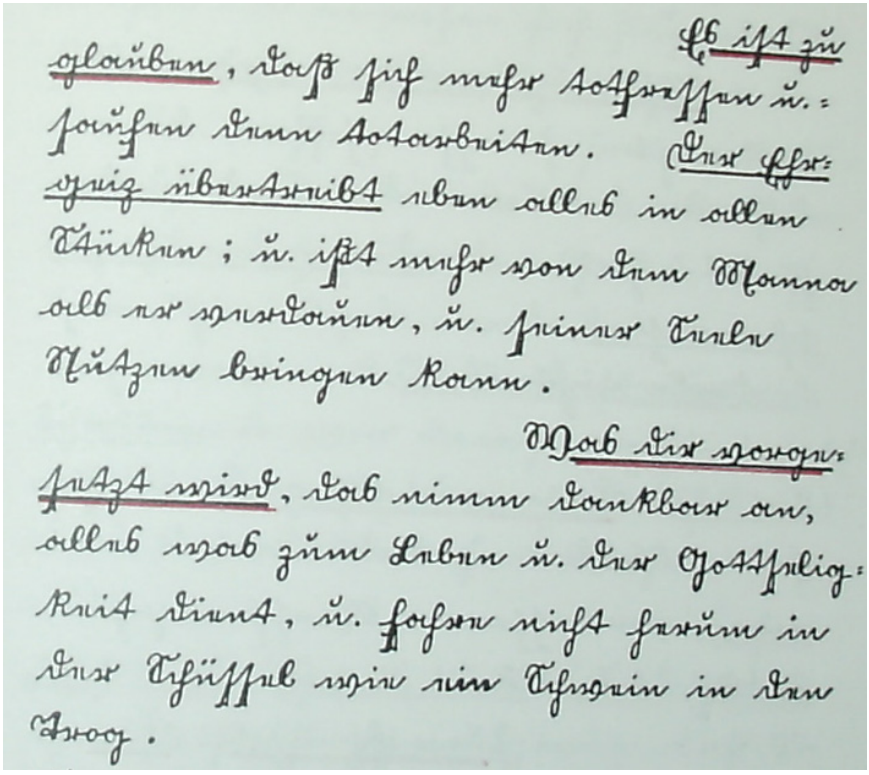

Figure 5. The same text as in Figure 4, copied in German handwriting around 1900. Photograph W. Schabus 2003.

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.3 Present-day written tradition and copying

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

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

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

4 Hutterite "High German"

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

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

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

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

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

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

In reading the High German texts out loud, the old Early NHG diphthongs /ie/, /üe/ and /ue/ often retain the original Upper German pronunciation, e.g. *li:e̯b* 'nice' (OHG *liab*), *gu:e̯t* 'good' (OHG *guot*) or *ˈrɪçtəˌʃtu:e̯l* 'seat of judgment' mentioned above. The preacher addresses his congregation as *li:e̯bən pri:e̯dər* 'Dear Brethren'. Standard NHG would be *li:bə bry:dər;* with the old diphthongs having become monophthongs. The word *li:e̯bən* inflected with {-en} instead of Standard German *li:bə* is the same as Early NHG.

In words like *pri:e̯dər* 'brothers' (MHG *brüeder*), Upper German dialects unround [y] > [i], as in *vinʃn̩* 'wish' for Standard German *vynʃn̩*. Unrounding also affects [ø]; thus it is not *frø:lɪç* 'happy', but *fre:lɪç* in the preachers' language. Sermons in the *Schmiedeleut* communities of Manitoba also use genuine dialect features, e.g. *dər pɛ:ɐ̯sə fa:i̯nd* 'the bad enemy' as a metaphor for the devil or in *pɛ:ɐ̯trus* for 'Petrus' = 'Peter'. The speech sound [ɛ:ɐ̯] for MHG /ê/ and /œ/ is the same as that of the South Bavarian dialect area, the homeland of both the Tyrolean and the Carinthian Hutterites. On the other hand, genuine church vocabulary such as *ˈe:wikhaɪ̯t* 'eternity' or *ˈse:likhaɪ̯t* 'salvation' will be pronounced according to Standard German also by the *Schmiedeleut*.

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

5 Hutterite German (HuttG)

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

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

5.1 Sample of the Hutterite dialect

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

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

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

1 Jo:ᵘ, dɔs tum ɔndra la:ɪ̯d-a:h. – ma ʃɛrfn̩ se ã:ĩ̯, dɔs si in di mu:ətr̩ hɛlfə̃,
Ja, das tun andere Leute auch. – Wir[69] schärfen ihnen ein, dass sie der Mutter helfen,
Yes, other people do that, too. We teach them to help mother.

2 di khindr̩ wo:ʃən hɛlfn̩ . . . ɛ: . . . t͡suˈrɛçtmo[hn̩] fan pe:t.
die Kinder waschen helfen . . . zurechtmachen für das Bett.
help the children wash . . . get ready for bed.

3 obr̩, si misn̩ ah sɛndr̩ a:ufko:p ʃa:ugŋ̍,
Aber, sie müssen auch ihre Aufgabe schauen,
But they (the fathers) also have to check their children's homework.

4 dos si sɐ khɛnɛ̃ fɐn nɛkstn̩ to:g in di da:ɪ̯t͡ʃɐ ʃu:əl.
dass sie sie können für den nächsten Tag in der Deutschen Schule.
so that they (the children) can do it at the German School the next day.

5 Wɔn si ə li:ədl̩ ho:ᵇm̩ t͡sə lɛ:ˀnɛ̃, ɛ fɛrs siŋɛ̃ ʔɔdr̩[70] ʔi:bɐle:sə̃.
Wenn sie ein Liedl haben zu lernen, einen Vers singen oder überlesen.
When they have to learn a song, a verse (stanza) or read it.

6 Unt-ə – nɛrə se ã:ĩ̯ʃɛrfə̃, wɔs si nuh ho:ᵘm-pfɔr-ɛ . . . hɔ:əm . . .
Und – dann ihnen einschärfen, was sie noch haben für eine *home* . . .
And – then tell them (the children) what they have for *home*. . .

7 dɐ'ha:mʔɔrbɛt – miə ha:zn̩-z hɔ:umwœɪk. Und nɔɐ, wɔn si dɔs gətə̃:ə̃ hoᵇm̩,
Daheimarbeit – wir heißen es *homework*. Und dann, wenn sie das getan haben,
Work at home - we call it *homework*. And then, when they (the fathers) have done that,

8 ɔ^{u}khe: – Khumps ɐmol o:lɐ hɛɐ, gɛts pe:tn̩! – Nɐ misə̃ si hiŋkhni:ənə̃
okay: – "Kommt einmal alle her, geht beten!" – Dann müssen sie [sich] hinknien
okay: – "Come here, all of you. Go and pray!" – Then they have to kneel down
9 nɛ^{b}mə̃ fo:tr̩, unt-ɛ, nɐ pe:tn̩ se ũ:sə fo:tr̩ unt-ɛ –
neben den Vater, und-äh, dann beten sie *"Unser Vater"* und-äh –
next to the father, and uh, then they say *"Our Father"* and uh -
10 khristi plu:ət uŋ gərɛçtiçkhaɻt, d̲az[71] is^{t} mãĩ̯ ʃmukh und ɛ:rənkhlaɻd̲,
"Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit, das ist mein Schmuck und Ehrenkleid,
"The blood of Christ and justice, that is my jewelry and festive dress,
11 d̲ɐmit wil ɪc[72] fɔ^{ə} gɔt pəʃtɛ̃:n, wɛn ɪç ts͡ũ himbl̩ wɛr̂t ã:ĩ̯gɛ̃:ɐ̃, ɔ:^{u}mə̃.
Damit will ich vor Gott bestehn, wenn ich zu Himmel werd' eingehn. Amen."
With that I want to stand before God when I enter Heaven. Amen."
12 Un so tum-pse . . . fi:ə . . . draɪ̯, fiə gə̲be:^{i}tlɐ̃ i:bə̲be:^{i}tn̩. Und wɛn si fɛrtic sint,
Und so tun sie . . . vier . . . drei, vier Gebetlein überbeten. Und wenn sie fertig sind,
And so they say. . . four. . . three, four prayers. And when they are done,
13 dan sit͡sn̩ se hɪn . . . unt-ə . . . ɛt͡ʃ wɛm-ə ɛŋkh ə khla: tʃɪçtl̩ fə͡tsel̩n̩:
dann sitzen sie hin. . . und-äh: "Jetzt werden wir euch ein kleines Geschichtlein erzählen:
then they sit down. . . and uh, "Now we (the father) will tell you a little story:
14 Wast, wɔs i:ə͡ts khump? – Wa:ɻnahtn̩! Wɛr khɔ^{u}m b̲o^{ʊ}s fə͡tseln̩
Wisst ihr, was jetzt kommt? – Weihnachten! Wer kann was erzählen
Do you know what comes now? – Christmas! Who can tell something
15 fum b̲a:ɻnahtn̩? Unt-ɛə khla:ɻnə juŋ, d̲ɛə wil, d̲ɛə wil ˈah wɔs wisə̃.
von Weihnachten?" Und der kleine Jung, der will, der will auch was wissen.
about Christmas?" And the little boy, he wants, he wants to know something, too.
16 Sɔk ɛə: Fun di hɪ:ərtn̩! - ɔ:^{u}khɛ:ɛ! – D̲e saɻn da:ʊ̯sgweisə ɐfə̃ lənt
Sagt er: "Von den Hirten!" – "Okay: – Die sind draußen gewesen auf dem Land
He says: "About the shepherds!" – "Okay: – They were out in the countryside
17 un hɔ^{b}m̩ d̲i ʃo:f ʔo:lɐ gə͡tselt, ɛntɐ d̲ɔs d̲i su:nɐ is untəgɔŋə,
und haben die Schafe alle gezählt, bevor dass die Sonne ist untergegangen,
and counted all the sheep before the sun set,

18 is ɘ pisl̩ fi̥:stɐ wɔ:ɐdn̩. Nɔɐ hɔm-tsi t͡ʃauk, dɔs kha wu:lf khum,
ist [es] ein bissl finster geworden. Dann haben sie geschaut, dass kein Wolf kommt,
it got a little dark. Then they (the shepherds) watched so no wolf would come,

19 khanɐ fuɪ̯rɪgɐ ă:u^{ʁ}ŋ̍, unt ho^{b}m̩ di ʃo:f du:ɔt ĩ ʔa: ha:ɪ̯fl̩ ˈo:lɐ gwat͡ʃt.
keine feurigen Augen, und [sie] haben die Schafe dort in einem Häuflein alle *gewatcht*.
no firy eyes, and they watched all the sheep there in a little group.

20 Mid̲ ˈã:s khump ɛ li:əçd fũ himbl̩. Tse:[73] ʃã:ugŋ̍, is ɘ ɛŋgl̩!
Mit eins kommt ein Licht vom Himmel. Sie schauen, ist [es] ein Engel!
Suddenly there comes a light down from heaven. They look – it is an angel!

21 Dr̩ ɛŋgl̩ gɔnt͡s oikhumə̃ af di ɛ:ɐ^{d}n̩. Unt fɔŋk ɔ̃: mit sẽ: re:^{d}n̩:
Der Engel [ist] ganz herabgekommen auf die Erde. Und fängt an mit ihnen reden:
The angel came all the way down to earth. And starts talking to them.

22 Wast-dez, wɔz hã:ɪ̯̃d pɐsi:ɔd i:s? – Iç priŋ ɛŋkh ɘ gru:sɐ fra:ɪ̯d! –
'Wisst ihr, was heute passiert ist? – Ich bring euch eine große Freude!'
"Do you know, what happened today? – I am bringing you great joy!"

23 Hɔm-pse khɔla kʃta:r t͡ʃa:ʊ̯k. – Tat-des dəʃɪekhə̃? Si ɔ^{b}m̩ ɔŋks gəkhri:ək!
Haben sie nur starr geschaut. – Tätet ihr erschrecken? Sie haben Angst gekriegt!
They (the shepherds) just stared. – Would you (you children) be frightened? They (the shepherds) were frightened!

24 – Nɔɐ sɔk dr̩ ɛŋgl̩: Nid hɔps ɔŋksd! ɛs je:sulã̃ is hã:ɪ̯̃ŋ gəpu:ɔdn̩.
Dann sagt der Engel: ‚Nicht habt Angst! Das Jesulein is heut geboren.
Then the angel says (to the shepherds): 'Have no fear! Baby Jesus is born today.

25 Du:ɔd wɛt dez ɘs fintn̩. – Im b̲e:itlɐhɛm; – ĩ ʃto:l; – pɐ ʃtru:; – bɐ di khu:a.
Dort werdet ihr es finden. – In Bethlehem. – Im Stall. – Beim Stroh. – Bei der Kuh.
You will find Him there. – In Bethlehem. – In the stable. – At the straw. – Close to the cow.

26 U-mpɐ di ʃo:^{ʊ}f. – Und ɘ ʃtɛndl̩ wɛt ɛŋkh ɘ t͡sa:gə sá:ɪ̯̃.
Und bei den Schafen. – Und ein Sternlein wird euch ein Zeiger sein.'"
And with the sheep. -. And a little star will be your (the shepherds') a guide.'"

5.2 Brief linguistic analysis of the dialect sample

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

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

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

5.2.1 Sample of the dialect as South Bavarian

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.2 Are Tyrolean or Carinthian features more prevalent in HuttG?

[a:] for MHG /ei/, e.g., in (7) *dɐˈha:m* (MHG *daheime*) 'at home' or (26) *t͡ʃa:gɘ* 'pointer' (s-bav generally *dɐˈhɔ:ɻ̲m, t͡ʃɔ:ɻ̲gɐ*) cannot provide an answer to the question because the feature is present both in South Tyrol's Puster Valley (PustV) and in Carinthia (CAR). Definitive PustV features are missing in HuttG, such as [ui] for MHG /uo/, e.g., PustV *pu:ɪ̯* (MHG *buobe*) 'boy'. HuttG says *pu:ɻ̲* 'boy' just like CAR and the rest of Upper German.[79] PustV raising of pre-nasal long a: to [u:] (e.g., PustV *hu:nɛ* 'Hahn', *giˈtu:n* 'done') is missing in HuttG , cf. (7) *gɘˈtɔ̃:ɔ̃* 'done'.[80]

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.3 Is there nothing Tyrolean in HuttG?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.4 Middle Bavarian influence from Southern Moravia

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

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

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

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

5.2.5 Homogeneity in a multi-tribal "colonial language"

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

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

5.2.6 Influences from German, non-Bavarian regions

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.7 Specific HuttG morphosyntactic features

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

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

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

5.2.8 Influences from other languages

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

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

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

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

6 HuttG dialect geography and differentiation by group

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

Distinct dialect differences by area can be observed in the realization of MHG /ê/: the *Schmiedeleut* often say [ɛ:g̰] (5.2.1); by contrast, the *Dariusleut* and *Lehrerleut* have a monophthong [ɛ:], with the exception of some s-bav relic forms such as *ʃnɛ:g̰* 'snow'. The [ɛ:g̰] of other etymological origins also varies between dialects, e.g., in the SG word *Kern* 'seed', which the blacksmith people pronounce as *khɛ:g̰dn̩* and the others as *khɛ:dn̩*.[111] There is similar differentiation in [ɔ:g̰] and [ɔ:] so that the *Schmiedeleut*'s *ʃɛ:g̰dn̩* 'shear' and *t͡ʃɔ:g̰dn̩* 'shorn' contrast with the *Dariusleut*'s *ʃɛ:dn̩* and *t͡ʃɔ:dn̩*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 Psycholinguistically determined innovations in HuttG

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

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

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

There is also a striking feature within the HuttG phonemic system that is probably connected to aspects of religious psychology: The blacksmith people have the s-bav diphthong [ɛ:ɐ̯] for MHG /ê/ (5.2.1), but MHG /ô/ yields [u:] rather than s-bav [ɔ:ɐ̯] (see the sample text (25) *ʃtru:* MHG *strô* 'straw'). This goes for all groups although there are relic forms here, too, e.g. *rɔ:ɐ̯sn̩* 'roses'. This raising of /ô/ to [u:] has been posited as Silesian influence (Rein 1977: 260), but we have seen that Thuringian or Hessian is probably much stronger than Silesian influence in HuttG (5.2.6). Umlauted /ô/ does not become [i:] as in Silesian but rather remains [ɛ:ɐ̯] as in s-bav. In HuttG, 'big, large, great' is *gru:s* (MHG *grôʒ*), but the comparative is *grɛ:ɐ̯sr̩ ~ grɛ:sr̩* (MHG *grœʒer*) rather than Silesian *gri:sr̩*.

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

Instead, originally one probably said *o:stərn, gro:s, no:t,* etc., as in Brno's city dialect (Beranek 1936: 295). This led to syncretism with the PustV's fairly closed [o:] vowels for a lengthened /*a*/, thus causing the etymological /o/ vowels to rise even more up to [*u:*]. In this process, HuttG is influenced by parallel vowel situations present not only in Silesian dialects, but above all in the Hessian-Thuringian-East Franconian regions (dtv-Atlas 2005: 188). Thus, the dialects of this Middle German area prove once again to be important contact variants in the history of HuttG. All remaining /o/ vowels are also raised, e.g., *khu͡pf* 'Kopf' = 'head', *lu:p* 'Lob' = 'praise' or *nu:ɪ̯* 'neu' (for s-bav [*no:ɪ̯*]) 'new'. HuttG agrees with the Auspitzer Ländchen in this regard.[115]

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

8 The Hutterites' German School

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Notes

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

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

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

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

[5] See Schabus 2007: 63ff.

[6] Cf. Chudaska 2003: 244.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[14] Not derogatory in Wolkan (1918).

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

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

[17] Cf. Nürnberger.

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

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

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

[21] See The Oldest Chronicle, 47.

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

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

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

[25] Cf. Horsch 1994: 76.

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

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

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

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

[30] Cf. Hostetler 1997: 85.

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

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

[33] Younger Chronicle, 229.

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

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

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

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

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

[39] See Todjeras, 2008: 98f.

[40] See Younger Chronicle, 273.

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

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

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

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

[45] Younger Chronicle, 240.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[63] Cf. Todjeras 2008: 93.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[70] ʔ refers to a glottal stop.

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

[72] c is a palatal stop.

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

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

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

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

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

[78] See Kranzmayer, 1956: 93ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[92] Beranek 1936: 292, 74.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[112] Bav dialects sometimes have similar assimilations.

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

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

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

[116] See section 5.2.8.

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

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

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

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

[121] They teach German as a foreign language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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