

(297). Among the factors leading to the shift to English, Keel identifies the anti-German sentiment during World War I, parents' increased use of English with their children to help their children succeed in school, the automobile and the paving of highways in the aftermath of the Federal Highway Act of 1921. In addition, churches switched to English between 1920 and 1940 both to accommodate younger members who had trouble understanding English and to enable the evangelization of English speakers. Despite these factors, in the relatively isolated and intact German-speaking community in Perry County, Missouri, persons born before 1945 are still fluent in German though they have not passed the language down to their children. Thus, German is dead or moribund in all five communities examined by Keel.

In sum, this is an excellent volume that should be of great interest to scholars interested in language contact and multilingualism. A number of perspectives and methodological approaches are described and illustrated by a rich array of empirical studies.

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### **Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language.**

By Mark L. Loudon. *The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 2016. xxiii + 473 pp. \$59.95.*

Mark Loudon's *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language* is the comprehensive handbook for which many scholars in this area have been waiting for decades. In seven chapters it depicts the historical, societal, and linguistic factors that shaped Pennsylvania German, from its slow evolution out of German varieties brought to North America in the eighteenth century to its surprisingly widespread use, even as a native language, in the Northeastern and Midwestern United States in the twenty-first century. It gives a clear sense of both how the past developments led to the present-day vitality of Pennsylvania German and the marked difference in its maintenance among the sectarian and nonsectarian speech communities. The book has a companion website ([padutch.net](http://padutch.net)), which offers a wealth of additional resources, including Pennsylvania German texts from various periods and recordings of sectarian and nonsectarian Pennsylvania German. (In the interests of full disclosure, I note that I am mentioned in the acknowledgments and a footnote, but was not involved in the production of this volume, other than as a reviewer of an early proposal.)

The preface sets the tone of the investigation by describing two couples

using Pennsylvania German in two very different sociolinguistic situations. Chapter 1 explores two basic issues: (1) the name of the variety and (2) its status as a language or a dialect. The title of the book reveals the author's inclination in both topics. Despite the historical and geographic inaccuracy that the term "Dutch" may invoke, Loudon prefers the name "Pennsylvania Dutch," the term used by the majority of speakers, especially in Pennsylvania. As for the second issue, while most Pennsylvania Germans label their variety a dialect, Loudon prefers to regard it as a language to stress the relative autonomy of Pennsylvania German from European German despite close linguistic and historical ties. Chapter 1 then establishes the German roots of Pennsylvania German; the Palatinate dialect of German spoken around Mannheim bears strong similarities to Pennsylvania German, although it must not be regarded as the sole contributor to the new variety. Of particular interest here is a brief newspaper announcement published in the *Nordwestliche Post* of January 1, 1819, which allows for a variety of conclusions on the syntax and morphology of early Pennsylvania German. Chapter 1 concludes with a comprehensive account of the influence of English on Pennsylvania German.

Chapter 2 examines the early history of Pennsylvania German, i.e., the period from the end of the early stage of German immigration to Pennsylvania in 1755 to the turn of the century. According to Loudon, the genesis of Pennsylvania German likely happened between 1750 and 1780, when immigration abated and the descendants of the early German-speaking immigrants continued to use elements of their ancestral varieties. The final part of Chapter 2 describes the emergence of Pennsylvania German in print, most notably in political letters published in local newspapers. This evidence shows that by 1800 a variety of German had formed, distinct from both Standard German and any single variety of German brought to Pennsylvania by German-speaking immigrants.

Chapter 3 details the history of Pennsylvania German between 1800 and 1860. Loudon makes a crucial differentiation between *Deutsche* (the descendants of the eighteenth-century immigrants to colonial Pennsylvania) and *Deutschlenner* (the new German-speaking immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1820 and 1930). The *Deutschlenner*, who brought with them knowledge of Standard German and a notion of the transnational culture of *Deutschtum* ("Germanness"), generally despised the Pennsylvania Germans and their language as backwards and uneducated. It was in this period, according to Loudon, that a local standard, the so-called Pennsylvania High German, developed, distinct from Standard German and under the influence of Pennsylvania German. Proficiency in this written language subsequently waned among the Pennsylvania Germans, leading to the use of English as a written medium. Hand in hand with the decline of proficiency in written

German came the appearance of Dutchified German and Pennsylvania German in print, e.g., in German newspapers like the *Reading Adler*. While the Philadelphia elites assimilated to the English mainstream, the proud Pennsylvania Germans in the hinterland continued to express their ethnicity by using their Pennsylvania German varieties in printed form.

The subsequent emergence of a Pennsylvania German literature is Louden's subject in Chapter 4. The demographic highpoint of Pennsylvania German society with an estimated 750,000 speakers between 1870 and 1890 coincided with the emergence of a large body of texts written in Pennsylvania German. The first anthology of Pennsylvania German writings was published in 1869 by Ludwig August Wollenweber, a recent immigrant. The "father of Pennsylvania German literature," however, is Henry Harbaugh, whose 1860 poem "Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick" ("The old schoolhouse at the creek") became one of the best-known Pennsylvania German poems. Other important Pennsylvania German writers of this era include Edward H. Rauch and Abraham Reeser Horne. Louden emphasizes that the explosion of Pennsylvania German literature after the end of the Civil War is not a sign of the health of the language, but rather marks a feeling of impending loss of Pennsylvania German and a nostalgic longing for the preservation of the culture.

Chapter 5 examines public perceptions of Pennsylvania German over time. Relatively few pre-Civil War descriptions of the culture or language of the Pennsylvania Germans are available; an 1869 article by Phebe Earle Gibbons published in the *Atlantic Monthly* gave the American general public a first glimpse of the Pennsylvania Germans and their language. The novels of Helen R. Martin painted their Pennsylvania German and Mennonite protagonists in a culturally negative light by making them speak nonsensical, Dutchified English. The beginning of tourism after about 1908 opened a market for publications like A. Monroe Aurand Jr.'s *Quaint Idioms and Expressions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1939), which propagated the notion of Pennsylvania Germans speaking a "broken" form of English. However, as Louden points out, this negative image was counteracted by scholars like Alfred L. Shoemaker, J. William Frey, and Don Yoder in their academic publications. Other expressions of this movement to preserve heritage include the Pennsylvania German Society (founded in 1891); the so-called *fersommlinge* ("gatherings") and *Grundsau* ("groundhog") Lodges, which have provided Pennsylvania Germans a venue to socialize with the declared goal to celebrate and preserve their heritage since the 1930s; the numerous Pennsylvania German plays performed after 1880; the radio show *Asseba un Sabina Mumbauer im Eihledaahl* (Allentown, 1944–54); and the Kutztown Folk Festival, which was started in 1950 and continues to the present day.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to a sub-segment of the Pennsylvania Germans,

the Amish and Mennonites. Although relations between sectarians and non-sectarians were close in the eighteenth century (which accounts for the great similarity between their varieties of Pennsylvania German), Louden emphasizes the increasing separation between the two groups starting in the nineteenth century. Louden next examines the (still ongoing) struggle among the sectarians on the question of whether to maintain their German varieties or to shift to English. The author then discusses a number of linguistic properties of sectarian Pennsylvania German. The ensuing discussion of such varied topics as differences between Amish and Mennonite Pennsylvania German, the interplay between Pennsylvania High German and Pennsylvania German, and the status of English among the sectarians, draws heavily on the author's three decades of linguistic fieldwork among the sectarian Pennsylvania Germans. The major take-away of the chapter is the new linguistic reality in the twenty-first century, already alluded to in the preface: Pennsylvania German has all but disappeared as a native language among the nonsectarians, but the number of first language speakers of Pennsylvania German is doubling every twenty years in the Old Order communities.

Chapter 7, "An American Story," predicts a bright future for Pennsylvania German in the sectarian society. Louden expresses the hybrid character of the Pennsylvania German language in a striking metaphor: "Pennsylvania Dutch is a linguistic machine made in America but with most of its parts imported from Germany" (p. 360). The chapter also shows how the various groups reacted to outside pressure: the nonsectarians' shift from Pennsylvania German to English is, in part, a reaction to the *Deitschlenner's* ridicule, but the Old Orders took Pennsylvania German with them wherever they moved as a marker of their separation from the world.

In sum, this is a fascinating book. Mark Louden succeeds in providing an explanation of the processes he calls "a sociolinguistic wonder" in his preface (p. xi). That Pennsylvania German is alive and well is indeed a small miracle, and Louden is able to help us understand how it was possible. The volume is carefully produced, with several illustrations interspersed throughout its 473 pages and very few editorial errors. Its over sixty pages of densely printed endnotes and an almost twenty-page bibliography speaks to the author's rich and detail-oriented scholarship. The book is certainly suitable for a general audience, but also includes a wealth of secondary material hitherto unknown to the specialist. It is likely to be the standard work on Pennsylvania German for some time to come.