The English 'Infusion' in Pennsylvania German

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19.1 Introduction

Pennsylvania German (known as Pennsylvania Dutch by most of its speakers) is a North American language that developed in colonial Pennsylvania and is most similar to the dialects of the southeastern Palatinate (*Vorderpfalz*) (Louden 2016).

Contact with English has always played a role in the history of Pennsylvania German, as is underscored in the first detailed description of the language, which appeared in a two-volume work about the natural and cultural landscape of early America written by a German botanist, zoologist, and physician, Johann David Schöpf (1752–1800). Published in 1788, Schöpf's comments on the form of German spoken in Pennsylvania were based on extensive time he spent in Philadelphia and its hinterlands in 1783.

> The language used by our German countrymen is a pitifully broken mishmash of English and German with regard to words as well as their combination. Adults who come over from Germany partially forget their mother tongue as they attempt, unsuccessfully, to learn a new one. Those born here almost never learn their mother tongue properly and purely. (Louden 2016: 27; see Schöpf 1788: 156 for the German original)

Later assessments of Pennsylvania German, often made by speakers of standard German, reiterated the view that the language was a "bastard" or "mongrel tongue" for its admixture of elements from English. The first scholarly monograph on Pennsylvania German, which appeared in 1872 (Haldeman 1872), bore the subtitle "A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English" (hence the title of this chapter).

In what follows, we investigate the extent to which Pennsylvania German has been affected by contact with English. What will become clear is that the influence of English on Pennsylvania German, while real, has been overstated by popular observers such as Johann David Schöpf and even

some scholars. Not suprisingly, most of the effects of English contact are to be found in the Pennsylvania German lexicon, which is uncontroversially recognized as the area of language structure most susceptible to contact-induced change in general. Pennsylvania German phonology and morphology show almost no influence from English, though we will consider some limited effects of contact evident in the syntax of the language.

19.2 Lexical Borrowing in Pennsylvania German

19.2.1 General Remarks

Figure 19.1 gives a descriptive typology of lexical borrowing, based on Haugen 1969 and adapted somewhat by Winford (2003: 45).

Borrowings are divided into two major types. The first type of borrowing, *loanwords*, involve the complete (*pure loanwords*) or partial (*loanblends*) transfer of lexical material from a source language into a recipient language. Loanwords that are adapted to the native phonological, morphological, and syntactic patterns may be said to be *integrated* into the recipient language, otherwise they are *included*. Examples of integrated pure loanwords in Pennsylvania German are *Schmook* 'smoke', *weare* 'to wear', and *fannich* 'funny'. Loanblends are further subdivided into *derivational blends*, those that contain an imported stem and a native affix, for example, PG *uffketsche* 'to catch up', and *compound blends*, in which imported and native stems are combined, as in PG *Kascheboi* 'cherry pie' (Schach 1948).

The second major type of borrowing is *loanshifts*, which take the form of either *extensions* (*semantic loans*) or *loan translations* (*calques*). Extensions
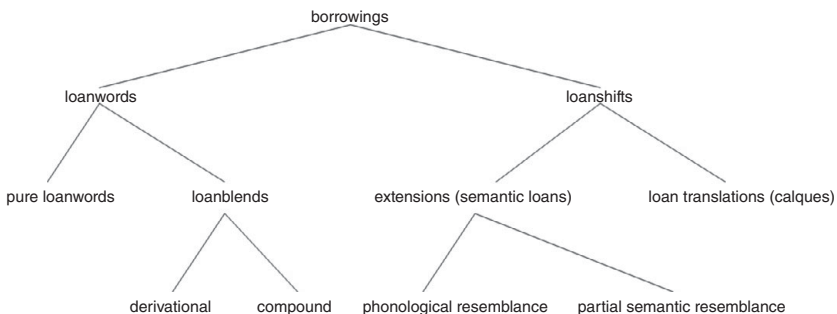

Figure 19.1 Typology of lexical borrowing based on Haugen 1969, Winford (2003: 45).

involve changes in the meaning of native lexical items in a recipient language under the semantic influence of a source language. That influence may be due to a *phonological* or *partial semantic resemblance* between lexical items in the contacting languages. An example of a native Pennsylvania German word whose meaning has shifted due to its phonological similarity to an English word is *biede*, which originally meant 'to offer' (cf. standard German *anbieten*), but in the contemporary language has the semantics of English *beat* in the sense of 'to win' or 'to defeat'. An extension due to a partial semantic resemblance between Pennsylvania German and English lexical items is *gucke*, which corresponds to English *look* in all its senses, including 'to have the appearance of being', a meaning that was not inherited from Palatine German; cf. *Seller Kuche guckt gut* 'That cake looks good'. The second type of loanshift, (semantic) extensions or calques, involves the combination of multiple native morphemes to form complex words or phrases on the model of English. Examples include PG *uffgucke* 'to look up (something)', e.g., *Ich muss sell Watt uffgucke* 'I have to look that word up'; and *der Kuche nemme* 'to take the cake', meaning 'to be especially good or outstanding (at something)', as in *Sell nemmt der Kuche* 'That takes the cake'. Extensions may be due to both phonological and semantic resemblances between contacting languages. For example, the Pennsylvania German words *gleiche* and *yuscht*, which originally meant 'to resemble' and 'just now', respectively, now correspond to the English verb *like* and adverb *just* ('only'); cf. *Ich gleich yuscht Deitsch schwetze* 'I like to speak just Pennsylvania German' (see Schach 1951, 1952 for more examples of loanshifts).

Aside from borrowings (phenomena involving loanwords and loanshifts), Haugen (1969: 403–405) described another major lexical outcome of language contact, what he termed *native creations*, of which he identified two types. The first are *loan creations* (*Lehnschöpfungen* in German; cf. Betz 1949), which are innovative words, usually compounds, that "arise when the speakers of one language wish to have a word corresponding to some word in another language, but create a term which has no formal parallelism to the foreign word" (Haugen 1969: 403). Haugen cites an example from Betz (1949: 25), German *Umwelt* (lit. 'around-world') to express French *milieu*. Loan creations are often the result of linguistic purism, as for example the attempt in the United States during the World War I era to encourage Americans to use *liberty cabbage* instead of *sauerkraut*. There are no known examples of loan creations in Pennsylvania German. The language does have some *hybrid creations*, the second type of native creation discussed by Haugen. One kind of hybrid creation occurs

when a native affix is attached to a stem from a donor language to create a lexical item that is not found in the donor language. Such words, according to Haugen (1969: 405), "give evidence of an intimate fusion into the language of the borrowed material, since it has become productive in the new language." Pennsylvania German examples of such hybrid creations include *Gekick* 'regular kicking' and *versmaesche* 'to smash completely' (Schach 1949). Winford (2003: 44–45) adds a third type of native creation to Haugen's typology, namely *pseudo-borrowings* (*Scheinentlehnungen*), in which a recipient language borrows material from a donor language to create innovative words that are nonexistent or have different meanings in the donor language. Examples of pseudo-anglicisms in European German abound, such as *Handy* 'mobile/cellular telephone' and *Beamer* 'data projector', but are not attested in Pennsylvania German.

Below we consider Pennsylvania German examples of the major types of lexical borrowing in more detail. Many of the data are drawn from historical Pennsylvania newspapers, in which traditionally most written Pennsylvania German appeared. The orthography has been adapted to the norms of Beam (2004–2011) for ease of reading.

19.2.2   *Word Classes and English Borrowings in Pennsylvania German*

It has been widely noted in studies of language contact that the words that are most susceptible to borrowing belong to the open classes, especially nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Closed-class lexical items, such as prepositions, pronouns, determiners, and conjunctions, are much less likely to be borrowed. This generalization has been borne out in earlier studies of lexical borrowing in Pennsylvania German. Specifically, Knodt (1986: 57), Seel (1988: 136), and Van Ness (1993: 290) all found that nouns are most frequently borrowed, followed by verbs, and then adjectives. Pennsylvania German examples from each of these classes, as well as adverbs, were given in the section above. Of the four closed classes just mentioned, only one, determiners, is almost completely resistant to borrowing into Pennsylvania German. The remaining three classes show limited evidence of lexical transfer from English. Below are examples of borrowed prepositions (1), pronouns (2, 3), and conjunctions (4, 5, 6).

(1)   Noh nemme sie die wolliche Unnergleeder ab un schpringe naus <u>mitaus</u> em
        Hut (*West Schuylkill Press and Pine Grove Herald*, April 1, 1949, p. 2)
        'Then they take the woolly undergarments off and run outside <u>without</u> a
        hat' (*mitaus* = loan translation)

(2)   <u>Wasewwer</u> as du duscht, fluch net (*Lebanon Daily News*, October 13,
          1906, p. 7)
       '<u>Whatever</u> you do, don't curse' (*wasewwer* = compound loanblend)

(3)   Nau is's iwwerall voll Hoche Schule un Colletsche un schier yedi Rotznaas
          will en Lawyer waerre, odder en Brofessor, odder en Parre, odder schier
          <u>ennich ebbes</u> sunsch in der Scientific Business (*Elizabethville Echo*,
          October 3, 1895, p. 5)
       'Now everywhere it's full of high schools and colleges, and practically every
          snot-nose wants to be a lawyer or a professor or a pastor or practically
          <u>anything</u> else in the scientific business' (*ennich eppes* = extension based on
          phonological and semantic resemblance; cf. dialectal German *einig* 'some,
          any' + *etwas* 'something')

(4)   So wie ich gsaat hab wie ich aafange hab schreiwe, ich will den Brief katz
          mache, <u>fer</u> ich gedenk noch Fildelfi zu geh (<u>providing</u> ich kann mei Geld
          collecte), noh gedenk ich dir en langer Brief zu schreiwe s'negscht Mol
          (*Carbon Advocate*, October 14, 1876, p. 4)
       'As I said when I began writing, I want to make this letter short, <u>for</u> I plan
          on going to Philadelphia (<u>providing</u> I can collect my money), then I plan
          on writing you a long letter next time' (*fer* = loan shift based on
          phonological resemblance; *providing* = pure loanword)

(5)   "Mamma, <u>supposing</u> ich deet schtarrewe, gingt ich in der Himmel?" – "Ya,
          my dear." "<u>Supposing</u> en grosser, schwatzer Baer deet mich fresse, deet er
          aa in der Himmel geh?" (*Morning Call*, October 22, 1922, p. 6)
       '"Mama, <u>supposing</u> I would die, would I go to heaven?" – "Yes, my dear."
          "<u>Supposing</u> a big, black bear would eat me up, would he to go heaven,
          too?"'

(6)   Excuse mich wann ich eich Deitsch schreiwe duh, awwer ich kann net
          Englisch, <u>bikahs</u> ich hab niemols English Lessons genumme (*Carlisle
          Weekly Herald*, October 30, 1868, p. 2)
       'Excuse me if I write to you in [Pennsylvania] German, but I don't know
          English, <u>because</u> I never took English lessons' (*bikahs* = pure loanword)

       Pennsylvania German *fer*, a loan shift patterned after the English causal
conjunction *for*, is interesting. It is attested mainly in texts produced by
native speakers born in the first half of the nineteenth century; most later
Pennsylvania German writers use the pure loanword *bikahs*, which is the
norm in the spoken language today. Noting that *bikahs* is a coordinating
conjunction in Pennsylvania German, some scholars have speculated that
this borrowing promotes finite verb-second (main clause) word order at
the expense of verb-final (subordinate) clausal structures (cf. Huffines
1988: 67, Van Ness 1993: 294). This speculation parallels the view held

by many observers of contemporary spoken German in Europe that the use of main clause word order after *weil* is a recent development in the history of the language, perhaps brought on or at least supported by the (pernicious) influence of English.[1]

The alternate use of main and subordinate clause word orders after causal conjunctions (including *weil*) in German has been shown to be a very old phenomenon in the history of the language (Sandig 1973, Freywald 2010). The same is true for Pennsylvania German. Rather than supplanting the native conjunction *weil*, *bikahs* exists side by side with it in the contemporary language, the distribution of the two being dependent on the semantic and pragmatic content of the clauses they introduce. As in German, verb-final word order in Pennsylvania German is associated with background or pragmatically neutral information. Thus when a causal conjunction is required to introduce such a clause, *weil* is used in Pennsylvania German. *Bikahs* occurs with foregrounded or emphasized content. In spoken European German, a single conjunction (*weil*) is used with two different word orders, depending on the context. This appears to have been also the situation in earliest Pennsylvania German as that is what is documented for Palatine German. In general, Pennsylvania German shows a tendency to borrow words from English to reduce inherited polysemy (Louden 2016: 30–31). The extension of the use of the native preposition *fer* (and the later borrowing of *bikahs*) is an example of this tendency, the result being one conjunction (*fer/bikahs*) to introduce coordinate clauses, and another (*weil*) for subordinate clauses only. Below are short texts that include both *fer*- and *weil*-clauses (7) and *bikahs*- and *weil*-clauses (8).

(7)   "Des biet der Bettel awwer jetz – <u>fer</u> ich hab nix Glenners as en halwer Cent alleweil. Ich winsch doch, <u>weil</u> sie Eagles un Daaler un so Sache mache duhn, dass sie aa deete ewennich Vaddel Cent Schticker un Mills mache, un so weider runner. Awwer ennihau, ich will an den annre Schtohr nochfroge, un wann ich den Teep net welfler griege kann, will ich zrickkumme un mit eich handle, <u>weil</u> dihr en zimmlich cleverer Kaerl scheint zu sei." (*Der Liberale Beobachter und Berks, Montgomery und Schuylkill Caunties Allgemeine Anzeiger*, June 30, 1840, p. 1)

'That does me no good right now – <u>for</u> I don't have anything smaller than a half-penny. I wish though, <u>because</u> they make eagles and dollars and such, that they'd make a few quarter-penny pieces and mills and so on down. But anyhow, I want to inquire at another store, and if I can't get

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[1] Cf. www.spiegel.de/kultur/zwiebelfisch/zwiebelfisch-weil-das-ist-ein-nebensatz-a-350013.html. A language-internal explanation is by analogy to the semantically related word *denn*, which does not take word-final verb position – R. Hickey.

that tape cheaper I'll come back and deal with you, <u>because</u> you seem to be a clever fellow.'

(8)   "Es gebt nix Neies unnich de Sunn," hab ich der Parre Cyrus Kurtz mol heere saage, awwer ich hab's em yuscht net halwer geglaabt, <u>weil</u> er als ebmols liegt, un heit glaab ich's gaar net. Un ich kann der aa saage ferwas. S'is <u>bikahs</u> mir hen eppes Neies do am Haase Barrig alleweil. (*Lebanon Daily News*, September 24, 1904, p. 2)

       '"There's nothing new under the sun," I heard Pastor Cyrus Kurtz say once, but I just didn't quite believe him, <u>because</u> he sometimes lies, and today I don't believe it at all. And I can tell you why, too. It's <u>because</u> we have something new here on Rabbit Mountain at the moment.'

Aside from a limited number of prepositions, pronouns, and conjunctions, there is another class of words in Pennsylvania German that shows the effects of contact with English in the form of both loanwords and loanshifts, namely discourse markers, whose status as an open or closed class is not clear. Common examples of discourse markers borrowed directly from English (and typically adapted to Pennsylvania German phonology) are *well* 'well', *wei* 'why', *bei tschinks* 'by jinks', *bei gamm* 'by gum', *ennihau* 'anyhow', and *ferschur* 'for sure'; see examples in (9)–(11).

(9)   Ei, ich hab <u>bei tschinks</u> der negscht Sundaag mich net in der Karrich sehne darfe losse, un die Nancy hot nimmi gschwetzt zu mir un hot mich gar net gnotist (*Lebanon Daily News*, April 2, 1898, p. 1)

       'Boy, I <u>sure</u> couldn't let myself be seen in church the next Sunday, and Nancy didn't talk to me anymore and didn't notice me at all'

Nau is a native adverb inherited from Palatine German meaning 'now' (cognate with standard German *nun*) whose use has been extended to match the homophonous English discourse marker *now*. Below are examples of *nau* in succession with *well* (10) and combined with it (11). In (10), one could argue that *nau* is being used as it would have been in Palatine German (and as *nun* in standard German), however in (11), the influence of English *now* is clearer.

(10)   <u>Well</u>, <u>nau</u>, ich kann's eich gaar net auslege was alles so schee un hibsch datt uffgfixt is fer en Fair zu halde (*Lebanon Daily News*, August 28, 1897, p. 4)

       '<u>Well</u>, <u>now</u>, I just can't explain to you how everything there is fixed up so nice and pretty for holding a fair'

(11)   <u>Well nau</u>, Tschanni, schemmscht du dich net? (*Lebanon Daily News*, March 21, 1903, p. 2)

       '<u>Well now</u>, Johnny, aren't you embarrassed?'

Pennsylvania German loans such as *bei tschinks* and *bei gamm* are examples of expressions that were once widespread in American English or regional Pennsylvania English but are no longer so. Some borrowings fall out of fashion in Pennsylvania German along with their English counterparts; the shift from using *fer* as a causal conjunction to *bikahs* is one example. Another is the verb *schpaerke* 'to court, date (someone)', whose counterpart, *to spark*, has disappeared from colloquial American English. However, many older loans endure in contemporary Pennsylvania German. In an important article on loanword stratification in Pennsylvania German, Carroll Reed (1967) identified a number of historical borrowings that are either archaic or nonexistent in contemporary English. Examples from Reed and my own fieldwork include *Bottri* 'pantry' (< *buttery*); *Briwwi* 'outhouse' (< *privy*); *Fendyu* 'public sale, auction' (< *vendue*); *Frack* 'dress' (< *frock*); *Frallick* 'work party' (< *frolic*); *Gaellese* 'suspenders' (< *galluses*); *Infeer* 'wedding reception' (< *infare*); *Maschien* 'automobile'; *schtoddie* 'to think over' (< *study*); *schtorrie* 'to tell a lie' (< *story*); *Tschaep* 'guy' (< *chap*); *s'is mir allwan* 'I don't care either way' (< *it's all one to me*); *es schpeit mich* 'I'm disappointed' (< *it spites me*); *yuus sie net wiescht* 'don't treat them badly' (< *don't use them bad[ly]*); *ich meind noch* 'I still remember' (< *mind*). Other loans reflect older, often nonstandard pronunciations of certain words and names, *aitaelian* 'Italian'; *Aiowee* 'Iowa'; *Eischters* ('oysters'); *figgere* 'to figure'; *Inschein* 'engine'; *Insching* 'Indian' (< *Injun*); *schmaert* 'smart'; *Sodi Wasser* 'soda water' (see also the discussion below on the phonological integration of loanwords).

19.2.3   Frequency of English Borrowings in Pennsylvania German

An important question often posed of Pennsylvania German is just how many borrowings from English there are in the language. A precise answer is impossible to come by as there is no way to quantify exactly the total number of words in any language. Nevertheless, meaningful empirical observations about the relative percentages of native and borrowed vocabulary in Pennsylvania German may be made.

The first known estimate of the English-derived component of the Pennsylvania German lexicon was made by Edward H. Rauch, who estimated the number of "words commonly used in Pennsylvania Dutch [that] are either English or a compound of English and German" to be between 18% and 20% (Rauch 1879: iii–iv). In the preface to one of the earliest dictionaries of Pennsylvania German (Lambert 1924), Marcus B. Lambert stated that "the percentage of English admixture varies from

nil to twelve or fifteen percent, depending upon the writer or speaker or the subject" (Lambert 1924: ix–x). Albert F. Buffington, in a 1941 study of the works of three prolific Pennsylvania German writers born in the second half of the nineteenth century, determined the percentage of loanwords and loanblends to be 2.5%, 4%, and 5% (Buffington 1941: 67). The relatively modest figures for written Pennsylvania German that Buffington calculated were in line with his informal observations of two gatherings of native speakers he attended, where he estimated the percentage of English-derived vocabulary to comprise 5% and 7%, respectively (Buffington 1941: 67–68). This was likely an estimate of tokens of loan vocabulary and not types.

In the 1980s and 1990s three studies aimed at determining the frequency of English-derived vocabulary in the Pennsylvania German of Amish sectarians. Thomas Knodt, working with multiple consultants in an Amish community in Delaware, found that out of a corpus of 27,630 nouns, verbs, adjectives/adverbs, and "other" words (closed-class words), 3,895, or 14.1%, were borrowed (Knodt 1986: 55). In a second study, Arter-Lamprecht (1992) found that out of 619 lexical items elicited in interviews with six consultants from Ohio, fully 209 (33.7%) were borrowed: 139 pure loanwords, 50 loanblends, 17 loan translations, and 3 extensions (Arter-Lamprecht 1992: 93, 95, 99, 102). In another study with Ohio Amish, Silke Van Ness (1994), who interviewed twenty-four consultants, identified 759 English borrowings out of a 40,603-word corpus, or 1.9% (Van Ness 1994: 290). These 759 items were types, not tokens.

Below we consider two small samples of written Pennsylvania German in (12) and (13). The samples represent different topics in order to capture a range of frequency of borrowings. Both were produced by Edward H. Rauch, thereby rendering the question of inter-speaker variation moot. The excerpts from humorous newspaper columns were both produced in the 1880s, at roughly the midpoint in the history of Pennsylvania German. The first excerpt, consisting of 87 word types (140 tokens), deals with the writer's battle with rheumatism, while the second (91 types, 182 tokens) addresses political topics. In Haugen's (1969: 94) discussion of differential patterns of borrowing according to fields of activity, "health and medicine," the topic of the first excerpt, is in a category in which one would expect less English influence. "Government and politics," the focus of the second sample, should elicit more borrowings. Below each excerpt are counts of all words, open- and closed-class, as types (not tokens) along with percentages. Proper names are excluded. Inflected and regular

comparative forms are not counted separately but grouped together under single word types.

(12)   Mischter Drucker—Ich bin deheem alleweil. Es hot gaar kee Gfaahr as ich viel drauss rumlaaf, fer ich bin im Bett un ich kann net laafe. Es is nau schun iwwer e Woch as ich do feschtschteck. Un daer Brief do du ich mit 'm Blei-Pencil schreiwe—sell is 's bescht as ich duh kann. Mei Granket is was mer die Rummatis heest. Nau, wann der Mann as Rummatis introduced hot, wann du ihn kennscht, wann er eens vun deine Freind is, dann saag 'm, wann er wees was gut is fer 'n, dann bleibt er besser eweg vun mir. Awwer ich will net hoffe as ich alsfatt do im Bett leie muss mit dem verflammte Rummatis. Schier all die aldi Weiwer do im Schteddel wisse exactly wie mer Rummatis cured. Ich hab ebaut e hunnertunfinfunsiwwezich Cures browiert. (*The* [Stark County, OH] *Democrat*, February 26, 1880, p. 8)

        'Mister Printer—I am at home just now. There's no danger at all that I'll be walking around outside, for I'm in bed and can't walk. It's now already been more than a week that I'm stuck here. And I'm writing this letter with a lead pencil—that's the best I can do. My illness is what they call rheumatism. Now, if the man who introduced rheumatism, if you know him, if he's one of your friends, then tell him, if he knows what's good for him, he'd better stay away from me. But I don't want to hope that I'll always have to lie in bed here with this darned rheumatism. Practically all the old women here in town know exactly how to cure rheumatism. I've tried about a hundred and seventy-five cures.'

(13)   Mischter Drucker—Ich hab 's gwist as mir sie biede. Hurrah fer unser Seit. Mir sin nau all happy un es kummt mir vor, as ich nau 'n first-rate-i Chance hob fer 'n guti, fetti Office. Whiskey-Inschpector deet mich first-rate suite. Un wann ich sell net grig, ei, dann waer ich willens zu compromise uff eppes sunscht. Ich bin net abbadich particular was 's is, yuscht so as 's 'n Office is as mer 'n grosser Lohn grigt unne schaffe odder Bisness transacte. Un ich bin aa entitled zu eppes Guts. Die Leit do im Schteddel sin all uff der Opinion as wann 's net fer mich un mei Briefe im Mauch Chunk Democrat gwest war, dann waer die gans Party-Shootin'-Match zum Deifel gange. Awwer mei Influence hot 's geduh. Sie kenne mich nie net biede, fer ich bin ewwe eens vun denne as gut achtgebt as ich mich allrecht halt mit beede Parties. Mei Plan is ewwe fer lectioneere uff eener Seit, sell gebt eem 'n first-rate-i Chance uff die greescht Party zu tschumpe wann die Lection verbei is. (*The* [Stark County, OH] *Democrat*, November 15, 1888, p. 5)

        'Mister Printer—I knew that we would beat them. Hurrah for our side. We are now all happy, and it seems to me that I now have a first-rate chance for a good, fat office. Whiskey inspector would suit me

first-rate. And if I don't get that, well then I would be willing to com-
promise on something else. I'm not especially particular what it is, just so
that it's an office where you get a big salary without working or transacting
business. And I am also entitled to something good. The people here in
town are all of the opinion that if it hadn't been for my letters in the *Mauch
Chunk Democrat*, then the whole party shooting match would have gone
to the devil. But my influence did it. They can't beat me, for I am just one
of those who takes good care that I keep myself all right with both parties.
My plan is just to campaign [electioneer] on one side, that gives you a first-
rate chance to jump onto the biggest party when the election is over.'

A comparison of the statistics for the excerpts in (12) and (13) reveals
that the percentage of English borrowings doubles from the first to the
second, with the difference being due to an increase in the percentages of
borrowed open-class words, specifically nouns, verbs, and adjectives, as
shown in Table 19.1.

Table 19.1 *Comparison of percentages of English borrowings (word types) in two
Pennsylvania German texts from the 1880s*

	Text on health/wellbeing	Text on politics
Nouns	4/14 (29%)	11/18 (61%)
Verbs	3/21 (14%)	6/19 (32%)
Adjectives	0/6 (0%)	4/9 (44%)
Adverbs	2/15 (13%)	2/15 (13%)
Total borrowed vocabulary (open classes)	**9/56 (16%)**	**23/61 (38%)**
Prepositions	0/5 (0%)	0/7 (0%)
Pronouns	0/8 (0%)	0/8 (0%)
Conjunctions	1/5 (20%)	1/6 (17%)
Determiners	0/8 (0%)	0/6 (0%)
Discourse markers	0/1 (0%)	0/2 (50%)
Other	0/1 (0%)	0/1 (0%)
Total borrowed vocabulary (closed classes)	**1/28 (4%)**	**1/30 (3%)**
Total borrowed vocabulary (open and closed classes)	**10/84 (12%)**	**24/91 (26%)**

It is interesting to compare the data from the short texts from the 1880s
with two longer texts written by contemporary native speakers of Pennsyl-
vania German. Both were written by anonymous Midwestern Amish and,
like the two older texts from Edward H. Rauch, differ in subject matter.
The first Amish text is from a collection of Bible stories for children (Vella

Deitsh 1997: 8–21) and the second is a humorous anecdote about various misadventures, including an unfortunate trip to Walmart ("Bruder Henner" no date). Since the first text has religious content, one would expect less lexical influence from English, while the secular text, which involves activities in a largely non-traditionally Amish setting, might include more borrowings. Both texts include considerably (three to four times) more word types than their counterparts from the late nineteenth century.

The raw numbers and percentages of English borrowings in the modern texts are given in Table 19.2. What is notable is that the percentages are largely comparable with the older Rauch texts. The 1880s text on health and well-being and the 1990s children's Bible stories contain 13% and 14% loanwords, respectively. In the political and Walmart stories, the percentage of borrowings are 26% and 22%, respectively. As expected, the increase in English lexical material from the Bible stories to the Walmart story is found exclusively with the open-class words, especially nouns, for which the percentage of borrowings nearly doubles (17% to 33%). This is comparable to the difference in borrowed nouns between the 1880s texts (29% to 61%). Overall, based on these four texts, one could not claim that open-class words today are more likely to be affected by borrowings from English, as one might have expected. There is a difference with the closed-class words. There were next to no borrowed prepositions,

Table 19.2 *Comparison of percentages of English borrowings (word types) in two modern Pennsylvania German texts*

	Children's Bible stories	Trip to Walmart story
Nouns	18/105 (17%)	24/72 (33%)
Verbs	14/116 (12%)	23/104 (22%)
Adjectives	4/41 (10%)	9/43 (21%)
Adverbs	8/45 (18%)	7/49 (14%)
Total borrowed vocabulary (open classes)	**44/307 (14%)**	**63/268 (24%)**
Prepositions	4/15 (27%)	3/13 (23%)
Pronouns	4/24 (17%)	0/16 (0%)
Conjunctions	2/11 (18%)	1/9 (11%)
Determiners	1/16 (6%)	0/11 (0%)
Discourse markers	0/1 (50%)	4/4 (100%)
Other	0/13 (0%)	0/6 (0%)
Total borrowed vocabulary (closed classes)	**11/80 (14%)**	**8/59 (14%)**
Total borrowed vocabulary (open and closed classes)	**55/387 (14%)**	**71/327 (22%)**

pronouns, conjunctions, determiners, and discourse markers in the 1880s texts. In the modern texts, there are more, though overall still not many. One might be tempted to conclude that there is a greater likelihood for modern Pennsylvania German speakers to borrow closed-class words from English, and that may be true, however one would need to examine larger data samples to support that conclusion. And importantly, every one of the borrowed closed-class words in the modern texts happens to be attested in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania German as well.

19.3 Structural Integration of English Loanwords into Pennsylvania German

Despite the substantial influence of English on the Pennsylvania German lexicon, the core phonological, derivational and inflectional morphological, and syntactic structures of the language remain very similar to what the language inherited from Palatine German. As Winford (2003: 53–60) observes, only under conditions of heavy lexical borrowing is a recipient language susceptible to structural change induced by contact with a donor language, but even in such situations, which Winford states "tend to be rare" (2003: 59), change is subject to strict constraints laid down by the native sound and grammatical patterns of the recipient language. The Pennsylvania German–English contact situation is no exception in this regard. In what follows we assess the impact of lexical borrowing from English on Pennsylvania German phonology, morphology, and syntax.

19.3.1 Phonology

Reviewing the classification of general types of borrowing discussed above, the direct transfer of lexical material from a donor to a recipient language involves loanwords, which may be either pure loanwords or loanblends. As discussed earlier, if a loanword is completely adapted to the native sound patterns of the recipient language, it is phonologically integrated. Phonological integration may be partial or complete. Non–phonologically integrated loanwords may be described as included in the lexicon of the recipient language. In Pennsylvania German there are both types of loan vocabulary. Whether a loanword is adapted to the native phonological patterns of Pennsylvania German or not has mainly to do when in the history of the language the word was borrowed. In general, those loanwords that entered the language in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are more likely to be integrated than those more recently borrowed.

The trend away from integration of English loanwords into Pennsylvania German in favor of their inclusion was noted already in 1942 by J. William Frey, who was the first scholar to systematically examine how English loanwords were or were not adapted to Pennsylvania German phonology. Speaking, for example, of borrowings from English with an initial [p] + vowel, Frey (1942: 94–95) observed that some words retained the initial [p], e.g., *pencil* [pɛnsl], while in others, the [p] was lenited to [b], e.g., *pence* [bɛns] 'cent'. Native Pennsylvania German vocabulary contains words with both initial [p] and [b] + vowel, however those introduced by [b] are more numerous. Frey (1942: 95) noted that

> Although no degree of accuracy can be attained in determining just how early the above words with initial [b] + vowel were taken into the dialect, it is highly probable that they were borrowed at an earlier period than those which have initial [p] + vowel. This assumption is substantiated by the fact that a few words are heard with both the aspirated and unaspirated stops: for example, English *porch* is pronounced [bɔːɒdʃ] by the older dialect speakers, but [pɔːɒdʃ] by the younger generation.

Another linguist who was a contemporary of J. William Frey, Paul Schach, also observed differences between older and younger Pennsylvania Germans, with regard both to loanwords and to loanshifts. Speaking first of the words for "pie," Schach (1948: 123) remarked:

> The older generation still says [bɔɪ], but the younger speakers of the dialect consider this pronunciation do be old-fashioned, "incorrect," or downright funny. We have here an example of a generational (and possibly also a social) difference in language.

And commenting on the rising semantic influence of English among Pennsylvania German speakers at mid-century, Schach (1951: 259) had this to say (with phonetic transcriptions in the original rewritten for ease of reading):

> Among younger speakers of the dialect, for many of whom English and not PaG was the first language, *eegne* seems to be undergoing a more radical semantic shift. Recently I overheard a young man of about twenty years of age say to his mother, *Der Paul eegnet mer ebaut fimf Daaler*. Since she did not understand what he wanted to say, he repeated the statement in English; whereupon the woman told her son that the "correct" way to say "Paul owes me five dollars" is *Der Paul is mer finf Daaler schuldich*, which is practically identical with German *(der) Paul ist mir fünf Dollar schuldig*. But the young man insisted that he was speaking the language of his generation.

Frey's and Schach's observations of generational differences between the use of completely or partially integrated loanwords and the prevalence of loanshifts in Pennsylvania German in the first half of the twentieth century fits well with what we know of the sociolinguistic history of the language. Into the twentieth century, proficiency in Pennsylvania German for most native speakers correlated with a weaker command of English, with the result that their English was often "dutchified," that is, marked by the imposition of phonological patterns from their mother tongue onto their second language (Louden 2016: 40–49).

That changed with the generation of sectarian (Amish and Old Order Mennonite) speakers born around 1930 and thereafter, at exactly the time when Frey and Schach were conducting their studies. At that point, the distance between all Pennsylvania German speakers, sectarian and non-sectarian, was being dramatically reduced due to an increase in the social and geographic mobility of all Americans, especially those living in rural areas, where Pennsylvania German was always healthiest. The twin forces of industrialization and urbanization that underlay that increased mobility, complemented by more frequent marriages across ethnic and confessional lines, heralded the decline of Pennsylvania German among nonsectarians. Amish and Old Order Mennonites, however, continued to maintain the social boundaries between themselves and outsiders, thereby ensuring the maintenance of Pennsylvania German within their communities. Never-theless, over the last half-century sectarians have steadily moved away from farming and now pursue livelihoods, such as operating small businesses or working for non–Old Order employers, that dramatically increase their regular interactions with English monolinguals. And today most Amish and Old Order Mennonites place a premium on speaking English well, which is reinforced by the curriculum in their parochial schools. What this has led to is a contemporary situation of balanced bilingualism for most sectarians, meaning that the imposition of their Pennsylvania German onto their English ("dutchification") has been dramatically reduced (Louden 2016: 343–347).

One obvious consequence of sectarians' improved proficiency in English is that the lexical material they incorporate into their Pennsylvania German in the form of pure loanwords and loanblends is less likely to be completely adapted to Pennsylvania German phonology. This also means that some words that were borrowed generations ago and were once completely inte-grated phonologically, such as *porch* [bɔʊtʃ], are now less integrated, viz. [pɔʊtʃ]. Other examples include the Pennsylvania German words for *carpet*, *timothy* (*grass*), and *crick* (*creek*), which are now all pronounced as in English.

The adaptation of loan vocabulary to the sound patterns of a recipient language involves two major processes: (1) matching individual segments (phonemes) or making substitutions where there are no exact equivalents between contacting languages; and (2) applying native phonological rules to borrowed words.

With regard to segments, five English consonants are lacking in native Pennsylvania German: [θ], [ð], [dʒ], [z], and [w]. A sixth sound, the diphthong [aʊ], though present in Palatine German and likely also in earlier Pennsylvania German, has undergone monophthongization to [a:]. The examples in (14) show English loans containing these six sounds that are completely integrated phonologically into Pennsylvania German.

(14)   *south* > [sa:t], *gather* > [gædɐ], *jelly* > [tʃɛli], *zipper* > [sɪpɐ], *watch* > [vatʃ], *about* > [əba:t]

In (15) are examples of newer loanwords with the same six segments that retain their English sound shape in Pennsylvania German.

(15)   *bath*, *rather*, *jam*, *zap*, *walkway*, *crowd*

A further segmental contrast between Pennsylvania German and English has to do with combinations of [s] plus a consonant. These combinations are not part of native Pennsylvania German phonology; the corresponding clusters are formed with [ʃ]. Integrated and included examples are given in (16) and (17), respectively.

(16)   *slow* > [ʃlo:], *smoke* > [ʃmo:k], *spite* > [ʃpaɪt], *inspector* > [ɪnʃpɛktɐ], *store* > [ʃtɔɐ], *crust* > [grʊʃt], *skip* > [ʃkɪp], *mosquito* > [məʃki:tə]
(17)   *slave*, *speech*, *lisp*, *sticker*, *fast*, *skirt*, *mask*

The differences in integration between the loanwords in (14) and (15) and in (16) and (17) can be accounted for by the relative times at which they entered Pennsylvania German, with the examples in (15) and (17) being more recent borrowings.

Recalling Frey's (1942) discussion of the substitution of initial [p] with [b] or the preservation of [p] before a vowel in English loanwords, there are examples of the same kind of variable adaptation with the two other voiceless plosives, [t] and [k]. With the exception of *Dimmedi* 'timothy (grass)', in the only English words with initial [t] borrowed into Pennsylvania German in which the [t] is lenited to [d], the dental is immediately followed by [r]; e.g., *train* [dre:n], *trundle* [drandəl], *trick* [drɪk]. In the contemporary language, these words are all pronounced as in English.

Similarly, loanwords with initial [k] show lenition of the initial consonant only before [l, r, w]. Examples include some that are now pronounced as English: *clerk* [glaɪɪk], *credit* [grɛdɪt], *crick* ('creek') [grɪk]; and others that still have initial [g] *crier* ('auctioneer') [groɪɐ], *crust* [grʊʃt], *quart* [gvɔɐt], and *quilt* [gvɪlt].

There are additional loanwords in Pennsylvania German that appear to display phonemic substitution but in reality do not. These are interesting examples of words that preserve pronunciations that were historically characteristic of regional Pennsylvania English and which in many cases have been replaced in contemporary Pennsylvania English by standard forms. The renderings of *clerk* and *crick* in the previous paragraph are examples. Standard English [ai] and [ɔi] corresponded to [ɔɪ] and [aɪ], respectively, in earlier Pennsylvania English, which is reflected in the pronunciation of historical loanwords such as *Boi* 'pie' and *Groier* 'auctioneer' and *Eischter* 'oyster' and *tscheine* 'to join'. *Boi* and *Groier* retain their older pronunciations among most sectarians, but the modern Pennsylvania German words for 'oyster' and 'join' are *Oischter* and *tschoine*. The most notable example of the preservation of an older regional English pronunciation in Pennsylvania German vocabulary is found in words that contained [aɪ], which was pronounced like [æɪ] in earlier Pennsylvania English. Examples include *schmaert* 'smart', *Kaer* 'car', and *haerdli* 'hardly' (Penzl 1938). Other older loanwords in Pennsylvania German that reflect (archaic) nonstandard English pronunciations include *Eidi* 'idea' (cf. *i-dee* [aɪdi]), *Inschein* 'engine', *Insching* 'Indian' (cf. *Injun*), *figgere* 'to figure', and *Pigder* 'picture' (Reed 1953: 85).

Loan vocabulary from English into Pennsylvania German, when adapted to the sound patterns of the language, is subject to two major rules inherited from Palatine German. The first involves the fortition (devoicing) of the voiced obstruents /b, d, g/ in word- or syllable-final position. The rule is exemplified in the alternations within the three verb paradigms in (18).

(18)	V_V		_#	
/b/	*mir gewwe* [gɛvə] 'we give'		*ich geb* [gɛp] 'I give'	
/d/	*mir schneide* [ʃnaɪdə] 'we cut'		*ich schneid* [ʃnaɪt] 'I cut'	
/g/	*mir frooge* [fro:ə] 'we ask'		*ich froog* [fro:k] 'I ask'	

When lexical items are borrowed from English that contain /b, d, g/ in final position, final fortition applies, but the obstruents are reanalyzed phonemically as /p, t, k/. Compare examples with the borrowed verbs *grab, lead*, and *hug*.

(19)   V_V   _#

/b/ > /p/   *mir graebbe* [græbə] 'we grab'   *ich graeb* [græp] 'I grab'
/d/ > /t/   *mir liede* [liːdə] 'we lead'   *ich lied* [liːt] 'I lead'
/g/ > /k/   *mir hogge* [hɔgə] 'we hug'   *ich hog* [hɔk] 'I hug'

A second native phonological rule that English loanwords in Pennsylvania German undergo involves the vocalization of /r/ in non-prevocalic positions. For example, the borrowed words *schmaert* 'smart', *Kaer* 'car', and *haerdli* 'hardly' are pronounced [ʃmɛɐt], [kɛɐ], and [hɛɐtli] in Pennsylvania German. In words like *Kaer* that are part of inflectional paradigms, /r/ is realized as [r] in alternations; cf. *Kaere* [kɛɐrə] 'cars'.

As the foregoing has shown, the phonological integrity of Pennsylvania German as inherited from its Palatine German source dialects remains unaffected by the incorporation of lexical material from English. Loanwords may be adapted to the native sound patterns of the language (integrated) or not (included), but the inventory of phonemes and the rules that determine their distribution are not altered on the model of English. Conversely, two sounds that are native to Pennsylvania German and not found in English, [x] (e.g., *Buch* 'book') and [ç] (e.g., *ich* 'I'), continue to exist.

There is one example of the phonetic influence of English on Pennsylvania German, namely the replacement of an original trill-tap [r] with the retroflex [ɻ]. In the varieties of Pennsylvania German spoken by sectarians from or affiliated with Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the replacement is complete. In Midwestern Amish varieties, [ɻ] occurs only when it is the sole consonant in word-initial position. In a cluster and intervocalically, [r] is still used. See examples in (20) of the translations of the phrase 'large, red cars'.

(20)   *grossi, roti Kaere*
Lancaster PG   [gɻoːsi ɻoːdi kɛɐɻə]
Midwestern PG   [groːsi ɻoːdi kɛɐrə]

The borrowing of retroflex /r/ into Pennsylvania German, while a salient example of English influence, does not alter the native phonemic inventory of Pennsylvania German, which always had an /r/, nor is the native (and non-Pennsylvania English–like) rule of /r/-vocalization affected. The change affects only the realization of an underlying segment.

19.3.2   *Inflectional and Derivational Morphology*

Regardless whether pure loanwords or loanblends from English are phonologically integrated or included in Pennsylvania German, they are subject

to native rules of inflectional morphology that are completely autonomous from English influence. For example, all nouns receive a grammatical gender (masculine, feminine, or neuter; see Page 2011) and are inflected for plural according to native morphophonological patterns. See examples in (21).

(21)   *die Kaer* 'car' ≈ *Kaere* 'cars'; *der Dokter* 'doctor' ≈ *Doktere* 'doctors'; *'sBord* 'board' ≈ *Berd* 'boards'; *der Moschkiede* 'mosquito' ≈ *Moschkiedes* 'mosquitos'

With a single exception, the verb *weare* 'to wear', all borrowed verbs are inflected as regular (weak) verbs in Pennsylvania German, regardless of whether they may be irregular in English, as exemplified in (22) by the paradigm for the verb *tietsche* 'to teach'.

(22)   *ich tietsch* 'I teach', *du tietscht* 'you (sg.) teach', *er/sie tietscht* 'he/she teaches', *mir tietsche* 'we teach', *dihr tietschet* 'you (pl.) teach', *sie tietsche* 'they teach'; *ich hab getietscht* 'I taught'

Weare is inflected for person and number as all other Pennsylvania German verbs, yet the participle is *gwoare* 'worn', which is on analogy with native irregular verbs patterning similarly, such as *schere* 'to shear' ≈ *gschore* 'shorn'.

The autonomy of Pennsylvania German derivational morphology is nicely illustrated by the behavior of loan translations of English two-part compound nouns (N + N) and adjectives (N + A). Pennsylvania German, like Palatine German but unlike English, allows irregular plural nouns to serve as the first element in such compounds. See examples in (23).

(23)   *Redderschtuhl* 'wheel(s)chair', *Bicherschtohr* 'book(s)store', *Eppelsaes* 'apple(s) sauce' (loanblend), *Kiehmann* 'cow(s) man (i.e., one who raises cows)', *meednarrisch* 'girl(s)-crazy'

19.3.3   Syntax

The basic phrasal and clausal architecture of Pennsylvania German is largely identical to that of its European German cousins and has been unaffected by contact with English. The most obvious difference between Pennsylvania German and English is in the formation of main and subordinate clauses. Pennsylvania German makes use of the familiar continental West Germanic clausal frame (*Satzklammer*). The finite verb is in the so-called right bracket (*rechte Klammer*) in subordinate clauses and in the left

bracket (*linke Klammer*) in main clauses, following a rule of verb-second. In the same way that borrowed lexical material obeys native rules of Pennsylvania German inflectional morphology, borrowings are inserted into structures that are similarly native, as in the multi-clause sentence from (13) produced by Edward H. Rauch in 1888, rewritten here to show how elements are placed in the clausal frames.

(24)

prefield	left bracket	inner field	right bracket
Die Leit do im Schteddel	sin	all uff der Opinion	
as	wann	's net fer mich un mei Briefe im Mauch Chunk Democrat	gwest war
dann	waer	die gans Party-Shootin'-Match zum Deifel	gange

> 'The people here in town are all of the opinion that if it hadn't been for my letters in the *Mauch Chunk Democrat,* then the whole party shooting match would have gone to the devil.'

There are, however, three areas of Pennsylvania German grammar where the semantic influence of English is likely to be at least partially responsible for syntactic changes. These are in the area of case, tense/aspect, and infinitival complementation. With regard to case, earlier Pennsylvania German had three cases (nominative, accusative, and dative) for nouns and pronouns. In the first half of the twentieth century, at precisely the time when Old Order sectarians' proficiency in English improved, the accusative and dative cases were lost for nouns and the dative case was lost for pronouns, resulting in one- and two-case systems that parallel what is found in English (one common case for nouns and subject and object cases for pronouns; Louden 2016: 23–25). A compelling piece of evidence in favor of the hypothesis that case loss in Pennsylvania German is due to sectarian balanced bilingualism comes from varieties of the language spoken by an ultra-traditional Amish sub-group known as the Swartzentruber Amish. Swartzentrubers strongly limit their interactions with English-monolingual outsiders, and although they all learn English, their proficiency in the language is often not as strong as in their native tongue, that is, their English is often "dutchified." The Pennsylvania German spoken by the Swartzentruber Amish has lost the

accusative case for nouns, but the dative has been preserved with both nouns and pronouns (Louden 2016: 322–324).

A different change in Pennsylvania German that involves the complexification of the grammar that is apparently due to the influence of English has to do with the tense/aspect system of the language. The verbal system of earlier Pennsylvania German, like that of European German varieties, differed from English in that it did not clearly distinguish present and future verb tenses. Modern Pennsylvania German has developed a distinctive future tense form using an auxiliary verb grammaticalized from a lexical verb of counting (*zeele* 'to count' or *figgere* 'to figure') plus an infinitive. The distribution of *zeele/figgere* + infinitive largely matches that of English *going to/will* + infinitive. See examples in (25).

(25)   Ich lees Bicher   'I (generally) read books'
        Ich zeel/figger meh Bicher lese   'I am going to/will read more books'

The use of *zeele* or *figgere* is generally regional, with the former being the norm in Lancaster Pennsylvania German and the latter in the varieties spoken by Midwestern Amish. The semantic model underlying the grammaticalization of these verbs is the English idiom *to count on* (doing something).

A second instance of complexification in the verbal system of Pennsylvania German on the model of English involves the expansion of a native construction *am* 'at the' plus infinitive to express progressive or durative aspect. Unlike in European German, in modern Pennsylvania German verbs must obligatorily be marked for progressive or nonprogressive aspect, in all tenses, as in English.

(26)   Ich war mei Septic Tank am/n ausgebutzt griege
        'I was getting my septic tank cleaned out'

        Ich bin mei Septic Tank am/n ausgebutzt griege
        'I'm getting my septic tank cleaned out'

        Ich zeel mei Septic Tank am/n ausgebutzt griege sei
        'I will be getting my septic tank cleaned out'

A final area of Pennsylvania German grammar where the semantic influence of English is evident has to do with infinitival complementation. Pennsylvania German has a prepositional complementizer *fer* 'for', which is inherited from the Palatine German purposive expression *fer. . . zu* 'in order to'. The infinitival marker *zu* has been lost in modern Pennsylvania

German. Infinitival constructions are introduced with either *fer* or Ø, the distribution being predictable by the semantically equivalent English expression. Specifically, if a *to* is required in English, then *fer* must occur in the Pennsylvania German counterpart (except with modal verbs). Conversely, if English requires or permits a gerund or a bare infinitive, then *fer* is omitted. See examples in (27).

(27) Ich bin doher kumme fer/*Ø   'I came here to work/*work(ing)'
         schaffe
       Ich gleich *fer/Ø Deitsch schwetze   'I like to speak/speaking PA
                                              German'

To be clear, these syntactic developments in Pennsylvania German are not due directly to lexical borrowing but are clearly a consequence of the general semantic influence of English on the language that is also evidenced in the number of loanshifts, including phrasal loanshifts, that are a natural part of speakers' everyday speech.

19.4 Conclusion

It is fitting to conclude this chapter by quoting again from Einar Haugen, whose contributions to our understanding of the dynamics of language contact in the immigrant situation are unparalleled. Reacting to the comments of observers who, like Johann David Schöpf, scorn languages like Pennsylvania German for the "mishmash" impression they make, Haugen (1969: 57–58) had this to say:

> [T]here are underlying regularities in the behavior of bilingual speakers which determine their linguistic expression, and which certainly deserve the name of laws if any statements about language do. The view that immigrant language is a comical gibberish is hardly based upon any real understanding either of immigrant life or the nature of language.

As the foregoing has demonstrated, Pennsylvania German, as the linguistic vehicle of a bilingual community, shows the effects of contact, especially in its lexicon. Borrowings, in the form of both loanwords and loanshifts, are numerous, but not excessively so. If we compare the English "infusion" in Pennsylvania German with the estimated percentages of just non-Germanic loanwords in standard German (ca. 25%; Duden 2010: 22–23) and English (ca. 75%), for example, the figure for Pennsylvania German, at around 20%, which includes both loanwords and loanshifts, is

rather modest. And as Haugen noted for Norwegian in America, the effects of English borrowings on the core structures of Pennsylvania German are clearly limited by "laws" that, far from being unique to the Pennsylvania German situation, operate in other bi- or multilingual societies.

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"Bruder Henner" (Brother Hank). no date. Sam, es seemt as vann unglick mir noch schleiche date vee an katz uf en maus . . . (*Sam, it seems as if misfortune crawls after me like a cat on a mouse . . .*). Photocopy received by the author.

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