

The Low German Dialect of Concordia, Missouri

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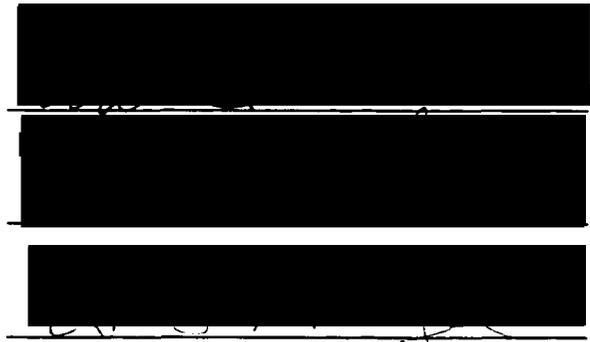
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## The Low German Dialect of Concordia, Missouri

A resurgence of interest recently in various German dialects present in many regions of the United States has led to the gathering of data in many small towns throughout the Midwest whose dialects and dialect speakers will have died out within the next decade. With this realization, research efforts in these communities have been stepped up over the last five years, as we all feel the pressure of a most certain deadline. The researchers of this project, primarily graduate students at the University of Kansas under the supervision of Dr. William Keel, are seeking to record, analyze, and preserve these dialects for future study before they have completely died out. This paper is part of ongoing research into the Low German dialects spoken in the region of Western Missouri in and around Lafayette County, particularly in the towns of Concordia and Cole Camp (Benton County). Thus, this project has both dialectological and historical significance in helping to complete the bigger picture of Germans in America, their language and their culture.

As a specific example, fieldwork in the town of Concordia will be used to illustrate how cultural ties to the German homeland, the historical development of the town, its religious affiliations, and its Low German Club have contributed to a revitalization of sorts in its efforts to preserve

its heritage and language. Included will be discussions of the town's history, the basic structure and sounds of the dialect, interesting or unusual characteristics of the spoken dialect, and some of the language behaviors exhibited by various speakers. Finally, some implications of the marketing and death of Concordia Low German will be examined.

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## Dedications

I would like to dedicate this work first and foremost to the citizens of Concordia, Missouri, that they may never forget their heritage in the flats of northern Germany or the fields of western Missouri. I would also like to dedicate this work to my parents, Joe and Barbara Ballew, and to my wife Leslie Noble Ballew, without whose support this work would never have come to fruition. And finally, I would like to dedicate it to those of you who put up with me during the last three years, my co-workers, Big Leviathan, and friends. Thank you.

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## Foreword

A group of people may choose to leave its homeland for any number of reasons: overpopulation, natural catastrophe, political instability, religious persecution, famine, or the promise of a better life just over the horizon. Linguistically speaking, when a group leaves its homeland, be it as a cohesive, simultaneous migration or as multiple links in a "chain-migratory" pattern, it takes along the customs and language of the area it left behind and often forms one or more "islands," pockets of families and their descendants, in its newly chosen location. This tendency of speakers with a common language background to "clump" together is referred to by linguists as the creation of "speech islands."

"Speech islands" become interesting to linguists because they can capture an image of a language or dialect in an environment removed from the influences of the homeland and somewhat frozen in time when compared to the more dynamic processes of linguistic change generally present in the language of the homeland. Sometimes multiple dialects can become mixed as various groups come into contact with each other and with the dominant language in the newly settled region, or a dialect can die out completely if conditions in the new location favor assimilation

to the dominant language over retention of the dialect. In any case, the sociolinguistic development of such transplanted groups will naturally diverge from that of the original group still living in the homeland, and it is this ever-increasing level of divergence which leads to the creation of a unique group of language speakers whose language may, given enough time, bear only partial resemblance to that of the homeland.

The discussion of “language loyalty” and “maintenance,” along with their counterparts “language assimilation” and “loss,” have become topics of recent research as the world in which we live becomes increasingly more mobile and global in its thinking. The effects of assimilation and loss began to appear to an ever increasing degree in the period beginning during World War I and continued to accelerate through the post-World War II era in the United States to the point that there are now ever fewer speakers who still consider a German dialect to be their first - or even second - language.<sup>1</sup> Until recently, relatively few researchers have realized the importance of studying and preserving the dialects of these speech islands before language death has led to their extinction. William Herbert Carruth’s article “Foreign Settlements in Kansas,” published in 1893 along with J. Neale Carman’s *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*,

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter 7 of this work for a more detailed discussion of dialect death and the effects of the World Wars on Concordia Low German.

partially published in 1962, form the basis for the work being done currently by the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies on these speech islands in western Missouri and in the state of Kansas.

To varying degrees, all of the aforementioned political, economic, and social factors may have contributed to the decision of the Low German speakers from around Hannover, Germany, to migrate from their homeland to the rural farming regions of Missouri. We do know that reasons for migration existed in the socioeconomic conditions of early nineteenth-century Germany. In the area around Hannover these reasons centered around the mechanization of linen production and weaving, a rural cottage industry and consistent source of secondary income for many households in that region, and the coming industrialization in the Ruhr which would eventually drive the small-time cottage loom industry out of business in many rural German provinces.<sup>2</sup> As these *Heuerlinge*, as the tenant cottage weavers were called, were driven out of business by the burgeoning mechanization of weaving in Ireland and the Ruhr, they had little choice but to take up subsistence farming or relocate. Hence, many eventually emigrated to America via the industrial centers in the Ruhr Valley, where they could work in the mills just long enough to earn money for boat passage. From ports in northwest Germany

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<sup>2</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 8)



many made the commitment to sail to America, and those first intrepid souls started the avalanche of chain-migration emigrants that was to follow throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See also Chapter 2 in this dissertation for a more complete discussion of “chain migration” and emigration statistics.

## Introduction

Concordia, Missouri, is a farming community of around 1,200 inhabitants located about an hour's drive east of Kansas City, Missouri, on Interstate 70. As a cohesive community, it has been in existence since the middle of the nineteenth century and was populated primarily by "chain migration" from the area north of Hannover in Germany. Hence, as a primarily German community with a proud German heritage, many Concordians of the older generation speak a dialect of Low German which came over with their ancestors during the period between the 1830s and 1870s, and which has been preserved in the form of a spoken "time capsule."

Although no extensive research of Concordia Low German has been done prior to this study, there has been extensive work done with other Low German and many other settlement groups from Wisconsin to Texas. In Germany, much of the initial work on Low German was done around the turn of the twentieth century by Agathe Lasch (1979)

The fundamental methodology for fieldwork for German dialects was, of course, established by the German dialectologist Georg Wenker in 1876 when he disseminated questionnaires among school teachers asking them to render some written sentences as accurately as possible

into the dialect spoken in their respective locations around Germany. The transcriptions of these renderings were then used as the basis for his *Deutscher Sprachatlas*. Wenker, too, had his difficulties as was pointed out by George Schulz-Behrend at the *Tenth Germanic Languages Symposium* held at the University of Texas at Austin in 1968:

I remember reading pleas for funds by Wrede and Wenker in Marburg around 1910: "If we only had one-tenth the cost of a battleship, we could do marvelous things in dialect studies." As it was, they were languishing in a basement and were not even enjoying full support of the university. . . . Needed is an evangelist of this cause, because the speakers themselves don't give a damn. (Gilbert 130)

Luckily for researchers, the latter blanket statement pertaining to the indifference of speakers does not always hold true, and this researcher would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the extreme helpfulness and cooperation of the Concordians which was instrumental in the completion of this project.

Schach, in his introduction to *Languages in Conflict* (1980), indicates that much of the motivation for early dialectological studies in the United States can be traced to a meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1940 at which the Council called for the recording and analysis of all surviving non-English languages in the United States and Canada. As a result of the ideas

outlined in the meeting, Schach credits three dissertations from the University of Nebraska: Jan Bender's "Die getrennte Entwicklung gleichen niederdeutschen Sprachgutes in Deutschland und Nebraska" (1970); Andreas Gommermann's "Oberhessische Siedlungsmundart in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA: Tochtermundart einer in Musci (Ungarn) gesprochenen fuldischen Siedlungsmundart" (1975); Robert H. Buchheit's "Mennonite Plautdietsch: A Phonological and Morphological Description of a Settlement Dialect in York and Hamilton Counties, Nebraska" (1978).<sup>4</sup> Although we find work done by researchers such as Paul Schach on Pennsylvania German settlements, Lester Seifert on Wisconsin Germans, and Carroll Reed on Amana Germans as early as 1940s and 1950s, German dialect research in the United States was unusual and even unpopular, especially during and between the World Wars and continuing into the decade immediately following World War II. Much of the dialect research in Low German did not begin on the Great Plains until the 1960s and 1970s with the advent of modern, truly portable audio recording devices.

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<sup>4</sup> See the introduction to Schach (1980). Though his indication is that the Council meeting in Ann Arbor directly motivated these dissertations, this seems somewhat dubious considering the 30-year gap between the meeting in 1940 and Bender's dissertation in 1970. Nevertheless, the spirit of the tradition of dialect research is preserved by these statements.

Typically, the existing Low German research has tended to precipitate into two strata: (1) historical accounts of an immigrant group's settlement of a given area, and (2) linguistic aspects of dialects spoken by these groups. Research belonging to the historical realm tends to deal specifically with socioeconomic, cultural, and political topics surrounding emigration from Germany, accounts of voyages, and pertinent historical documentation such as deeds, titles, birth and death certificates, and so forth. Most works of this type do not include scholarly accounts of linguistic and dialectological aspects beyond the few odd anecdotal phrases or stories meant to provide "local color." However, some very helpful and insightful historically oriented works include Kamphoefner's *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt* (1982), Mallinckrodt's *From Knights to Pioneers* (1994), Ross's *Forging New Freedoms* (1994), and Detjen's *The Germans in Missouri 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation* (1985). Additional specific information about the German language newspapers in St. Louis can be found in Rowan's *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press 1857-1862*, published in 1983.

In Kamphoefner's *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt*, published in the German language edition in 1982 and the English in 1987, Kamphoefner elects to concentrate on the economic and social developments in

Germany during the nineteenth century which led to mass migrations and then expands his scope to discuss the chain-migratory patterns of settlement in the United States. The degree of assimilation to American culture, as well as the subjects mentioned above, are discussed with the focus primarily oriented toward the agriculturally-based socioeconomic groups of German settlers in the nineteenth century. Throughout his work, Kamphoefner draws information from many diverse sources, including United States Census figures, genealogical and family records, local histories, and German-American newspapers in giving his overview of German immigrants in America and draws some of his conclusions about the acculturation process of German immigrants based on the experiences and documentations of other immigrant groups such as the Irish and Danish.

Anita Mallinckrodt's *From Knights to Pioneers: One German Family in Westphalia and Missouri* is, on the other hand, a case study of her own family's exodus from the area in and around Dortmund to Missouri in 1831. She follows the family history from medieval knighthood to the deaths and property legacy of her ancestors in Missouri in the late 1890s, and thereby, provides the reader with a very in-depth look at one family's struggle to overcome the adversity of leaving the homeland and forging a new life in a strange land. Some

overview of the history of Missouri directly affecting German immigrants is dealt with such as Quantrill's Raid on Lawrence, Kansas, and the bushwhacker activity along the Kansas-Missouri border during and following the Civil War, some of which is of interest in this dissertation to the degree that it affected the area in and around Concordia, Missouri. Since much of the book is centered around the Mallinckrodt family, it might prove somewhat less useful for other scholarly endeavors, although it does provide possibly the best personal perspective on the lives and hardships common to all immigrants during a time of relocation and settlement.

In dealing with foreign language legislation in the United States, William Ross's *Forging New Freedoms: Nativism, Education, and the Constitution 1917-1927*, provides the reader with a firm grasp of anti-German legislation during the period after World War I and the super-patriotic political push to cleanse public and private education of all foreign influences. Ross takes the reader on a state-by-state tour of anti-foreign language legislation in Nebraska, Oregon, and even Hawaii, and includes chapters on measures taken to fight such legislation. Ethical considerations of Supreme Court rulings on the constitutionality of refusing Germans the right to be educated in their first language in a country which claims no official language are also discussed.

The four works mentioned above provide a sound basis for understanding the generalities surrounding the German immigrants of the nineteenth century, but they mention almost nothing of Concordia, Missouri. For a more specific look into the events in and around Concordia, one must turn to Harry R. Voigt's *Concordia, Missouri: A Centennial History*, published in 1960 by the Centennial Committee of Concordia, to two works by Rev. Alfred W. Rodewald and members of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, *A Brief History and a Souvenir prepared for the Ninetieth Anniversary of the Dedication of Its First Church Building in 1884*, and *Descending Love-Ascending Praise: St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Concordia, Missouri, 1840-1990*, and finally, Adolf E. Schroeder's *Concordia, Missouri: A Heritage Preserved* (1996). These works were invaluable historical references for the completion of this dissertation providing histories of the founding of Concordia and of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, the Civil War era, the development of the business district and the coming of the railroad, various lists of organizations, clubs and churches, family names, and famous figures in Concordia's past. Another valuable work for the Low Germans in the western Missouri region in and around Cole Camp, Missouri, is *Hier Snackt Wi Plattdütsch* (1989) published by the City of Cole Camp and edited by Leonard Brauer and Evelyn Goosen.



While the works of Kamphoefner, Mallinckrodt, Ross, and Detjen provide a sound historical overview of the migration process from Germany to the United States and eventual settlement in Missouri, they tend to offer no more than anecdotal access to the language spoken by these groups of immigrants from northern Germany. For an overview of Low German from the regions of Eastphalia, Westphalia, and North Saxony, Russ's *The Dialects of Modern German* (1989) gives an excellent review of the basic phonological and grammatical characteristics of each dialect, including discussions of socioeconomic and age-determinate factors related to speakers of Low German and the debate surrounding the teaching of Low German in public schools.

For a more linguistically historical approach to Low German, Peters and Sodman (1979) have compiled the works of Agathe Lasch into the very useful sourcebook *Agathe Lasch: Ausgewählte Schriften zur niederdeutschen Philologie*. Her various publications are indispensable representatives of some of the fundamental research in Old Saxon, Middle Low German, Hamburgisch, Berlinisch, Märkisch, Neuniederdeutsch, and the literary language of Klaus Groth's *Quickborn* (Batt 1962).

Another relatively early researcher with a primarily historical focus is William Foerste, who makes an interesting observation about the

speakers' perception of Low German in his *Einheit und Vielfalt der niederdeutschen Mundarten* (1960):

Der Norddeutsche nennt seine angestammte Mundart bekanntlich 'Plattdütsch' oder schlechtweg 'Platt' und wenn er sie genauer bezeichnen will, sagt er etwa 'westfäölsk Platt, mäkelbörger Platt, hambörger Platt,' niemals aber 'nedderdütsch,' wie es doch in der korrekten Terminologie der Sprachwissenschaft und der amtlichen Redeweise heißt ... Die Tatsache, daß der zusammenfassende Begriff 'niederdeutsch' nicht volkstümlich ist, deutet darauf hin, daß die sprachliche Einheit des niederdeutschen Raums dem naiven Mundartsprecher entweder gar nicht oder nur undeutlich bewußt ist.

This is a particularly pertinent statement with reference to the Low German speakers in Concordia who view their dialect as very different from the Low German dialect spoken in neighboring Cole Camp, Missouri, and it further demonstrates the lack of conceptual cohesiveness of Low German dialect speakers, especially those in the United States, in perceiving linguistic relationships between their dialects. Some of Foerste's other relevant publications include his investigations into the Westphalian dialect, one published in 1950 on Middle Westphalian entitled *Untersuchungen zur westfälischen Sprache des 19. Jahrhunderts*, and one published in 1958 on modern Westphalian entitled *Der wortgeographische Aufbau des Westfälischen*. Along less specific

lines, he also published a general *Geschichte der niederdeutschen Mundarten* in 1957.

Much of the research on Low German on the North American continent has been done in Canada by Henry Dyck, whose works include "Language Differentiation Among the Low German Mennonites of Manitoba," (1967) and Wolfgang Moelleken, who contributed "Diaphonic Correspondences in the Low German of Mennonites from the Fraser Valley, British Columbia" (1967) and *Niederdeutsch der Molotschna- and Chortitza-Mennoniten in British Columbia, Kanada* (1972). Dictionaries of Canadian-Mennonite to English and Modern Standard German have been provided by John Thiessen in his *Studien zum Wortschatz der kanadischen Mennoniten* (1963) and *Das Wörterbuch der kanadischen Mennoniten mit englischen und hochdeutschen Übersetzungen* (1977).

While research into Low German dialects in the United States as a whole has been somewhat lacking, other groups, such as the Pennsylvania Germans, the Amish, and the Mennonites, have received copious attention over the last half-century, possibly due to the uniqueness of their dialects coupled with sociological eccentricities of the groups. The unfortunate side-effect of such attention given only to a few specific and relatively persistent, cohesive groups of speakers is that many other groups languish and their dialects die out without ever

having been studied or recorded. Pennsylvania German will continue to exist for some time to come while Concordia Low German will cease to exist within the next ten to twenty years.

In the United States, much of the research done in the Upper Midwestern states of Wisconsin (Sauk County) and Minnesota and in the Lower Midwestern states of Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska has been on Mennonite Low German. Buchheit's aforementioned (1978) unpublished dissertation "Mennonite 'Plautdietsch': A Phonological and Morphological Description of a Settlement in York and Hamilton Counties, Nebraska," Goerzen's "The Phonology of Plautdietsch" (1950) and "Plautdietsch and English" (1952), and Kliewer's (1959) "Low German Children's Rimes" (notes on a dialect preserved at Mountain Lake, Minnesota) deal primarily with Mennonite Low German in the United States and Canada, while Baerg's dissertation (1960) "Phonology and Inflections of Gnadenu Low German, a Dialect of Marion County, Kansas," deals with a dialect located in east central Kansas.

Non-Mennonite Low German research in the Midwest is exemplified by Kehlenbeck's *An Iowa Low German Dialect* (1948), Bender's aforementioned "Die getrennte Entwicklung gleichen niederdeutschen Sprachgutes in Deutschland und Nebraska," (1971) and his "The Impact of English on a Low German Dialect in Nebraska" (1981).

A number of various unpublished works have also been produced at the University of Kansas pertaining to the aforementioned Max Kade German-American study project. These include three papers on Low German Dialects in Kansas. "The Origin of Hermansberg Low German" by Phillip Mansfield (1980) and the combined effort "A Preliminary Study of the Hermansberg Low German Dialect" by Mansfield and Layne Pierce (1980) analyze interviews done with ten dialect speakers from the Hermansberg Hill area of Kansas. Eric Zelt's "Low German Dialect Interview" contains an interview based primarily on Wenker sentences with an informant from Marysville, Kansas, who speaks a dialect from the area of Northern Saxony. Finally, an unpublished master's thesis at the University of Texas (Austin) by Veronica Anne Bonebrake entitled "A Sociolinguistic and Phonological Survey of Low German Spoken in Kansas" (1969) delves into both the historical Missouri-Synod Lutheran policies on language transition and missionary work as well as a dialect analysis of Low German as spoken in northern Washington and Marshall Counties in Kansas. One useful overview article by William Keel in Schroeder's aforementioned *Concordia Missouri: A Heritage Preserved* specifically dealing with Concordia Low German is titled "The Low German Dialect of Concordia."

Two indispensable bibliographies, *German-American Relations and German Culture in America* (2 vols.) and the *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940*, the former published by Arthur R. Schultz in 1984 and the latter by Schultz and Henry A. Pochmann in 1953, are very thorough and draw resources and appendix information from Margaret Hobbie's *Museums, Sites, and Collections of Germanic Culture in North America: An Annotated Directory of German Immigrant Culture in the United States and Canada* (1980). The majority of Schultz's entries pertaining specifically to Germans in Missouri are oriented toward the St. Louis area Germans, their *Turnverein* societies, and the German press publications in that area, and tend to be more historically based than linguistic in terms of the information provided. Included in the bibliography by Schultz and specifically pertinent to this dissertation is Adolf Schroeder's (1979) section in *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten (Teil 1)* entitled "Deutsche Sprache in Missouri" and W.A. Willibrand's article in the *Publications of the American Dialect Society* (1957, vol. 27) entitled "English Loan Words in the Low German Dialect of Westphalia, Missouri." Beyond these articles, it would appear that research into Low German dialects spoken in Missouri is sorely lacking.

## Chapter 2

### Historical Background of the Low Germans in Missouri

#### Emigration to the United States<sup>1</sup>

“Now that you’ve made up your mind, go forward calmly and with an optimistic spirit, and don’t torment yourself with needless worries,” was the advice given to Wilhelm Brüggemann<sup>2</sup> upon his departure from the village of Lotte in Westphalia. This advice came to serve him well in the coming hardships he was to endure, which are described in Walter Kamphoefner’s work, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri*. Taking into account reports on the New World by figures such as Gottfried Duden,<sup>3</sup> Kamphoefner points to the phenomenon of “chain migration” as linking heavy, pre-existing populations of Germans in the Missouri area to family and friends in the homeland as the primary driving force behind the mass migrations of the mid 1800s. Chain migration, however, is dependent upon some first generation of emigrants having made the “blind leap” into the New World in order to

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<sup>1</sup> For an excellent in-depth statistical analysis, see Kamphoefner’s discussion of migratory patterns of Germans landing in various port cities in the United States and the relative concentrations of Germans per population with reference to origins in the German homeland for various American cities and states beginning in chapter 3 of Kamphoefner (1987).

<sup>2</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 5)

<sup>3</sup> Duden’s (1800) report of 1829 on his travel to the Western States and his several-year’s stay along the Missouri River helped generate a strong desire to emigrate in the homeland.

establish the initial link in the chain. From there, sometimes entire villages would follow. Such was the case for the village of Lotte (in Westphalia), which by 1860 had been almost entirely transplanted to areas in and around St. Louis including St. Charles and Warren counties fifty miles west of St. Louis along the Missouri River.

The reasons for an initial "blind leap" could theoretically be manifold, each reason bound up specifically with various conditions in one's homeland with reference to religion, war or socioeconomic upheaval. In the case of the Westphalians, according to Kamphoefner, the specific reasons derive from a socioeconomic origin as ". . . the rural linen industry had created a large rural lower class of dependent tenant farmers who had no place to go but overseas when their sources of supplementary income began to dry up in the 1830s and 1840s."<sup>4</sup> Farming, in and of itself, did not provide enough to make a living and, with the coming of industrialization, linen mills were moving to more urbanized industrial centers. Hence, it was those first intrepid tenant farmers who made the journey from their homeland and unwittingly establishing the first link of the migratory chain.

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<sup>4</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 9)



### Emigration from the Hannover Region to the United States

Figures per 1,000 inhabitants for the districts in and around Hannover, Germany, indicate that the emigration rates for 1870-71 were in the neighborhood of twenty-six to fifty immigrants arriving in the United States for the inland provinces. For the coastal provinces, the numbers jump to between seventy-six and one-hundred-twenty-five per 1,000 inhabitants. This is understandable due to proximity and convenience to ports of departure for the coastal inhabitants in contrast to the inlanders.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, no suitable figures exist on handloom weaving in the Hannover region and no statewide emigration figures are available from before 1859, well after the peak years of emigration. Figures for this region must therefore be extrapolated from data obtained in surrounding regions, all of which point to combinations of factors that fueled migratory desires such as industrialization in urban areas, which show less emigration overall than rural areas, and increasing population density in protoindustrial and rural areas. Both protoindustrial and rural areas showed moderate levels of crowding, possibly levels too great to be tolerated by the rural character of the inhabitants, leading to higher emigration figures for these regions.<sup>6</sup> Some rurals did migrate to the coal

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<sup>5</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 14)

<sup>6</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 24)

fields of the developing Ruhr industrial region into cities such as Bochum and to the textile mills of Wuppertal, but overall, the preference seemed to be for overseas migration. Overseas migration had already set in before the Ruhr region really had much to offer rurals in outlying regions economically, and according to Kamphoefner, the rurals in these regions simply tended to follow the patterns of chain migration established in the preceding decades.<sup>7</sup> This view is further supported by data suggesting that rurals from areas without this chain-migratory tradition tended to resettle in Ruhr industrial areas instead of migrating overseas, refuting the idea that coal mining was simply too alien an activity for the Hannoverian rurals to become enticed to major industrial centers in the Ruhr.

Yet another factor that could have resulted in some migration from rural areas came about at the turn of the nineteenth century in many communities as a result of the dividing of the common grazing lands, called the *Markenteilung*. The dividing and privatization of common lands was not wholly malevolent since the intention was to halt the depletion of those lands by overgrazing. However, by way of this division many tenant farmers lost the privilege of grazing their cattle on common lands and received nothing in compensation for their loss. In

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<sup>7</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 34)

most communities, they were not even consulted in the dividing process and the resulting divisions of common lands left many small parcels of infertile land between large farms that were of little use. With no land worth farming available to them, they were pushed to either pursue a protoindustrial means of existence or emigrate. Though this theory makes logical sense and could have accounted for some of the migratory and emigration activity in the decades prior to 1859, it is not always borne out statistically for the entire region of Hannover, which shows little correlation between the progress of division and the rate of emigration in some villages.<sup>8</sup>

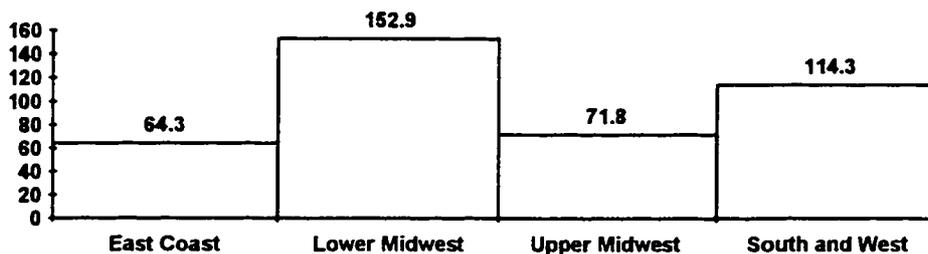
#### Into the Midwest and Missouri

In coming to America, many immigrants from Northern Germany sailed from the port city of Bremen to Baltimore, since the heavy tobacco trade between those two cities meant frequent departures and arrivals. New York was an ever popular destination and many others approached American shores through the port of New Orleans, where steamers and riverboats had made travel upriver directly into the heart of the Midwest less strenuous than the rougher overland routes from the East Coast port cities.

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<sup>8</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 36)

Average migration by Hannoverians to various regions of the United States per 1,000 immigrants in 1870



As demonstrated in the chart above,<sup>9</sup> improvements in travel access and transportation methods helped determine the settlement patterns of many immigrants across the United States. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1826 improved access to Ohio, accounting for the concentrations of German immigrants in that state; and steamboats up the Mississippi River help to account for the rising figures of Germans in Missouri as travel upstream was made quicker and more convenient. As of 1870, United States Census<sup>10</sup> figures for the region of Missouri in the

<sup>9</sup> The chart above represents averaged figures for the regions based on Kamphoefner's table p. 76, which in turn is based on 1870 U.S. Census records. Major population areas, both rural and metropolitan, included under each of the regions are as follows: East Coast: Boston, Rest of New England, New York City, Rest of New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Rest of Pennsylvania, Baltimore, Rest of Maryland, Delaware, Washington D.C.;

Lower Midwest: Cincinnati, Rest of Ohio, Indiana, Chicago, Rest of Illinois, St. Louis, Rest of Missouri, Kansas;

Upper Midwest: Michigan, Milwaukee, Rest of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska; South and West: New Orleans, Rest of South, Texas, Western Territories, San Francisco, Rest of California, Oregon, Nevada

<sup>10</sup> Kamphoefner's calculations are based on figures from the published volumes of United States Census figures for 1860, 1870, and 1880. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Vol. I: Population*, pp. 732-35, 806-62. See also: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Abstract*, p.191; *Thirteenth Census, Vol. I: Population*, p. 879.

Lower Midwest, particularly around St. Louis, showed high concentrations of German immigrants. In fact, figures for Missouri showed more than double the expected concentration of German immigrants when compared with many other states in the Lower Midwest region including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kansas. St. Charles and Warren counties, both near St. Louis, showed nearly *five* times the number of Hannoverians expected statistically when compared with the rest of Missouri.<sup>11</sup> These figures are logical when one considers that New Orleans, with its direct access to the major centers of population in the Midwest, had become a favored port of entry for many immigrants by the 1870s.

As Kamphoefner's statistics clearly demonstrate, these migrations tended to be conservative in nature, seeking to maintain regional and cultural ties while retaining no "nostalgia for the rural social order back home."<sup>12</sup> This conservatism is part of the nature of chain migration emigrants and the lack of desire to retain or imitate the standing social order back home was understandable due to the oppressive social stratification and looming socioeconomic upheaval in the homeland. Understandable, too, was the desire for something familiar on the part of

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<sup>11</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 76)

<sup>12</sup> Kamphoefner (1987, 9)

the new arrivals. Hence, the maintenance of regional and cultural ties added a sense of security to the act of migration that helped drive the original plan to undertake such a risky journey and contributed to the quick success of many who found themselves relatively at home among familiar faces. To many Germans, finally arriving in America must have seemed the best of both worlds in spite of the hardships: one had the familiarity of the homeland with its cultural traditions still intact coupled with the promise of forging one's own way without the oppressive traps of Germany's socioeconomic structures.

### Building Concordia

The first evidence of activity in the area that is now Concordia, first called "Freedom" township until receiving the name of Concordia<sup>13</sup> somewhat later in 1865, was the settling of Gilead Rupe two and a half miles south of Lexington, Missouri, in either 1815 or 1819, the date being unsure. One of the first professionals to settle in the area on record, Dr. Buck, built the first house in Lexington in 1822 or 1823 and the first circuit court was held on 17 March 1823. From the historical

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<sup>13</sup> Voigt (1960, 16). The Rev. Julius Biltz came to St. Paul's Congregation in May 1860, where he served both as spiritual leader to St. Paul's and as Concordia's first official postmaster. He was probably the most prominent figure in the history of the town and Concordia was the name of his eldest sister who had died before he was born. He later founded St. Paul's College and was president of the Western District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, stretching from the Mississippi River west to the Pacific Ocean.

work of Harry R. Voigt entitled *Concordia, Missouri: A Centennial History*,<sup>14</sup> *The Concordian*, the local newspaper established in 1893, reports in the edition dated 18 February 1915, the following:

History tells that the Louisiana Territory was bought from France in 1803, and just the other day we learned that the place where Concordia is now located, or partly located, was sold by the United States to Allen Wormack Nov. 8, 1837; Allen Wormack transferred it to Abner Evans in Oct. 1840; from Abner A. Evans it came to R. T. Evans in 1842; Robert T. Evans sold it to H. Stuenkel in 1845. H. Stuenkel finally conveyed [*sic*] the land in 1871. Louis Stuenkel of near this city, a son of Conrad Stuenkel, sold 40 acres on part of which the St. Paul's College now stands.<sup>15</sup>

Stuenkel is one of the oldest family names in Concordia along with Heinrich Dierking, who, tradition has it, was the first German to venture into the territory, settling in 1838 or 1839. As for Heinrich Dierking, the "Ninetieth Anniversary History of St. Paul's Congregation"<sup>16</sup> states: "His letters to his kin in Hanover [*sic*] soon brought them to his neighborhood. All of them came to seek improvement of economic conditions."<sup>17</sup> This example of correspondence serves as clear proof of the establishment of chain migration in the Concordia area as well as confirmation of economic motivations for leaving Germany.

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<sup>14</sup> Harry R. Voigt was a professor and librarian at St. Paul's College.

<sup>15</sup> Voigt (1960, 6)

<sup>16</sup> Rodewald (1990, 4)

<sup>17</sup> Rodewald (1990, 4)

Most of the families that settled in the Concordia area during that time period were self-sufficient economically. Many took to growing hemp, an idea taken from the English<sup>18</sup> settlers of the area, and wheat, a cash crop with a ready market. Others raised sheep for wool and trapped wild animals for pelts, another source of ready cash. Land from the government could be had for \$1.25 or less per acre, so most settlers bought land directly from the government at first and then expanded their farms by purchasing land from their English-speaking neighbors. In this manner, the Germans in Concordia eventually came into ownership of most of the surrounding countryside, successfully driving the English-speaking landowners farther and farther out of the area. Most, it seems, were content to remain in the vicinity, expand their holdings, and raise families, but a few did follow the gold rush of 1849 and left the growing township for the lure of quick wealth.

The first business in Concordia was a gristmill, which burned in 1859, soon followed by a blacksmith shop, dry goods store, general merchandise store and hotel. The stage coach line was active until 1875 and ran twice a week on the road between Sedalia and Lexington, carrying mail and passengers.<sup>19</sup> Voigt further lists a number of

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<sup>18</sup> The Concordians refer to the non-German settlers who were in the area with the collective term "de Englischen" meaning English-speaking, regardless of national origin. Many settlers in the area, however, were of English extraction.

<sup>19</sup> Voigt (1960, 8-9)



businesses that came into the area in the ensuing decades and takes note of the Concordian's relationship with the English-speakers:

Had these forebears settled here at any other time than the time of strife in the Civil War period, they might have become integrated more quickly; their history might have been different. Having hostile neighbors, they became clannish. They associated with the English speaking people in so far as they were forced to do so in their business, but they never felt that they had the same ideals. He [the German immigrant] had learned from the immigrants who had come to the United States from Germany two hundred years before him, that the person who wished to get ahead by the labor of his own hands could not compete with slave labor.<sup>20</sup>

There was also a sense of frustration in the German community because its farmers felt they could not readily compete economically against the English-speaking farmers who owned slaves and therefore had access to many farmhands at little or no additional cost. The solution was to become more self-sufficient and hence, more isolated. By the turn of the century, many farmers in Concordia would only venture to another town a couple of times a year for staples and necessities. Thus, many interviewees remember as children that a trip to Higginsville, the county seat of Lafayette County only a few minutes drive from Concordia today, was the biggest event of their year. There

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<sup>20</sup> Voigt (1960, 14)

were very few items that the Concordia Germans could not produce themselves, and what they could not produce, they simply did without.

### The Civil War Years

Many of the Germans who came to the United States settled in the northern states of the Union, such as Minnesota and Wisconsin, and did not have to deal directly with heavy fighting during the Civil War. Concordia, on the other hand, was plagued by bushwhacker raids throughout the war. Lafayette County alone had six thousand slaves, more than any other county in Missouri, although the Germans themselves were staunchly anti-slavery. This anti-slavery stance led to friction between the Germans and the local English-speaking people and served to further isolate the community while the random threat of the bushwhacker raids increased levels of tension and fear in the homes of German-Americans.

The Civil War years were also some of the harshest times endured by Concordians in the history of the town. By 1860, Lafayette County ranked fourth in population in the state, and indeed, first in slave population. In such border locations between the Union and the Confederacy, one often found individual stances toward various issues as divided as the country itself. The enmity between Kansas and Missouri was already in its advanced stages by the time of the

bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861 and the Germans of Concordia came down firmly on the side of the Union, their opposition to slavery well known throughout the region. As Gilbert Knipmeyer states in his chapter on the Civil War contained in the centennial history by Voigt:

The Germans of Concordia were situated at the cross-roads of the marching armies of both sides, indeed almost surrounded by them and in the midst of the region where these battles [Boonville, Wilson's Creek, Lexington] had been fought. A few residents of the settlement had been members of the Home Guards at Lexington when the garrison surrendered, but they were soon paroled and returned home.<sup>21</sup>

With the surrender of the Union garrison at Lexington on September 20, 1861, the Confederate Army remained in control of the region for some time. According to Knipmeyer, the commander of the Southern troops in the area, Colonel Edwin W. Price, was more kindly disposed to the people of Concordia and the results of the occupation were overall not as negative as they could have been. In fact, the three bushwhacker raids that occurred against the town, resulting in the deaths of twenty-four Concordians, were carried out by guerrilla bands and not by regular Confederate troops.<sup>22</sup> Knipmeyer sums up with:

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<sup>21</sup> Voigt (1960, 20)

<sup>22</sup> Voigt (1960, 20) See also pp. 20-34 for detailed accounts of each of the three raids.

After almost one hundred years it is impossible to comprehend the tragedy and suffering of the people of Concordia. In misery, terror, and death no other community in Missouri exceeded and in Kansas no other suffered so much with the possible exception of Lawrence.<sup>23</sup>

### After the Civil War

The Missouri Pacific branch freight line connecting Sedalia to Myrick was completed in 1871, after twelve years of construction, and ran through Concordia connecting Concordians to the outside world. Passenger traffic eventually decreased with the coming of the cross-state highway completed in 1925 and passenger train service was discontinued in 1932, when traffic was handled by a gasoline-powered vehicle called the "Doodle Bug" which hauled small amounts of freight and a few passengers on the Lexington Branch.<sup>24</sup> Concordia suffered many hardships: in 1874 the local arsonist, Dr. Rush, set fire to a number of buildings in Concordia, almost single-handedly causing the demise of the community until he was caught and hanged in the fall of that year. The following year in 1875, the locust plague almost ended farming in the area, and thereby, the town's livelihood. In 1878, the Concordia Savings Bank was robbed of \$4,169 by three men, never

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<sup>23</sup> Voigt (1960, 25)

<sup>24</sup> Voigt (1960, 37)

captured, suspected of having been McCoy, Cummins, and Miller of the James Gang.<sup>25</sup>

It was not until the turn of the twentieth century that Concordia started to prosper, as is evidenced by the number of clubs and activities available including baseball (a perennial favorite among Concordians), basketball, croquet, bowling, a go-kart club, Chautauqua (a drama and music company), and the K.K.K. (Koncordia Komical Krew).<sup>26</sup>

Telephone service was approved by the local Board of Aldermen on June 1, 1903, and had thirty subscribers in its first year of service. Its dry cell batteries would often become weak, causing some subscribers to develop "phone voices" because they had to shout so much. That system was cheap, if inefficient, and remained in service until 1959.<sup>27</sup>

In 1907, St. Paul's College, the local Lutheran school, installed a generator to bring electric light to the college. A year later, Concordia received electric lighting when some stores and houses were wired, a generator was purchased, and street lights were set up on Main Street.

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<sup>25</sup> Voigt (1960, 38-41)

<sup>26</sup> There is no mention of the obvious confusion or possible misrepresentation this name could have caused with the Ku Klux Klan. It seems that the club marched in parades and presented "comical tableaux" as their main contribution. There was, of course, no affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan, however odd their choice of names for the organization might have been.

<sup>27</sup> Voigt (1960, 52)

The street lights were used only during the “dark of the moon” and were turned off before midnight. The power plant itself was run only from dusk to eleven o’clock and from five in the morning to daylight until electric fans came into common use.<sup>28</sup>

### Concordia Today

Concordia currently has a population of around 2,160 with several dozen businesses and six churches of which one is Baptist, one Methodist, one Assembly of God, one Church of Christ, and two are Missouri Synod Lutheran. The town is situated on Interstate 70, an hour’s drive east of Kansas City. The local newspaper, *The Concordian*, still remains on Main Street as does the primary church, St. Paul’s Lutheran Church. There are a couple of motels, a bed-and-breakfast inn, grain elevator, beauty salon, barber shop, diner, Volunteer Fire Department, and other small businesses. The edge of town, particularly on the west side residential streets, runs right up to plowed fields, with the back yards of the last houses on the block bordering directly on the crops. There are no stop lights on Main Street. The feel overall is of a typical, yet cozy, rural farming town with a proud German heritage and an aging population. Many of the young people have left farming, gone away to college, and sought their livelihood elsewhere. Still others have

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<sup>28</sup> Voigt (1960, 54)

tried to stay and maintain what they have, raise families and work the land, but sadly, they seem to be well in the minority. The revitalization, begun in 1989, which the Low German Club has offered Concordia is probably to be short-lived, for soon no one will be around to carry on with the skits and traditions discussed in chapter 7 of this dissertation: Language Death and the Concordia Dialect.

## Chapter 3

### Methodology

The grammatical analysis of the Low German presented in chapter 4 is designed to provide a permanent historical record of the main features of the Concordia dialect and to preserve the data for future research for those interested in foreign language speech islands in the United States. Bearing this in mind, the dialect interviews were designed to collect data for comparison with the work carried out on German dialects in Germany and in German speech islands by Georg Wenker and his followers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century.

Determination of fluency did not figure into the dialect interviews greatly, due to the relative ease with which the informants use the language. In spite of the cohesiveness of the group of speakers, the dialect is on the verge of dying out because it has not been passed on to a successive generation. Most informants speak partially from recollection and partially from continuing yet sporadic speaking in conjunction with the functions of the Plattdeutsch Hadn Tohopa, the current Low German club in Concordia. English is now the primary language at home and outside, but many opportunities present



themselves for speaking within the group's functions. Many would probably fall into Dorian's category of "semi-speakers" (1977), feeling more at home in English but able to make themselves understood in Low German. The core group of club members, however, demonstrates a high degree of fluency in the dialect. Many are capable of extended conversation in Concordia Low German on a variety of subjects, as is witnessed by their meetings and their annual Low German Theater Weekend of skits and music performed by the club for the public, usually in October or November.<sup>1</sup>

Code-switching to English is fairly uncommon excepting vocabulary items dealing with modern technology. These are generally assigned a gender and worked into conversation fluently without total reversion to English, especially in club function settings where an effort is made to converse in the dialect. In any case, informants easily provided the necessary data. Overall agreement on vocabulary and syntax was excellent.

The bilingual Low German-English capacity of the informants played an important role in the dialect interviews. Translation exercises were employed with English cues rendered into Low German equivalents

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<sup>1</sup> In 1997, the Low German Theater Weekend is scheduled for 1-2 November in Concordia.

by the informants. Conversations were also bilingual with questions posed in English and responses gathered in Low German. This type of interaction posed no difficulties for the informants, as it has been a fact of life for all informants since childhood. Concerns about grammatical correctness varied from informant to informant, often depending upon whether the interviews were conducted with individuals or as a group. Such concerns were more likely to surface in the group format where some correction occurred (generally spouse correcting spouse) and a group consensus could be reached pertaining less to vocabulary and more to syntax. As for the format chosen, specifics were left up to the informants as to what best suited their needs in terms of scheduling and level of confidence. Those considering themselves to be less skilled with the language or further removed from the dialect temporally preferred to work in groups, usually with spouses or close companions, while core club members were often confident enough to proceed one-on-one. More often than not, this decision became a function simply of shyness and the feeling of being tested -- a fear which was quickly put to rest by the interviewer. Data were strong in both formats, with excellent agreement within and across groups and individuals.

The basic interview consisted of three distinct exercises designed to last ninety minutes to two hours. All informants were given the forty

Wenker sentences in English and were asked to translate them into German (Appendix p. 155). The next translation exercise involved providing the German equivalents for as many of the 200 DWA (*Deutscher Wortatlas*) items as possible given in English and translated into German (Appendix p. 185). The final step was to request an anecdote in German. The anecdotes often included, but were not limited to, depression dustbowl stories, the first day of school, the wedding day, and family stories (Appendix p. 162).

The Wenker sentences were chosen because they have been used by German dialectologists since 1876 for the delineation of dialect isoglosses in Germany. Some of the criticisms leveled against the Wenker sentences include the possibilities that they are too provincial or have become outdated for the study of modern dialects. For the purposes of this study, however, their use has been very defensible as all of the informants were born into and grew up in a rural environment and all were able to translate the sentences into the Concordia dialect easily.

In further defense of Wenker sentences, with response specifically to the criticism that they have become outdated: They have provided, perhaps better than any other source for German dialectology, the opportunity for systematic synchronic and diachronic analyses of German

dialects from 1876 to the present. Although they may, at some point in time, become outdated for use with modern dialects in Germany, their usefulness in the United States will easily outlive most of the dialects to which they could be applied -- Concordia Low German being no exception. Reasons for this situation will be explored more fully in the chapter on dialect death.

Following such a strong defense of the Wenker sentences, certain weaknesses must certainly be acknowledged. In a bilingual format, as must inevitably be employed, the presentation of the sentences in English (or in Modern Standard German for that matter) could influence an informant's response syntactically, unwittingly leading the informant into unnatural sentence structures for the target dialect. It is due to this limitation that the Wenker sentences will only be utilized to a small extent in the discussion of syntax and grammar. Here, heavier emphasis will be placed on results of free response exercises and materials such as skit scripts and grammar lessons provided during the initial interview by the principal informant.

The collection of the 200 items from the DWA stemmed from the desire on the part of the researchers to create a more complete description of the distribution of German dialects throughout the midwestern United States -- an assignment resembling that of Wenker

and his successors in Germany. Although the task of providing all 200 items proved to be impossible for the informants due to the fact that many plant terms deal with plants not indigenous to the American Midwest, the most common terms from the DWA, along with some supplementary terms developed for use in the Midwest by the researchers (Appendix p. 185), were successfully collected. A few other terms dealing with occupations such as tinsmith or obscure items such as a barrel hoop had also been lost.<sup>2</sup>

The free response exercise in the initial interview was designed to gather Concordia dialect in a free speech environment. The informants were asked to describe three pictures of rural settings and were encouraged to elaborate on the landscape, buildings, weather, seasons, and animals (both domestic and wild) appearing in the pictures. Many informants found this exercise enjoyable and it led to the surprising recollection of more obscure terms for farm implements such as pitch fork and scythe. Also surprising was that this exercise produced usage of subjunctive verb forms, which could be considered as a measurement of an informant's ability to improvise within the dialect.

The ability to improvise was, however, not critical in determining which informant would serve as the principal informant for the

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<sup>2</sup> Informants were, however, able to provide the terms for barrel maker and barrel.

grammatical and syntactic analysis since all informants were able to improvise with relative fluency. The deciding factor would have to be the ability to recite verb paradigms and noun phrases in context or in isolation.

The principal informant (Informant 1) chosen for this study was born in Concordia in 1912 and lists her ancestors as having arrived in the United States between 1830 and 1860 from the region around Hannover (specifically Krummendeich and Bremervörde), Germany. She was never schooled in Standard German and grew up speaking Concordia Low German at home and with friends. Among the residents of Concordia, she is highly regarded for her ability to speak Concordia dialect fluently and is often called upon to clarify any questions pertaining to grammar, syntax and vocabulary. She is also greatly responsible for the resurgence in interest in the Low German heritage among the inhabitants of Concordia and has written all of the scripts for the Low German Theater Weekends herself along with the previously mentioned grammar lessons which she also developed. Along with the data from the principal informant, transcriptions of recordings from several other Concordia speakers interviewed will be included in this study.

Information on the informants from 1995:

<u>Informant #</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>
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1	F	1912
2	F	1930
3	M	1920
4	F	1917
5	M	1923
6	F	1916

Informants 1 and 2 were able to easily provide verb and noun phrase paradigms both in context and in isolation, while all informants interviewed were able to provide the same type of information with varying degrees of effort. It should be noted that all informants were extremely proficient in speaking the dialect, making many of the above ranking decisions arbitrary in nature. All were able to provide complete sets of Wenker sentences, DWA word lists, and free response descriptions of picture material. Many also provided anecdotes for preservation.

The family histories of the informants were researched in order to ascertain the place of birth in the United States and the region of ancestral origin in the German homeland. Though not every informant was able to give an exact town name, all report ancestral origin in the

area between Hannover and Bremen as represented by the following table:

<u>Informant #</u>	<u>Mother's side</u>	<u>Father's side</u>
1	Hannover	Krummendeich
2	unknown	unknown
3	unknown	unknown
4	Hannover	Hannover
5	unknown	unknown
6	Hassel	Oerel

Informant 1 reports one parent born in Concordia, the other in Alma, Missouri, with the grandparents emigrating from Germany between 1830 and 1860. Informant 2 reports that both sides of her family were from Concordia for two generations, but the information prior to those generations is unavailable. Informant 3 reports that his father was born in Germany in 1886 and his mother in Concordia in 1890. Other relatives of Informant 3 are listed as simply having been born in Germany with the exception of his maternal grandmother who was born in Concordia in 1861. Informant 4 reports mother, father, and both paternal grandparents born in Concordia with the maternal born in



Hannover, Germany. Information for Informant 5 was unavailable as the questionnaire was not returned with no reason given. Informant 6 reports both parents born in Missouri (Lafayette and Saline counties) with the paternal grandfather from Oerel, Germany, and the maternal grandfather from Hassel, Germany. All informants are considered Concordia natives and recognize one another as such.

The transcription system used in this study is based on symbols adopted by the International Phonetic Association. Vowels in the dialect are described in terms of position and tense / lax distinctions. Vowel length is not marked, since it is predictable that tense vowels in stressed syllables are naturally longer than tense or lax vowels in unstressed syllables<sup>3</sup>

Informants participating in the 1995 interviews were recorded on Sony cassette tape using a Realistic CTR-51 cassette recorder. A small external microphone was used during recording sessions, which were recorded in the homes of the informants or at the Senior Citizens' Center in Concordia.

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<sup>3</sup> See Moulton (1962, 62-64). Stress corresponds to Standard German patterns at both the word and sentence levels.

## Chapter 4

### The Structure of Concordia Low German

This chapter presents an overview of the linguistic structure of Concordia Low German. The phonology, morphology and syntax of the Concordia dialect will be described and analyzed in the form of an "Ortsgrammatik" as completely as possible. Informant 1 has provided a homemade pronunciation guide with grammar lessons demonstrating some of the common vocabulary and fundamentals of the language used to aid speakers in remembering the dialect for production of the theater weekends. The information contained therein was of great help in determining some of the basic phonetic characteristics of Concordia Low German and in phonemic analysis of the raw data obtained in dialect interviews.

## Phonology of Consonants

### The Consonants of Concordia Low German

<u>Stops</u>	<u>Fricatives</u>	<u>Affricates</u>	<u>Nasals</u>	<u>Liquids</u>	<u>Approx.</u>
/p/	/f/	/ts/	/m/	/l/	/j/
/b/	/v/	/tʃ/	/n/	/r/	/w/
/t/	/ð/	/dʃ/	/ŋ/		
/d/	/s/				
/k/	/z/				
/g/	/ʃ/				
	/ç/				
	/x/				
	/h/				

#### Stops

/p/ [p] - The voiceless bilabial stop is aspirated in word initial position and in consonant clusters directly preceding a vowel. In word-final and syllable-final position before a following consonant, and in consonant clusters, the sound retains its voiceless nature, but with little or no aspiration in the release. It can also occur in intervocalic position where it remains voiceless.

word-initial - /pɛjət/ 'horse'; /pʊnt/ 'pound'; /pɛpər/ 'pepper';

/pɔdɛnkɪnt/ 'godchild'

word-final - /op/ 'on', preposition (Modern Standard German: *auf* );

/kɔp/ 'head'

intervocalic - /læpəl/ 'spoon'; /slɔʏpən/ 'sleep' verb infinitive;

/apəlboms/ 'apple trees'

clusters - /plats/ 'place'; /ʃɪmpən/ 'to scold', infinitive; /apɪkozə/

'apricot'; /spigəl/ 'mirror'

**/b/ [b]** - The voiced bilabial stop occurs mainly in word/syllable-initial position, sometimes intervocalically, and never in word-final position. Clusters containing /b/ and a following liquid or resonant occur only syllable-initially or word-initially.

word initial - /bɛdə/ 'bed'; /bɛtər/ 'better'; /bi/ 'at', preposition

indicating location (Modern Standard German: *bei*)

intervocalic - /dʊbəl/ 'double'; /trʊbəl/ 'trouble'

clusters - /blom/ 'flower'; /blæjə/ 'leaves'; /brot/ 'bread'

**/t/ [t]** - The voiceless alveolar stop occurs only occasionally in word-initial position, where it is aspirated. It occurs most often in clusters as the second element, in word-final position, and intervocalically. One extremely rare variation noted for /t/ was /θ/, the unvoiced fricative used in the word /ganθər/ 'gander'. Since this sound does not have phonemic

status in Concordia Low German, and since this was its only occurrence, this could be an example of exaggerated aspiration of /t/.

word-initial - /tenə/ 'teeth'; /tʊŋən/ 'tongue'

intervocalic - /flitɪç/ 'energetic'

word-final - /faʊt/ 'foot'; /vɪt/ 'white'; /hant/ 'hand'

clusters - /bʊst/ 'chest'; /trinə/ 'Trina', feminine proper name.

/d/ [d] - The voiced alveolar stop occurs most often in syllable-initial and word-initial position, but can also occur word-finally and intervocalically.

word-/syllable-initial - /dɪŋ/ 'thing'; /dɛstɪç/ 'thirsty'

intervocalic - /zɪdə/ 'side'; /baɪdə/ 'both'

finally - /gʊld/ 'gold'; /kled/ 'dress'

clusters - /driŋkən/ 'drink', verb infinitive; /draɪ/ 'three'

/k/ [k] - The voiceless velar stop occurs aspirated word-initially and alone syllable-initially. It is realized word-finally unaspirated and in clusters both initially and finally.

word-initial - /kɪn/ 'chin'; /kɔp/ 'head'; /keʒəgən/ 'church'

intervocalic - /fəkeʒət/ 'wrong'

clusters - /mɔkst/ 'to make, do' 2nd person singular; /kraŋk/ 'sick';

/knɔkən/ 'bones'

word-final - /ɔk/ 'also'; /bɔk/ 'book'; /hɔndɔk/ 'hand towel'

[g] - The voiced velar stop occurs alone word-initially preceding a vowel or in a two-consonant cluster followed by a resonant. Intervocalically, it is realized as the voiced velar stop.

word-initially - /gɔld/ 'gold'; /gɛzɪçtə/ 'face'; /gelə/ 'yellow'

intervocalic - /fragə/ 'to ask', 1st person singular; /spigəl/ 'mirror';

/fəgɛtən/ 'to forget', infinitive

clusters - /glas/ 'glass'; /grɔYn/ 'green';

### Fricatives

/f/ [f] - The voiceless labio-dental fricative occurs most often word-initially and word-finally and also appears in clusters initially and finally. It can occur intervocalically, but such occurrences are rare.

word-initial - /fɛln/ 'to fall', past participle; /faiɹ/ 'four'; /famə/

'farmer'; /fəðɔʊgə/ 'today'

intervocalic - /kətʊfəl/ 'potato'

syllable/word-final - /hɛf/ 'to have', 1st person singular; /blif/ 'to

stay', 2nd person singular, imperative; /ɔfgaʊn/ 'to walk off', past  
participle

clusters - /fraʊ/ - 'woman'; /frʊxt/ 'fruit'; /frɔst/ 'frost'; /flaɪf/

'meat'

/v/ [v] - The voiced labio-dental fricative occurs only in word-initial position, as in /vɔs/ 'was'. It is rare intervocalically, as in /lyvə/ 'dear' and does not occur finally. In other environments, its realization is similar to the English continuant /w/, as in /twɛlf/ 'twelve', /swart/ 'black', /swigəmʊtə/ 'mother-in-law'.

/ð/ [ð] - The voiced dental fricative occurs with some speakers in a position analogous to the English [ð], generally intervocalically in cognates: /swigəfɔðə/ 'father-in-law'; /grɔsfɔðə/ 'grandfather'.

**/s/ [s]** - The voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in consonant clusters, and in word-final position. Word-initially and intervocalically it is realized as its corresponding voiced alveolar fricative [z]. In clusters such as /sp/, /sl/, and /st/, the /s/ remains alveolar and is not in free variation with the post alveolar fricative /ʃ/.

word-final - /hus/ 'house'; /fʊs/ 'fox'; /is/ 'ice'

clusters - /bɛstə/ 'brush'; /stɛlt/ 'to put', infinitive; /fɛstɔn/ 'to understand', infinitive; /dɛstɪç/ 'thirsty'; /swigəmətə/ 'mother-in-law'; /swɛstə/ 'sister'; /slaw/ 'to hit', 1st person singular; /slɛxt/ 'bad'; /spigəl/ 'mirror'

**/z/ [z]** - The voiced alveolar fricative appears both in word-initial and intervocalic position. It sometimes interchanges with its corresponding voiceless fricative /s/ in conversational speech in both positions.

word-initial - /zɔlt/ 'salt'; /zɛs/ 'six'; /zidə/ 'side'; /zɛkt/ 'to say',

past participle; /zɪk/ 'him/herself', reflexive particle

intervocalic - /vɛzən/ 'to be', infinitive; /gøzə/ 'geese'



/ʃ/ [ʃ] - The voiceless post-alveolar fricative occurs relatively infrequently overall, but is evidenced in word-initial and word-final positions and in clusters following [r]. It can also occur intervocalically and as the suffix /ʃaft/ '-ship' (Modern Standard German : *-schaft*).

word-initial - /ʃɔl/ 'should', 1st person singular; /ʃønə/ 'pretty', adjectival form.

intervocalically - /kəʃɪçtə/ 'story'

word-final - /flaɪʃ/ 'meat', /dɪʃ/ 'table'

clusters - /dɛrʃən/ 'threshing', infinitive gerund

/ç/ [ç] - The voiceless palatal fricative does not appear in word-initial position. It varies from speaker to speaker between a soft /k/ voiceless velar stop and the /ç/ fricative. It is sometimes hardly discernable from /ʃ/ in a free response environment showing the tendency to alveolarize as in /kəʃɪçtə/ versus /kəʃɪftə/ or /dɛstɪç/ versus /dɛstɪʃ/ when following a high front vowel. In other examples also following a mid front vowel, the expected /ç/ has a tendency to velarize: /slɛçt/ versus /slɛxt/. The degree of velarization seems to depend more on the y-axis than on the x-

axis, that is height versus front-back placement respectively of the preceding vowel.

**/x/ [x]** - The voiceless velar fricative does not occur in word-initial position. It does occur occasionally in clusters followed by /t/ as in /slɛxt/ and /dɔxtər/. This consonant always follows back vowels and can occur intervocalically and after some front vowels as in /slɛxt/ above.

intervocalically - /mɔxən/ 'to do'; /kɔxən/ 'to cook', infinitive

preceding /t/ - /sɛxt/ 'to say', 3rd person singular; /flaɪxt/

'perhaps'; /brɔxt/ 'to bring', past participle

finally - /gɛnuox/ 'enough'; /hox/ 'high'

**/h/ [h]** - The voiceless glottal fricative occurs mainly in word-initial position. In intervocalic position, it generally follows a junctural pause after a verb prefix as in /bihef diç/ 'behave yourself'. It can occur in syllable-initial position, especially following a verb prefix as in /ophæt/ 'to stop, cease', 3rd person singular.

initial - /hɛrʊmə/ 'around'; /haɪ/ or /he/ 'he', 3rd person sing. masc. pronoun; /hait/ 'hot'; /hɪn/ separable prefix of motion away from speaker (Modern Standard German: *hin-* as in *hingehen*).

### Affricates

/ts/ [ts] - The voiceless alveolar affricate occurs intervocalically and in word-final position, but not word-initially. Its occurrence in these positions is roughly analogous to its occurrence in Modern Standard German, though it is less common in Concordia Low German.

intervocalic - /vɪtsɪç/ 'clever, humorous'; /ytsən/ 'frogs';

word-final - /blɪts/ 'lightning'; /gants/ 'whole, very'; /plɪts/ 'place'

/tʃ/ [tʃ] - The voiceless post-alveolar affricate most often occurs as a result of the blurring of the syllable break between /t/ and /j/ as in /lɪtʃə/ 'little', which can also be realized as /lɪtʃə/. Another instance occurs in word breaks where blurring results in the loss of the glottal stop as in /mɪt jɪk/ 'with y'all', plural objective pronoun (Modern Standard German = *mit euch*) which is realized as /mɪtʃɪk/. It can also occur word-finally as in /plɑʊtdɪtʃ/.

## Nasals

**/m/ [m]** - The bilabial nasal occurs in all positions, including clusters as in **/sm/** and **/sp/**, though this is not evidenced in all speakers, some preferring the more heavily alveolarized **/sm/** or **/sp/** sibilant.

word-initial - **/mʊtə/** 'mother'; **/mɔxən/** 'to do, make', infinitive;

**/min/** 'my', possessive pronoun

intervocalic - **/kɔɪmən/** 'to come'; **/ləməl/** 'jerk', derogatory term;

**/ɪmə/** 'always'

word-final - **/bom/** 'tree'

clusters - **/boms/** 'trees'; **/kɔɪmt/** 'to come' 3rd person singular

**/n/ [n]** - The alveolar nasal occurs in all positions. It occurs often in clusters preceding another alveolar consonant and can occur in combination with non-alveolar consonants at syllable junctures where a pause occurs between the nasal and other consonants. It can also be realized syllabically in reduced final syllables (endings).

word-initial - **/nɪɔt/** 'not'; **/naɪjən/** 'to sew', infinitive

intervocalic - /ɔnərz/ 'other, different'; /ʃənə/ 'pretty', adjectival form

word-final - /vən/ 'when'; /fɛln/ 'to fall', past participle; /stɔrbn/ 'died', past participle; /kɔgn/ 'cakes'

clusters - /vɪntər/ 'winter'; /kɪnt/ 'child'; /zɪnt/ 'to be', 3rd person plural; /ɔlbərn/ 'silly'

/ŋ/ [ŋ] - The velar nasal occurs most often in combination with a velar consonant and in word-final position. It can also occur intervocalically.

intervocalic - /jɔŋə/ 'boy'

final - /dɪŋ/ 'thing'

clusters - /ʃtɪŋkatsə/ 'skunk'

### Liquids

// [l] - The alveolar liquid occurs in all positions: word/syllable-initial,, intervocalic, word-final, and in clusters as the second element. Finally, it is often realized syllabically in reduced syllables.

word-initial - /lʊft/ 'air'; /lɛməl/ 'jerk', derogatory term; /lyə/ 'people'; /lYtʃə/ 'little'

intervocalic - /ɑlə/ 'all'; /gelə/ 'yellow'

word-final - /ʃɔl/ 'should', 3rd person singular; /kətʊfəl/ 'potato'; /vɔdl/ 'carrot'

clusters - /stɛlt/ 'to put', 3rd person singular; /slɔYpən/ 'to sleep', infinitive; /plɑts/ 'place'; /flɔtərmʊs/ 'bat'

### Approximants

/j/ [j] - The palatal approximant<sup>2</sup> does not occur in word-final position and occurs only occasionally in intervocalic position. It is most often found in word-initial position and at syllable junctures where, due to blurring, it may be realized as /tʃ/ as discussed earlier under that section.

word-initial - /jʊŋə/ 'boy'; /ja/ 'yes'; /joə/ 'your', plural possessive; /jɪk/ 'you', plural objective pronoun

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<sup>2</sup> Intervocally, this sound is sometimes difficult to define. As in the Modern Standard German /ʃtejən/ 'stehen', one could interpret this sound's phonetic representation as /naɪjən/ or /naɪən/, /kɔYjən/ or /kɔYən/. Such is the case for many Modern Standard German words exhibiting the pattern -eje- medially. All of the informants exhibit varying degrees of the diphthongization habitual in the speech patterns of the Southern Midlands of the United States which may serve to strengthen the /j/ effect beyond the typical Modern Standard German pronunciation.

intervocalic - /kaɪjə/ 'cows'; /tɪjən/ 'times'; /naɪjən/ 'to sew',  
 infinitive; /kɔYjən/ 'to speak'

/r/ [r] - The realization of [r] varies somewhat between informants and speech environments, as is the case with Modern Standard German. In the word-initial environment, Concordia Low German realizes this sound often as a flap or mild trill; in intervocalic position, as a flap; in word-final position often as a retroflex, possibly owing to some interference from English, as this tends to occur in cognates such as /vɪntər/ 'winter' and comparative forms such as /bɛtər/ 'better'. In word final position it is also sometimes lost altogether or is realized as vowel coloration. It can also occur in clusters where, in cluster-initial position, it is often realized more strongly as the flap or trill and in cluster-final position as the retroflex.

word-initial - /rain/ 'clean'; /rowə/ 'red';

intervocalic - /hɛrɔmə/ 'around';

word-final - /vɪntər/ 'winter'; /bɛtər/ 'better'; /wɔtər/ 'water';

/pɜpər/ 'pepper'

clusters - /drøgen/ 'dry'; /brɔ̃gen/ 'to break', past participle;

/swɔ̃rt/ 'black'; /fraʊ/ - 'woman, wife'

/w/ [w] - The bilabial approximant occurs in word-initial, occasionally in intervocalic, and very occasionally in word/syllable-final position. It can also occur in clusters with /t/ or /s/.

word-initial - /wɔ̃tər/ 'water'; /wɔ̃s/ 'was', past tense of 'to be',

1st person sing.; /wɔ̃l/ 'wanted', past tense of 'to want'

intervocalic - /dɔ̃wə/ 'death'

word/syllable-final - /slɔ̃w/ 'to hit', 1st person sing.; /fə̃dɔ̃ʒə/

'today'

clusters - /twɛ̃lf/ 'twelve', /swɔ̃rt/ 'black', /swigə̃mɔ̃tə/ 'mother-in-

law'



### The Consonants of Concordia Low German

<u>Word-initial</u>	<u>Intervocalic</u>	<u>Word-final</u>
/p/ /pejət/ 'horse'	/apəl/ 'apple'	/op/ 'on'
/b/ /bədə/ 'bed'	/libə/ 'dear'	
/t/ /tenə/ 'teeth'	/flitɪç/ 'energetic'	/faʊt/ 'foot'
/d/ /dɪŋ/ 'thing'	/zidə/ 'side'	/kled/ 'dress'
/k/ /kɪn/ 'chin'	/fəkejət/ 'wrong'	/baʊk/ 'book'
/g/ /gøld/ 'gold'	/spigəl/ 'mirror'	
/f/ /fədawgə/ 'today'	/kətʊfəl/ 'potato'	/blif/ 'to stay'
/v/ /vəs/ 'was'	/lyvə/ 'dear'	
/ð/	/swigərfoðə/ 'father-in-law'	
/s/		/hus/ 'house'
/z/ /zɔlt/ 'salt'	/vɛzən/ 'to be'	
/ʃ/ /ʃɔl/ 'should'	/kəʃɪçtə/ 'story'	/dɪʃ/ 'table'
/ç/		/dɛstɪç/ 'thirsty'
/x/	/mɔxən/ 'to do, make'	/hox/ 'high'
/h/ /hait/ 'hot'		
/ts/	/ytsən/ 'frogs'	/blɪts/ 'lightning'
/tʃ/	/lɪtʃə/ 'little'	/plɑʊtdɪtʃ/ 'LG'
/m/ /mʊtər/ 'mother'	/lɛməl/ 'jerk'	/bom/ 'tree'
/n/ /nɪçt/ 'not'	/ɔnərz/ 'different'	/vɛn/ 'when'
/ŋ/	/jɔŋə/ 'boy'	/dɪŋ/ 'thing'
/l/ /lʊft/ 'air'	/gelə/ 'yellow'	/vɔdl/ 'root'
/j/ /ja/ 'yes'	/kaɪjə/ 'cows'	
/r/ /rain/ 'clean'	/hɛrʊmə/ 'around'	/wɔtər/ 'water'
/w/ /wɔtər/ 'water'	/dowə/ 'death'	/slaw/ 'to hit'

	Front	Central	Back
High Tense:	i	y	u
Lax:	ɪ	ʏ	ʊ
Mid Tense:	e	ø	o
Lax:	ɛ	œ	ɔ
Low Tense:	æ		a
Diphthongs:	aɪ, aʊ, ɔʏ, ɔʊ		

## Phonology - Vowels

### Front vowels

/i/ [i] - The high front tense unrounded vowel occurs in word initial, interconsonantal and word final positions. It occurs primarily in stressed syllables.<sup>1</sup>

word initial - /is/ 'ice';

interconsonantal - /zin/ 'his'; /min/ 'my'; /tijən/ 'times'; /blif/ 'stay';

/fif/ 'five'; /swigəmətə/ 'mother-in-law'; /swin/ 'pig'

word-final - /di/ 'the' definite article (pl. and fem. sg.); /bi/ 'at'

(Modern Standard German = *bei*); /ji/ 'you all' (Modern Standard

German = *ihr*)

<sup>1</sup> Stress rules for Concordia dialect parallel Modern Standard German stress rules (see Duden 1984, 52-53). Tense vowels in stressed position are pronounced longer than their tense or lax counterparts in unstressed position, hence, stress and length are not specifically marked.

**/y/ [y]** - The high front tense rounded vowel is rare, but can be found in both word-initial and interconsonantal position. There was no evidence of /y/ in word-final position.

word-initial - /ytsən/ 'frogs'

interconsonantal - /lyvə/ 'dear'; /lyə/ 'people'

**// [ɪ]** - The high front lax unrounded vowel can occur in word-initial and interconsonantal positions and in both stressed and unstressed syllables. It does not occur word-finally.

word-initial - /ɪs/ 'is', 3rd person sing.; /ɪk/ 'I', 1st person sing. pronoun; /ɪmər/ 'always'

interconsonantal - /vɪntər/ 'winter'; /vɪrt/ 'to become', 3rd person sing.; /mɪt/ 'with'; /hɪn/ separable prefix indicating motion away from speaker; /zɪnt/ 'are', 1st and 3rd person pl. of 'to be'; /fɛrtɪç/ 'finished, ready';

**/Y/ [Y]** - The high front lax rounded vowel is evidenced in only two positions, preceding a consonant cluster: /lYtjə/ 'little', /mYst/ 'had to,'

participial form and medially in the conjugated forms of *müssen*, for example /ɪk mʏs/ 'I must,'

/e/ [e] - The mid front tense unrounded vowel occurs most frequently in interconsonantal position in a stressed syllable and occasionally in a stressed, word-final syllable. There is no evidence of word-initial occurrence.

interconsonantal - /vegə/ 'away, gone'; /fel/ 'much'; /segən/

'soap'<sup>2</sup>; /negən/ 'nine'

word-finally - /de/ 'the' (masc. sing. nom.); /sne/ 'snow'

/ø/ [ø] - The mid front tense rounded vowel occurs primarily in the stressed interconsonantal position and it is retained in the building of plurals and comparative/superlative forms, where it is often very heavily enunciated and drawn out in a diphthong-like manner. No evidence was found of [ø] in word-initial or word-final position.

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<sup>2</sup> Here, one would expect some variant of /f/ or /p/ like /sefən/ or /sepən/. The appearance of the /g/ here is anomalous, but consistent across speakers.

interconsonantal - /drɒgen/ 'dry'; /gøzə/ 'geese'<sup>3</sup>; /kələ/ 'coals';  
 /høltən/ 'wooden'; /ʃən/ 'good', adverbial form; /həgə/ 'higher',  
 comparative form

/ɛ/ [ɛ] - The mid front lax unrounded vowel occurs in most commonly in stressed interconsonantal position but rarely in word-initial position. It does not occur word-finally.

word-initial - /ɛst/ 'first'

interconsonantal - /mɛlk/ 'milk'; /kɛrl/ 'man, guy'; /fɛln/ 'to fall'  
 past participle; /brɛnt/ 'to burn' past participle

/œ/ [œ] - The mid front lax rounded vowel occurs seldom in comparison with its tense counterpart, [ø], and is only found in closed syllables such as /ophœt/ 'to cease', 3rd person sing.

/æ/ [æ] - The low front tense unrounded vowel only occurs in interconsonantal position in stressed syllables.

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<sup>3</sup> The realization of /ø/ is sometimes so extreme as to almost suggest diphthongization. Thus, 'geese' would often be something akin to /gœ\_izə/ in its actual realization.

interconsonantal - /blæjə/ 'leaves'; /væjə/ 'weather'; /læpəl/ 'spoon'

### Central Vowel

/ə/ [ə] - The central lax unrounded vowel only occurs in unstressed syllables. It does not occur in word-initial position.

interconsonantal - /fəðɔʊgə/ 'today'; /fɔɪdən/ 'feet'; /fəkejət/

'wrong'

word-final - /apɹɪkoʊzə/ 'apricot'; /zɪdə/ 'side'; /baɪdə/ 'both'

### Back Vowels

/u/ [u] - The high back tense rounded vowel occurs in stressed syllables in word-initial, interconsonantal and word-final positions.

word-initial - /unəstən/ 'bottom' (superlative meaning 'undermost');

/untən/ 'down here'; /us/ 'our', 1st person possessive; /utkomən/

'to turn out'

interconsonantal - /hus/ 'house'; /hunt/ 'dog'; /brun/ 'brown';

word-final - /du/ 'you', 2nd person sing. nom. pronoun

/ʊ/ [ʊ] - The high back lax rounded vowel occurs in stressed and unstressed syllables. It occurs exclusively in interconsonantal position.

interconsonantal - /bʊst/ 'chest'; /gʊld/ 'gold'; /swigəmʊtə/  
'mother-in-law'

/o/ [o] - The mid back tense rounded vowel occurs mainly in interconsonantal position in stressed syllables. It can occur word-initially and word-finally in a stressed syllable

word-initial - /ophæt/ 'to stop, cease', 3rd person singular; /onə/  
'without'

interconsonantal - /kolə/ 'cold', attributive adj. with ending;  
/kogən/ 'cakes'; /got/ 'good'

word-final - /to/ 'to'; /vo/ 'where' and 'how' as in /vo feɪ/ 'how  
much'

/ɔ/ [ɔ] - The mid back lax rounded vowel occurs in stressed syllables in word-initial and interconsonantal position. It is one of the most common vowels occurring in the dialect and varies from a barely

perceptible vowel coloration to the most salient sound in a word. Many times a vowel in carefully pronounced speech in an isolated environment such as /makən/ may lapse into /mɔkən/ or even /mɔxən/ in normal speech.

word-initial - /ɔbəm/ 'oven'; /ɔmt/ 'evening'

interconsonantal - /stɔl/ 'stolen', past participle of 'to steal'; /kɔp/ 'head'; /ʃɔpə/ 'sheep' pl.

/a/ [a] - The low back lax unrounded occurs in word-initial and interconsonantal position. Some examples are:

word initial - /anfaɪən/ 'to begin', infinitive; /afgaʊn/ 'to walk off', infinitive

interconsonantal - /vasən/ 'to grow', infinitive; /fragə/ 'to ask' 1st person sing.; /famə/ 'farmer'; /gants/ 'whole, very'

### Diphthongs

/aɪ/ [aɪ] - The diphthong /aɪ/ occurs in word-initial, interconsonantal, and word-final position in stressed syllables.



word-initial - /aɪə/ 'eggs'

interconsonantal - /haɪt/ 'hot'; /gaɪst/ 'to go' 2nd person sing.;

/maɪstə/ 'most', superlative

word-final - /draɪ/ 'three'; /vaɪ/ 'pain, hurt';

**/aʊ/ [aʊ]** - The diphthong /aʊ/ occurs in interconsonantal and word-final position, but is not evidenced in word-initial position.

interconsonantal - /ɔfgaʊn/ 'to walk off', past participle; /daʊn/ 'to do'

infinitive; /braʊə/ 'brother'; /baʊən/ 'to build', infinitive

word-final - /fraʊ/ - 'woman, wife'

**/ɔY/ [ɔY]** - The diphthong [ɔY] occurs primarily in interconsonantal position with one instance evidenced in word-initial and none in word-final.

word-initial - /ɔYr/ 'her', possessive and dat. fem. sing.

interconsonantal - /kɔYjən/ 'to speak'; /slɔYpən/ 'sleep' verb

infinitive; /grɔYn/ 'green'

### Distinctive Phonemic Features of Concordia Low German

Many of the common distinctive features of Modern Low German (henceforth Modern Low German) and their development from the Middle Low German (henceforth Middle Low German = *Mittelniederdeutsch*) are expected - and indeed found - in Concordia Low German: the relative absence of the effect of the High German sound-shift; the partial or complete syllabization of the final nasal or liquid preceded by /ə/ and the expected regressive assimilation to the preceding consonant in certain speech environments; the weakening or loss of /r/ in the medial or final syllable; the tendency towards a decrease in overall consonant clustering when compared with Modern Standard German; metathesis in medial syllables.

Historically, the Second Sound Shift (SSS) served to separate the High, Middle, and Low German dialects in the time period beginning around the 5th century A.D. and ending around the beginning of the 8th century. It is within this history that the realizations of the hard /t/, /p/, and /k/ were especially defining for the distinction between Low, Middle, and High German as is still evidenced today. The realizations of these sounds were dependent upon two instances of occurrence:

(1) their realizations initially, medially, and finally after consonants, and

(2) medially and finally after vowels. In the first instance, /t/ became realized as /ts/ in High German, but remained /t/ in Low German. An example of this is the Modern Low German (and Concordia Low German) term /swart/ 'black' which is realized in High German as /ʃvarts/. An example of instance (2) found in Modern Low German is /vater/ and Concordia Low German /wɔtər/ 'water'.

The lack of evidence of the High German sound-shift places Concordia Low German firmly in the category of a Low German dialect. For example, the voiceless dental stop /t/ of Low German did not shift to its corresponding High German affricate /ts/, so we find words such as /tenə/ 'teeth' and /swart/ 'black' where we would historically expect /tsenə/ and /ʃvarts/ for High German. Likewise, the Low German /p/ and /k/ are not shifted to High German /f/ and /x/ respectively as in, /op/ 'on', /kɔgən/ 'to cook', and /Ik/ 'I'. They are generally not shifted in clusters, in medial position as in /læpəl/ 'spoon', nor in loan words.

The weakening of the final /ə/ in the /ən/ configuration and the subsequent syllabization of the final nasal and liquid consonants in many words is a common earmark of Low German dialects. In Concordia Low German, blurring often occurs in rapid or casual speech as the carefully enunciated /hɛbən/ 'to have', infinitive, /læpəl/ 'spoon', /kɔxən/ 'to cook',

and /ɔbəm/ 'oven', become /hɛbn/, /læpl/, /kɔgn/, and /ɔbm/ respectively. In more extreme cases, it is also possible to find /hɛm/ 'to have', infinitive, and /ɔm/ 'oven', showing strong assimilation.

The /r/ has completely disappeared from certain environments, especially preceding /st/ in words like /dɛstɪç/ 'thirsty', and weakened to vowel coloration in others. Two examples from Middle Low German are *borste* which in both Modern Low German and Concordia Low German becomes /bɛstə/ 'brush' and the Middle Low German *gerste* which becomes Concordia Low German /gɛstə/ 'yeast'. /r/ is also often absent before /t/ as in /pejət/ 'horse' or occurs as mild vowel coloration in the same position. Another instance of the loss of /r/ occurs in Concordia Low German /vɔdl/ 'root' in which the simplification from the Middle Low German *wortele* becomes apparent.

### Pronominal Morphology

	Nom.	Obj.	Poss.
1st person sing.	ɪk	mi	min(ə) <sup>4</sup>
2nd person sing.	du	di	din(ə)/(ən)
3rd person sing. masculine	he/de/haɪ <sup>5</sup>	(d)ɛn/en	zin(ə)/(ən)
feminine	ze/di/zaɪ/	ejə/ɔYə	ejə/ɔYə/(ən)
neuter	dat/ɛt	dat/ɛt	zin(ə)/(ən)
1st person plural	wi (alə)	ɪʃ	us(ə)/(ən)
2nd person plural/sing. formal	(dʃ)ji (alə)	(dʃ)jɪk	jo(ə)/(ən)
3rd person plural	daɪ/zaɪ	de/zaɪ	ejə/ɔYə/(ən)

Pronouns in Concordia Low German follow patterns which one would expect from a Low German dialect and can be placed north of the *mi/mik* line running between Hannover and Bremen. Concordia Low German is further differentiable from Nordhannoversch by the third person plural accusative pronoun which is realized in Nordhannoversch as “jüm” and in Concordia Low German as /zaɪ/ *them*.

As the table indicates, the pronomial system of Concordia Low German tends to collapse into nominative and objective cases with dative meaning demonstrated by word order or prepositional usage much like one would expect for English. Third person pronouns distinguish

<sup>4</sup> Parentheses indicate types of case endings attested for that pronoun.

<sup>5</sup> Order is indicated in terms of usage preference. For example, /he/ is preferred by most speakers with /haɪ/ occurring as a variation.

masculine, feminine, and neuter forms in the singular. Variations in pronunciation are indicated, particularly in 3rd person singular feminine, though these are non-morphological free variants as demonstrated in sentence 9:

/ɪk was bi de fraʊ ʊn hæf ɛt ejə zɛgt ʊn ze zɛkt zə vol dat to ejə daxtə zɛgən/ 'I was at the woman's and told it to her and she said, she wanted to tell it to her daughter too.'

Here, the variation /ɔYə/ for /ejə/ is also possible for both meanings of *ihr* 'her' in feminine dative and possessive forms. Interestingly, though both pronouns *ihr* in the above sentence indicate the primary dative meaning of "to a person or thing" either directly or for the noun being modified, the preference is to use dative/accusative sentence structure for the first occurrence of "to her" and the prepositional form of "to" (/to/) in the next occurrence with the possessive pronoun "her". This choice was fairly consistent across speakers, though Informant 5 also chose to insert /to/ before the first occurrence of *ihr* as well.

In the 3rd person neuter form, the preference for most speakers was to use /dat/ over /ɛt/ as demonstrated in sentence 2:

/dat væjə dat virt bætər wɛn dat (ɛt) ɛstmə ophæt tə snarən/

'It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will get better again.'

Approximately equal distribution between pronoun and demonstrative form usage was indicated with all genders in the nominative case with the third person singular neuter forms predominating in objective as well.

#### Formal Pronoun

/(dʃ)ji/ *lhr* 'you': Informant 1 reports that the 2nd person plural pronoun is used in formal conversation, usually between members of different generations. This is interesting since it follows the archaic practice in Germany and was somewhat less common in the nineteenth century when migration to the United States began. No example was found in normal usage probably since all remaining speakers belong to the same generation and, hence, no longer need to draw this distinction. The more commonly used informal form, which possibly shows English contamination from the commonly used American English form *y'all*, is //(dʃ)ji alə/ in the 2nd person plural nominative.

### Impersonal 'man'

The impersonal *man* occurs in some written materials provided by Informant 1 - mainly old proverbs and sayings - but is not used regularly in daily speech, where the tendency is to substitute the impersonal 'you' in the form of the 2nd person singular nominative /du/.

### Reflexive Pronouns

The use of the reflexive pronouns /di/, /mi/, and /zik/ is not uncommon and occurs with many of the same verbs demonstrating reflexivity in Modern Standard German with exception of the imperative anomaly /bihef di/ 'behave yourself!' which appears to have the qualities of both a loan-word and a loan-translation. The reflexive particles mentioned above can also occur with the reflexive pronominal intensifier /zɛlbs/. These sentences contain examples of reflexivity in Concordia

Low German:

/ɪk hæf mi fəkølt/ 'I caught a cold'

/hɑɪ stɛlt zɪk an as vɛn hɑɪ hʏrt vas fo\_a dat dɛrʃən ɔbɐ daɪ

hæ:ənt fo\_a zɪk zɛlbs dɔn/

'He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing ,but they did it themselves'



### Genitive case

There is no productive genitive case in Concordia Low German. Instead possession is expressed using the preposition /fɔn/ 'von'.

### Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns collected are: /vejə/ 'who?' nom. sing.; /vɛn/ 'whom?' acc. sing.; /vɔfɔl/ 'how many much?'; /vat fɔnə/ 'what kind of?'; /vo/ 'where?'; /vat/ 'what?'; /vərɔmə/ 'why?'; /vɛn/ 'when?'

## Nominal Morphology

<u>Definite Articles</u>		
	Nom.	Obj.
Masculine	de	dɛn
Feminine	di/de	di/de
Neuter	dat	dat
Plural	de/di	de/di

As shown by the chart above, nouns and articles are declined for three genders - masculine, feminine and neuter - in Concordia Low German with some overlap between masculine and feminine reminiscent of the Dutch *de* versus *het* formation of a common gender versus neuter nominal system. As stated earlier, case collapse has left no distinction between dative and accusative. As for number, usage in the feminine singular seems to prefer /di/ over /de/ with the opposite holding for the plural article so that some semblance of a system is maintained, though many speakers often interchange usage in the same sentence. Adjectives can show either nominative (/ə/) or objective (/ən/) endings for masculine singular, but otherwise their declension tends to be very asystematic in application. Plural declension for adjectives occurs most often as /ə/, as in /de bəzə gəzə/ 'those mean geese', but is sometimes realized as /ən/, as in /de drəgən blæjə/ 'the dry leaves'. There seems to

be no system evident for predicting the adjective ending in such instances.

### Plurals

Formation of plurals in Concordia Low German can occur in several different ways depending on the noun as in Modern Low German. The noun stem sometimes shows raising (*Umlaut*) in anticipation of the plural suffix vowel. Some examples are:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
/blat/	/blæjə/ 'leaves'
/kol/	/kələ/ 'coals'
/faʊt/	/fɔɪdən/ 'feet'
/gos/	/gəzə/ 'geese'
/hus/	/hyzə/ 'houses'

### N-Class nouns:

No masculine nouns of this class are marked with endings. The expected N-noun for the Wenker sentences would be *Herz* in sentence 34, which does show a vestige of the dative inflectional ending in *vom Herzen* /vɔnə harə/. Interestingly, the form /harə/ does not follow the name of the Low German Club in Concordia, the Hadn Tohopa, "Hearts Together."

### Diminutive Suffix

The Modern Standard German diminutive suffixes *-chen* and *-lein* are not evidenced at all in Concordia Low German, which is interesting since many informants have had some exposure to Modern Standard German. Perhaps even more interesting is the notable lack of any diminutive suffix in normal speech, including the expected Modern Low German *-ken* or some variation thereof. The Concordia Low German rendering of the diminutive is contained solely in the attributive adjective /lɪtjə/ 'little'. Some examples:

/lɪtjə fogəls/ 'little birds'; /lɪtjə vant/ 'little wall' as in the sentence:

/vat fonə ʃənə lɪtjə fogəls sɪt da boəm op de lɪtjə vant/ 'What kind of little birds are sitting up there on the little wall.'

### Adjectives

The adjective system of Concordia Low German is extremely simplified over that of Modern Standard German, but lacks systematic predictability in that, as stated earlier, the only possible adjective endings are /-ə/ and /-ən/. This includes endings that would normally

vouch for gender, case and number, such as the neuter attributive ending in *mein liebes Kind* which is realized as /min lyvə kɪnt/ 'my dear child'. This inconsistency carries over to the plural endings for attributive adjectives - which never go unmarked - but are sometimes realized as /-ə/, sometimes as /-ən/ with the two occurring in an interchangeable manner. Thus, the primary function of the adjective endings seems to be to promote flow within the spoken language rather than to give grammatical information pertaining to gender, case and number. As was also stated earlier, the occurrence of the ending /-ən/ is only somewhat predictable for masculine singular accusative as in /In joən ɡɔn/ 'in your (pl.) garden'. As one would expect, predicate adjectives show no endings for Concordia Low German.

### Comparative and Superlative Adjectives

Concordia Low German forms the comparative of the adjective with the suffixation of /-ə/ and the raising of the vowel where possible. Some examples from sentences 16 and 29: /hox/ 'high', /høgə/ 'higher'; /grot/ 'big', /grætə/. There is often a very strong hint of r-colorization present in the /-ə/ ending suggesting perhaps the the influence of English

has helped to maintain the comparative ending in Concordia Low German.

### **Verbal Morphology**

Verbs in Concordia Low German are conjugated for the first, second, and third person singular and for plurals. There is no distinct future tense as the present tense with a future time element acts in this capacity. Concordia Low German contains indicative, subjunctive, and imperative moods as well as present, present perfect, and simple past tenses. Past perfect was not found. The primary voice is active, but there remains some production of passive forms, especially when those forms are demanded in response to Wenker translations.

### Present Tense

Most of the present tense conjugational forms often lose their *-e* ending in the 1st person singular as in /ɪk slaw di/ *Ich schlage dich* 'I'll hit you; /ɪk hæf dat/ *Ich habe das* 'I have that'. However, in most instances the 2nd person ending *-st* is retained, as are the 3rd person singular and second person plural. Some examples are: /du mɔkst/ *du machst* 'you are making/doing'; /du gaɪst/ *du gehst* 'you are going'; /zai

zɛkt/ *sie sagt* 'she says'; /dʃji maɪt nɪçt/ *ihr dürft nicht* 'you (all) may not.'

The following auxiliary verbs are conjugated for the present tense:

	<u>/vɛzən/ 'to be'</u>	<u>/hɛbən/ 'to have'</u>	<u>/daʊn/ 'to do'</u>
ik	bin	hɛf	daʊ
du	bɪst	hast	daʊst / daɪst
he,ze,dat	ɪs	hat	daʊt / daɪt
vi	zɪnt	hɛt	daʊt
dʃji	zart	hɛft	daʊt
de	zɪnt	hɛt	daʊt

And the modals<sup>6</sup>:

<u>müssen</u>	<u>wollen</u>	<u>sollen</u>	<u>können</u>	<u>dürfen</u>
/ɪk mut/	/ɪk vɪl/	/ɪk ʃal/	/ɪk kan/	/ɪk draf/
/du must/	/du vʊst/	/du ʃɪlst/	/du kanst/	/du drafst/
/hai mut/	/hai vɪl/	/hai ʃɪl/	/hai kan/	/hai draf/
/vi mæɪt/	/vi vɪt/	/vi ʃɪt/, /vi ʃɪln/	/vi kænt/	/vi dræft/

mögen  
 /ɪk maX/  
 /du maXst/  
 /hai maX/  
 /vi mæçt/

### Present Perfect<sup>7</sup>

The present perfect tense is periphrastic as in Modern Low German for most verbs save the most common. *Haben, sein*, and the modal verbs

<sup>6</sup> The plural forms in first, second, and third person are identical with the /vi/ form for all modals.

<sup>7</sup> For a more extensive discussion of participial and simple past forms of less common verbs, see chapter 5.

tend to occur more often in simple past. The use of *sein* is retained as an auxiliary of *sein* and verbs of motion. Some examples are as follows:

/ɪk bɪn ɡɛstərn ɪn kʌnkordɪə ve\_ən/ 'I was in Concordia yesterday'

/he ɪs ɡɛstərn komən/ 'He came yesterday';

and with *haben*:

/hɛt dʃʃi salaivə ɡɛlt hat/ 'Did you (formal) ever have money?'<sup>8</sup>

With the verb *sein*, the preference seems to be the periphrastic past tense with 1st and second person singular and plural as above, but the simple past /he was/ 'he was' with the 3rd person singular. This pattern does not necessarily repeat itself with other, less common verbs.

Also evidenced is the periphrastic past with modal verbs and a quasi-double infinitive structure, especially in the subjunctive:

/vi hɛn dat daʊn kɛn/ 'We could have done that';

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<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, the determination to use the present perfect seems to be dependent upon whether or not the adverb 'ever' is present in the sentence: if so, then present perfect; if not, then simple past. The cadence, which changes with addition of 'ever', seems to be important in determining the wording of the sentence with reference to tense form, though the same basic tense meaning is retained.



however, the Modern Standard German inversion of the auxiliary does not occur when such an example is expressed with dependent word order:

/vɛn ik gɛstərn arbaitən mYst hɛ\_ə/ 'If I had had to work  
yesterday...'

An earmark of Westphalian and Low Saxon, all participles in Concordia Low German have lost the *ge-* prefix as a participial marker, for example, /frɔkt/ 'asked' [*gefragt*], including the strong verbs, though end-placement of the participle is still retained.

### Simple Past

The simple past of *sein* and *haben* are used with relative frequency in relation to the simple past forms of other verbs; such forms do exist for some common strong verbs and modals. Many of the stem vowel changes are diphthongized and/or umlauted. The forms are:

<u>Haben</u>	<u>Sein</u>
/ik hɛ_ə/	/ik vas/
/du hɛ_əst	/du vast/
/hai hɛ_ə/	/hai vas/
/vi hɛ_ən/	/vi ve_ən/

and for the modals:

<u>müssen</u>	<u>wollen</u>	<u>sollen</u>	<u>können</u>	<u>dürfen</u>
/ɪk mYs/	/ɪk vol/	/ɪk ʃal/	/ɪk kɛn/	/ɪk drɛf/
/du mYst/	/du volst/	/du ʃast/	/du kɛnst/	/du drɛfst/
/hai mYs/	/hai vol/	/hai ʃal/	/hai kɛn/	/hai drɛf/
/vi mYsən/	/vi voln/	/vi ʃɛln/	/vi kɛnt/	/vi drɛfən/

mögen

/ɪk mæçtə/  
 /du mæçst/  
 /hai mæçt/  
 /vi mø:çt/

Passive and Subjunctive

There is no productive passive in Concordia Low German. For subjunctive forms provided by Informant 1, see chapter 5 of this text.

Syntax

In analyzing syntax, one must always take into account the effect of cueing sentences in English. Therefore, it is possible that the Wenker sentences used here could have affected the responses of the subjects. However, many concerned subjects pointed out early during the interview that their translations into Concordia Low German would not have the same structure as the English cues, to which the interviewer responded that they should translate into a form representative of their natural speech. By and large, there was little to no evidence of contamination in the responses collected, and the informants seemed to be very skilled at separating the German from the English.

### Main, Coordinate, and Subordinate Clause Word Order

Concordia Low German shows little deviation from Modern Low German word order in main and coordinate clause constructions. The finite verb is generally in second position with any other verbs or verb forms (such as participles) occurring in final position. Hence, *Ausklammerung* is a rare occurrence. Some examples are:

/vi ʃait dɛn fogəl/ 'We shoot the bird.' *Wir schießen den Vogel.*

versus the periphrastic past tense construction:

/vi hət dɛn fogəl ʃɔdən/ 'We shot the bird.' *Wir haben den Vogel geschossen.*

Standard word order is also observed with separable prefix verbs:

/hai mɔkt de dɛrn tau/ 'He is closing the door.' *Er macht die Tür zu.*

and as expected, in the periphrastic past:

/hai hɛt de dɛrn taʊmɔkt/ 'He closed the door.' *Er hat dir Tür zugemacht.*

The finite verb is also in second position in questions containing an interrogative:

/veə hɛt min koəf flaiʃ stɔln/ 'Who stole my basket of meat?' *Wer hat meinen Korb Fleisch gestohlen?*

In coordinate word order, the verb occurs in the expected Modern Low German position:

/Ik vas bi di fraʊ ʊn hɛf ɔYə dat sɛkt ʊn zai zɛkt zai vol dat taʊ  
 ɔYə dɔXtə zɛgən/ 'I was at the woman's and told it to her, and  
 she said she wanted to tell it to her daughter too. *Ich war bei der  
 Frau und sagte das ihr, und sie sagte, sie wolle das ihrer Tochter  
 auch sagen.*

Expected LG word order is strictly maintained even in extended discourse. The only examples exhibiting *Ausklammerung* occurred during translation when an informant realized he or she had left part of the sentence out and tacked the missing phrase on as an afterthought. In all cases, the informants who did this immediately corrected themselves and restated the sentence with the verb phrase in the expected LG position.

#### Subordinate Clause Word Order

As expected, subordinate word order retains the verb in clause-final position, even with multiple verbs. Interestingly, with periphrastic tenses in subordinate clauses, the auxiliary verb does not occur first in the verb phrase as in Modern Standard German.<sup>9</sup> An example collected in the subjunctive is:

/vɛn vi dat dɑʊn voln hæ\_ən/ 'If we had wanted to do that...'

*Wenn wir das hätten machen wollen...*

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<sup>9</sup> Examples of this instance in Modern Standard German would occur in sentences like: *Ich weiß nicht, was er gestern hat machen müssen.* 'I don't know what he had to do yesterday.'

Wenker sentence number 24 is also commonly used to test dependent word order and has been used in dialect studies in Germany:<sup>10</sup>

/als vi gɛstərn amən na hus koYmn wɛ\_ən de alə in bɛt ən  
sloYpən/ 'When we got home last night, the others were already  
lying in bed and were fast asleep.' *Als wir gestern abend  
zurückkamen, da lagen die anderen schon zu Bett und waren fest  
am schlafen.*

#### Loan words and Borrowings

The only examples of loan words collected appeared in two hesitantly attempted Wenker sentences given by Informant 2.<sup>11</sup> In sentences 15 and 23 we find:

/vi zɪnt taiərt ən dʊstiç/ 'We are tired and thirsty,'

and in number 15:

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<sup>10</sup> See König (1978, 163) for a discussion of the use of this specific clause in German dialect geography.

<sup>11</sup> In sentence 23, Informant 2 paused thoughtfully and then chose to insert the word /taiərt/ when the Concordia Low German word would not come. However, other informants were able to produce the word /utəvoən/ 'worn out' or /moYə/ *müde*. In sentence 15, /biheft/ was given immediately as the participle with no hesitation by all informants.

/du has fədawgə dat maistə lɛrnt ən has diç gut biheft/ 'You learned the most today and were well behaved.'

Almost all informants said at some point during the interview process that if they could not remember a word in Concordia Low German, they would insert an English word and give it a Concordia Low German pronunciation. This type of borrowing, however, has not been collected in any of the interviews to date. All informants were very mindful of the need to use Concordia Low German and often preferred struggling to remember the Concordia Low German term rather than simply code-switching to English.

#### Concordia Low German and the Dialect in the Homeland

Concordia Low German speakers report their origins as the area between Hannover, Bremen, and Hamburg, which would place them firmly in the *Nordhannoversch* dialect region. In comparing Concordia Low German to the modern Low German dialects in the homeland, one finds, as expected from informants' reports of ancestral origin, a mixture of elements of Eastphalian, Westphalian, and North Saxon [see

pp. 142-44 for maps) with the majority of forms stemming from North Saxon.<sup>12</sup>

Vowel diphthongization, monophthongization, and rounding constitute some of the more interesting points of comparison between Concordia Low German, North Saxon, and Westphalian. The two main features distinguishing North Saxon and Westphalian are the Westphalian Modern Low German long [a] becoming the rounded back vowel [ɔ], while the North Saxon vowels coalesced to give a long [a]. An example from Concordia Low German is the word for 'sheep' realized /ʃɔp/ in Concordia Low German, North Saxon, and Westphalian. However, Westphalian and North Saxon diverge with the form *maken* where one finds Westphalian realizing /a/ and North Saxon realizing /ɔ/. Concordia Low German tends toward the North Saxon realization /mɔkən/.

The *Westfälische Brechung*, which serves in part to delineate North Saxon from Westphalian, is exhibited in the following manner: Old Saxon short vowels in open syllables become short diphthongs in Westphalian and long monophthongs in North Saxon. For example, the Old Saxon /i/ in *witan* develops into the Westphalian diphthong *wiēten*

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<sup>12</sup> See Russ (1989) Chapters 2 and 3 for more on the delineation of North Saxon and East- and Westphalian.



and the North Saxon monophthong *weten*. Concordia Low German follows the North Saxon form again with /vetən/ 'to know.'

Oddly, one of the anomalies in Concordia Low German occurs in the pronominal forms, specifically in the second person plural objective, which is sometimes realized as /ɪk/ and sometimes as /ji/. The realization /ɪk/ follows the Eastphalian pronominal pattern while /ji/ follows the Westphalian and North Saxon realizations, the Eastphalian having generalized the old accusative form while the Westphalian and North Saxon have taken the old dative forms.

In contrast, the Eastphalian vestigial participial prefix realized as *e-* (as compared to the Modern Standard German *ge-*) is not present in Concordia Low German. Hence, Concordia Low German here follows the Westphalian and North Saxon patterns. Furthermore, Concordia Low German conjugational forms follow the Westphalian and North Saxon patterns, preferring *-(e)t* endings in the plural.

Finally, the frequency usage of the *s*-plural morpheme is higher for Low German dialects in general than for Modern Standard German, especially in an environment following nasals and liquids. The most common example occurring in this study is /ɪytjə fogəls/ 'little birds' showing consistency across all speakers. Concordia Low German also

shows frequent usage of the final -e (sometimes with umlaut) in the formation of plurals, some of which would take different plural morphemes in Modern Standard German. The *-e+umlaut* plural morpheme, as in the Concordia Low German /gøzə/ 'geese,' is more common to Westphalian than to North Saxon.

## Chapter 5

### Unique Forms and Anomalies in Concordia Low German

Aside from the other informants in this study, Informant 1, who also provided scripts and grammar lessons for the Low German Club's revitalization efforts, is currently able to produce forms that vary significantly from the other informants and so will be handled separately in this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

Informant 1 is able to produce unique forms for both the simple past and the subjunctive in Concordia Low German which no other informant has been able to duplicate. The reasons for the production of these forms are uncertain, however a couple of hypotheses could provide a suitable explanation:

1. Informant 1's knowledge of Modern Standard German is superior to that of the other informants in this study, due in part to the fact that Informant 1 was a school teacher and therefore has first-hand knowledge of prescriptive Modern Standard German grammar including simple past and subjunctive forms. Informant 1 can then apply this knowledge to

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<sup>1</sup> See appendix p. 164 for some of the supplementary materials provided by Informant 1.

Concordia Low German to produce forms to which other speakers do not have access.

2. The case could also be that Informant 1 had a different home environment whose dialect included the use of these forms. This scenario is somewhat less likely, since Informant 1 reports familial origins from the same region of the German homeland as the other informants; therefore dialect differences should not be so pronounced as to produce radical forms not available to any other speakers.

3. The forms may have been lost by the other speakers who did not have the kind of prescriptive access to dialect that Informant 1 had.

Whatever the explanation, Informant 1 does produce forms not found among the other speakers of Concordia Low German, which are linguistically interesting and merit special attention in the course of this work.

#### Subjunctive and Simple Past of *Sein* and *Haben*

The present and simple past of *sein* collected in interviews with Informant 1 is relatively expected:

#### Present

/ɪk bɪn/ 'I am' [*ich bin*]  
 /du bɪs(t)/ 'you are' [*du bist*]  
 /hai ɪs(t)/ 'he is' [*er ist*]  
 /vi sɪnt/ 'we are' [*wir sind*]

#### Past

/ɪk vas/ 'I was' [*ich war*]  
 /du vas(t)/ 'you were' [*du warst*]  
 /hai vas/ 'he was' [*er war*]  
 /vi ve\_ən/ 'we were' [*wir waren*]

however, subjunctive forms of *sein* are unique in both the present and past tenses. An example taken from interviews with Informant 1 is:

/vɛn ɪk da vø\_ə/ 'If I were there...' [*Wenn ich da wäre...*], present tense subjunctive;

/vɛn ɪk da vɛzən vas/ 'If I had been there...' [*Wenn ich da gewesen wäre...*] or the alternative form /vɛn ɪk da vɛzən vø\_ə/, both past tense subjunctive.

### Haben

Comparing Informant 1's present tense of the verb *haben* to the simple past, the following forms appear, which are very similar to what one would expect from North Saxon except that North Saxon tends to retain the /ɛ/ throughout the conjugational sequence in the present indicative:

<u>Present Indicative</u>	<u>Simple Past Indicative/Present Subjunctive</u>
/hɛbm/ 'to have'; infinitive	

/ɪk hɛf/ 'I have'	/ɪk hæ:_ə/ 'I had'
/du has(t)/ 'you have'	/du hæ:_əst/ 'you had'
/hai hat/ 'he has'	/hai hæ:_ə/ 'he had'
/vi hɛt/ 'we have'	/vi hæ:_ənt/ 'we had' <sup>2</sup>

A pattern appearing in the periphrastic past tense is:

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<sup>2</sup> Notice that in the present tense 1st person plural conjugational form the ending is -t, whereas in the past tense the ending gains a vestigial -n- before the final -t, the historical form for Middle Low German.

/ɪk hæf hat/ 'I had' [*Ich habe gehabt*] in which the conjugational forms of /hæf/ continue as they would in the present tense indicative. Moreover, this example can be restated with the subjunctive forms given above to form a past tense periphrastic subjunctive:

/vɛn ɪk gɛlt hat hæ:ə/ 'If I had had money...'[*Wenn ich Geld gehabt hätte...*]

### The Verb Werden

The present tense of the verb *werden* 'to become' shows some inconsistency in its forms for Informant 1's speech:

/dat mai\_ət kolt ve\_ən/ 'It might get cold' [*Es könnte kalt werden.*], infinitive;

/ɪk ve\_ə/ 'I become' [*ich werde*]

/du vas/ 'you become' [*du wirst*]

/hai vas/ 'he becomes' [*er wird*]

/vi ve\_ənt/ 'we become' [*wir werden*]

It is also produced as a participle in the periphrastic past tense:

/dat ɪs gans kolt wo\_ən/ 'It sure got cold.' [*Es ist ganz kalt geworden.*]

and has the simple past form:

/dat vø\_ə kolt in dʃanjuwa/ 'It got cold in January.' [*Es wurde kalt im Januar.*].

The simple past of *werden* seems to overlap both in pronunciation and meaning with the simple past form of *sein* given above. Concordia Low German does not appear to draw a clear distinction in past tense

between the ideas 'It was' and 'It became' except perhaps in contextual situations. It does, however, appear in the subjunctive as:

/vɛn dat vɛnamt kolt vo\_ə/ 'If it gets cold tonight...' [*Wenn es heute abend kalt würde...*], indicating a differentiable form from that of *sein* in the subjunctive. The past tense subjunctive is then:

/vɛn dat kolt vo\_ən vas/ 'If it had gotten cold...' [*Wenn es kalt geworden wäre...*].

### The Verb *Wissen*

Informant 1's present tense conjugational forms that show consistency across informants of *wissen* 'to know' are:

/ɪk vait/ 'I know' [*ich weiß*]  
 /du vaist/ 'you know' [*du weißt*]  
 /hai vait/ 'he knows' [*er weiß*]  
 /vi vɛ\_ənt/ 'we know' [*wir wissen*].

In the simple past, the forms more closely follow those of Modern Standard German:

/ɪk vɪl dat wɛtən/ 'I want to know' [*ich will das wissen*], infinitive;  
 /ɪk vʊstə/ 'I knew' [*ich wußte*]  
 /du vʊst/ 'you knew' [*du wußtest*]  
 /hai vʊst/ 'he knew' [*er wußte*]  
 /vi vʏsənt/ 'we knew' [*wir wußten*]

It can also appear in the periphrastic past tense in both indicative and subjunctive:

/ɪk hæf vʊst/ 'I knew,' and /ɪk hæ:ə vʊst/ 'I would have known' and in the present subjunctive as:

/ɪk vɪstə/ or /ɪk vʏstə/ 'I would know' [*ich wüßte*].

### Comparison with Modern Low German Forms

Many of the earmarks of Modern Low German are present in Concordia Low German and can be delineated in the examples given above. One example is participial formation involving the loss of the *ge-* participial prefix which was still in existence in Middle Low German up until the seventeenth century, when the language ceased to be used in official documents. At this point the language became primarily a spoken dialect and the *ge-* dropped out of usage.<sup>3</sup>

Another example that runs counter to Meyer's discussion of subjunctive in Modern Low German is the retention of the -e ending in the subjunctive. Meyer states:

"Das Zeichen des Konjunctivs war im Mittelniederdeutschen ein schließendes e. Da dieses e abgestoßen wurde, ist der Konjunktiv im lebendigen Gebrauche heute untergegangen und tritt nur noch in spärlichen Überresten der dritten Person Singular in festen Verbindungen, stehenden Redewendungen und Sprichwörtern auf."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Meyer, G.F., p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 82



Examples of Informant 1's speech from above indicate that this loss of the final -e in the subjunctive is not the case in Concordia Low German as in the above example:

/vɛn ik da vø\_ə/ 'If I were there...' [*Wenn ich da wäre...*] where the final /ə/ indicates either a still-present vestige of Middle Low German or diphthongization caused by the loss of /r/. The absence of the final /ə/ in the indicative indicates that the subjunctive ending is intentionally added as a marker for the subjunctive along with some raising and fronting (or some more radical change) of the vowel indicating some existence of *umlaut*. Meyer continues by stating that:

"Man könnte geneigt sein, diese Formen dem Sinne nach den Konjunktivformen zuzurechnen. Daß aber das plattdeutsch sprechende Volk keine Empfindung dafür hat (wenn sie ihm nicht durch die Schule anezogen ist), geht daraus hervor, daß es immer die Indikativform setzt, sobald es Hochdeutsch sprechen muß."<sup>5</sup>

In closing, if we take Meyer at his word, it would appear that some of the forms produced by Informant 1 may not have been in use since around the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Since Informant 1's family came to the United States from the area northwest of Hannover in the mid-nineteenth century, and both parents were born in Missouri, the

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

source of these anomalies is difficult to pinpoint. Hence, the interesting conundrum remains Meyer's confirmation of their legitimacy as archaic forms which now merely seem to be out of place in time.

Further Examples of Simple Past Forms in Concordia Low German

'to do'

/ɪk dœi/ 'I did'

/du dœist/ 'you did'

/hai dœi/ 'he did'

/vi dœi\_ən/ 'we did'

'to come'

/ɪk kœim/ 'I came'

/du kœimst/ 'you came'

/hai kœim/ 'he came'

/vi kœi:m/ 'we came'

## Chapter 6

### Language Death and the Concordia Dialect

When the settlers from the areas of Germany between Hannover and Bremen began to arrive in Missouri in the late 1830s and early 1840s, they set up enclaves in the rural farming areas and began to farm Lafayette County, Missouri, in and around Concordia, including Alma, Emma, Sweet Springs, and Blackburn as well as in the vicinity of the town of Cole Camp, now an hour's drive south from Concordia. All of these towns exhibit nearly identical Low German dialects except for Cole Camp, Missouri, whose dialect is very similar. These similarities are not surprising since the settlers of Cole Camp-Concordia region landed there as a result of chain migrations from proximal areas in Germany. According to interviewees, the pressure to assimilate into the American cultural mainstream must have been very slight until well past the turn of the twentieth century. In fact, the local German (Modern Standard) weekly newspaper, the *Missouri Thalbote: Ein Wochenblatt für deutsche Familien*, was printed in Higginsville, the county seat of Lafayette County, until well after the turn of the twentieth century, and boasted a healthy readership numbering around fourteen thousand. It cost \$1.50

per year and its goal was, as stated on the front page of the 1 January 1903 edition: "... to serve the growing readership, hoping for 5000 new subscribers in the new year." Serve it did, very well indeed, with everything from international to local news and advertisements from as far away as St. Louis and serial reprints of current popular novelettes and short stories all translated into German for the benefit of the non-English-speaker.

The interviews conducted with dialect informants while gathering data in 1995-96 specifically soliciting information pertaining to the decline in the usage of the dialect in Concordia resulted in consistent responses to most questions across informants. Since no official study has been done in Concordia that can be used as a basis of comparison with J. Neale Carman's observations on foreign languages spoken in Kansas,<sup>1</sup> only individual reports of informants' recollections could be used to form the basis of a coherent picture of the state of the Concordia dialect earlier in this century. This author's basic assumption in dealing with the death of the dialect is that there must necessarily be some form of positive reinforcement present for the speakers of any given language to continue speaking that language; otherwise it will become extinct.

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<sup>1</sup> See Carman's *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, published in 1962 and contained in Kenneth Spencer Library's Kansas Collection, University of Kansas, Lawrence

Positive reinforcement for speaking the dialect in Concordia diminished steadily throughout the period during and after the World Wars, especially World War II. It was during this time that the dialect was no longer passed on to successive generations and its death became inevitable. This chapter will explore the various factors contributing to the decline and revival of Concordia Low German and its eventual extinction.

The death knell for the dialect occurred, as it did with many of the German dialects in the United States, during the transition of generations following World War I and World War II. For a number of reasons, the preceding generation did not pass the dialect on to its children. For example, it was during this period that many states passed laws similar to the Kansas State Statute of 1919 stating that "all elementary schools in this state, whether public, private, or parochial shall use the English language exclusively as the basis of instruction."<sup>2</sup> In interviews with Concordians born to the generation of the late nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century, many remembered having grown up in the 1920s and 1930s speaking almost solely in the dialect at home, in the fields, and frequently on the playground at both Lutheran parochial and public schools. Lessons were taught in English and in High German, particularly

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<sup>2</sup> from the State of Kansas Session Laws 1919, Chapter 257, Section 1.

in the parochial schools; some lessons were still taught in High German as late as 1942, according to informants. Low German was, however, never spoken between student and teacher even in casual conversation, as it was considered by most to be a far too jovial and informal language for this sort of interaction.

### Language Legislation in Missouri and the Great Plains<sup>3</sup>

In general, one can say that the inhabitants of the Great Plains states were, in contrast to the East Coast at the time during and just after World War I, relatively intolerant of ethnic and immigrant groups which were differentiated from the native Americans on the basis of religion and language. These sentiments ranged from indifference to open hostility in an especially volatile period during which the United States was facing critical decisions about the degree of its own involvement in World War I. As the United States decided to join the war on the side of the Allies, meaning the country would go to war against Germany in the European theater, anti-German sentiment was reaching a high point due in part to superpatriotic movements centered in the American Midwest in the state of Nebraska.

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<sup>3</sup> For an in-depth treatment of language laws passed during and after World War I by many states in the Midwest, see Luebke (1980).

With the Siman Act of 1919, sponsored by Senator Harry Siman of Nebraska and signed into law on 4 April 1919, it became a misdemeanor "to teach any subject to any person in any language other than the English language ... in any private, denominational, parochial or public school."<sup>4</sup> This decree, along with other enactments such as the federal Smith-Towner bill and Nebraska's even more stringent Reed-Norval Act, was eventually declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court on 4 June 1923 in the now famous *Meyer v. Nebraska*. Robert Meyer was a teacher at a one-room schoolhouse maintained by the Zion Lutheran Church of Hampton, Nebraska, who, in order to skirt the Siman Act's prohibiting of foreign language instruction during official school hours, taught a religion class in German during the lunch break from 1:00 to 1:30 in the afternoon. The Zion congregation had declared its official school hours from 9:00 to 12:00 in the morning and 1:30 to 4:00 in the afternoon specifically in order to make room for religious instruction in German; and the Nebraska courts charged in to put an end to what they saw as an attempt to slip through a loophole in the Siman Act on a technicality. Meyer was summarily convicted of violating the Siman Act and fined twenty-five dollars, but with the backing of the congregation, he refused to pay. This outcome was

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<sup>4</sup> From Luebke (1980, 13)

upheld by the Nebraska Supreme Court, but was overturned by the United States Supreme Court a year later in 1923 as an unconstitutional interference with Meyer's right "to teach and the right of parents to engage him so to instruct their children." The further opinion of the Court concerning the case stated, "no emergency has arisen which renders knowledge, by a child of some language other than English, so clearly harmful as to justify its inhibition with the consequent infringement of rights long freely enjoyed."<sup>5</sup>

In Missouri, the general patriotic spirit of the populace may have indeed agreed with the laws passed by many other states in the Midwest, but no such act was ever signed into law by the state legislature. However, the Missouri Council of Defense *did* issue a statement in July 1918 which "expressed its opposition to the use of German in schools, churches, and public meetings, but did not expressly prohibit it."<sup>6</sup> The failure to pass such laws in Missouri is not so surprising when one takes into account the strength in that state of the German-American Alliance (also called the DANB for Deutsch-Americanischer National-Bund), a hierarchical federation which guided propaganda campaigns and promoted leadership within the German-

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<sup>5</sup> Luebke (1980, 14 -15)

<sup>6</sup> See Ross (1994, 46).



American community, particularly in the greater St. Louis metropolitan area.<sup>7</sup>

According to Detjen in his historical look at German-Americans in Missouri entitled *The Germans in Missouri, 1900--1918: Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation*, the proliferation of German-language schools was widespread, particularly in the St. Louis area, which boasted a German population of over 100,000 at the turn of the century. In fact, the first public school in St. Louis opened in 1838, but the first German-language school had already been established two years prior to that in 1836. By 1860 there were thirty-five public schools with 6,253 pupils and 38 German-language schools with a total enrollment of 5,524. Of those 38 German-language schools, twenty were Protestant, six were Catholic, ten were nonsectarian, one was Free Thinker, and one was Jewish .<sup>8</sup>

Because of the intense growth experienced by the German schools, and because of the stiff competition they posed the native American public schools, the St. Louis Public School Board began to allow German classes to be taught in public schools as early as 1864 in order to compete with and undercut the appeal of these private German

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<sup>7</sup> For more on the DANB and their activities, see Detjen (1985).

<sup>8</sup> Detjen (1985, 16)

schools. This attempt succeeded to a degree, but as Detjen points out, such a degree of deference toward a particular ethnic community aroused resentment among native Americans. One may also assume that the German-Americans resented being specifically targeted and labeled as competitors as well.

It was not until 1887 that the elimination of German from the public schools became a hot issue in St. Louis, with lines drawn between the "citizens slate," proponents of the elimination, and the "Turner slate," opponents of the same.<sup>9</sup> From there, it quickly became divided along partisan lines into a Democrat versus Republican issue, with the Democrats siding with the "citizens slate" in order to break what they deemed to be the Republican's control of the School Board. The Republicans, on the other hand, sided with the "Turner slate" retentionists. With the German community itself still divided along Catholic-Protestant lines, the "Turner slate" did not have the cohesion it needed in order to enforce its will. Hence, the "citizens slate" would go on to win the debate and German instruction was abolished under the

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<sup>9</sup> The term "Turner slate" originated from the German *Turnvereine*, originally gymnastic clubs which sprang up in St. Louis offering not only the opportunity for physical exercise but also libraries with German and English texts, barrooms, ballrooms, kitchens, concert halls, card and billiards rooms, and other types of services which would be more associated with that which we call a "community center" in modern terminology. These *Turnvereine* gave Germans places to meet and to develop social networks, which in turn, helped the German community gain momentum, cohesion, and financial and political clout.

guise that it cost too much to hire German-speaking teachers, though Detjen rightfully assumes it was actually because of a combination of “nativist pressures” and sore feelings on both sides of the issue .<sup>10</sup>

### Low German Language Death Research in the United States

Dressler (1981) defines language death as:

...an extinction of a minority language due to language shift, physical liquidation (genocide) of all speakers of a language or brutally enforced assimilation to a majority language (linguacide) or rapid extinction of a language without intermediate bilingualism (multilingualism). But usually ... language death is understood as the final stage of decay of linguistic structure a minority language undergoes on the way to total language shift.<sup>11</sup>

Though the terms genocide and linguacide do not apply, as defined above, in Concordia, the lack of intermediary bilingualism in its language community is a definite earmark of impending language death. Not surprisingly, the rate of dialect extinction seems to be so rapid in Concordia that the number of semi-speakers weighed against the number of fluent speakers is very low, with only one generation of speakers showing real signs of the aforementioned intermediary bilingualism. To

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<sup>10</sup> Detjen (1985, 25)

<sup>11</sup> See Dressler (1981).

put it simply, most of those speakers remaining, though they have not spoken the dialect regularly since before World War II, can still be considered fluent rather than semi-speakers, especially in light of recent efforts to reenergize the dialect. The generation that followed, for the most part, did not learn the dialect at all.

Obviously, pressure from all sides during the latter half of World War I and afterwards continued to affect the speaking of foreign languages, particularly German as the language of the enemy, as the superpatriots ran their xenophobic anti-foreigner campaigns. The negative effects of such laws on dialect speakers are intuitively obvious, but the more subtle effects of exposure to an overwhelming and geographically dominant language group, native American English-speakers, on speech islands may not be so intuitive.

As an example of how individualized a given speech island's situation can be, the current situation with respect to language death in Concordia stands in opposition to Enninger's hypothesis pertaining to the Pennsylvania Dutch which asserts that Pennsylvania German is so firmly anchored in the daily routine of the dialect speakers that the halting of the use of Pennsylvania German in school instruction has had little or no effect on the proficiency of the speakers or on the frequency of usage

outside of the instructional environment.<sup>12</sup> One could also conclude that the message sent via the legislative changes in the language laws, namely that foreign languages - especially those of the enemy - are not welcome in this country, may have been stronger in the conservative Midwest than in the more ethnically diverse Northeast.

Enninger argues, perhaps somewhat counter-intuitively, that Pennsylvania German exhibits more "vitality" [*Vitalität*] than, say, Amish High German (AHG) because of the "structural instability" [*strukturelle Instabilität*] within the framework of Pennsylvania German's diachronic syntactic history, which allows it greater flexibility in dealing with the dominant language, i.e., American English. From these ideas, he further concludes that Amish High German, being reliant upon a body of "frozen Texts" [*gefrorene Texte*] as a prescriptive linguistic determinant is, therefore, actually closer to language death than is Pennsylvania German, even though AHG is more prescriptively aggressive. At this point, the issue seems to be merely a matter of philosophical perspective: Which avenue is more effective at preserving a given speech island dialect, borrowing extensively from the dominant language, or remaining strictly pure and prescriptive in dialect application? Furthermore, does Pennsylvania German's "structural instability"

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<sup>12</sup> See Enninger (1985).

indicate a core dissolution of the dialect or a more peripheral fraying, and to what degree *is* Pennsylvania German prescriptively flexible? The answers to these questions must lie somewhere between the “prescriptive” and “flexible” ends of the spectrum.

Neither prescriptive action nor “structural instability” seems to be the case for Concordia Low German, as there is no prescriptive text guiding its syntax -- save perhaps the grammar lessons created by Informant 1 which are more descriptive than prescriptive in nature - and little to no borrowing from English. However, the argument remains of interest in comparing the situations of Concordia Low German and Pennsylvania German because of the similarities of the “firm anchor” of daily dialect usage and the sudden cessation of dialect speaking within environments of formal instruction. Following Enninger’s arguments, the instability of Pennsylvania German syntax allows it to grow and stretch to accommodate outside influences and interferences, thereby keeping itself more “alive.” Hence, such should have also been the case with Concordia Low German, as it, too, was deeply rooted in its community both in social and religious contexts. The crux of the matter seems to be the political backdrop of both communities and the desire of the inhabitants to “fit in” with the dominant language group. The Pennsylvania Dutch sectarians such as the Amish have always been

somewhat more socially isolated and protective of their ways than have the Concordians, though both groups are bound internally by strong sense of church and community. Thus, the desire of the Pennsylvania German to “fit in” with the dominant group has always been secondary to the need to belong to their own culture; unlike in Concordia where cultural traditions were already more similar to the dominant group from the beginning, making such transitions less difficult.

Enninger’s assertions, though they may imply some cultural differences behind Concordia Low German and Pennsylvania German, fail to apply to Concordia Low German as he does not specifically account for the relative religio-cultural conservatism of the Pennsylvania Dutch and their self-imposed separatism from the modern world as a force in the retention of Pennsylvania German. One cannot, however, conclude from this instance that the linguistic effects of World War II were much greater in the Midwest than in the Pennsylvania German settlements of Pennsylvania as the number of variables is too great to warrant such certainty. The end effect was indeed the dislodging of the “firm anchor” of daily dialect use within the span of a few years in one community and not in the other.

Following Dressler (1981), the premise that a breakdown of the morphological rules that govern the formation of neologisms in a dialect

is a signal of language death is also questionable with reference to Concordia Low German. Johnson (1994) reports the neologism *geblacktoppt* (meaning to asphalt a road) as an example of neologistic formation which still follows the rules of the Volga German dialect under study. Thus, the continuing application of the morphological rules of the dialect in order to create a neologism would, according to Dressler's arguments, only be considered a secondary precursor to language death as opposed to the total breakdown in word formation rules as a primary precursor. He suggests a spiraling effect by which productive word formation rules become unproductive as a natural function of the speakers' diminishing opportunities to speak the dialect and, because unproductive rules get lost, any recent neologisms cease to follow the rules. Lexicalization becomes rampant and the morphological transparency of derivatives increases to the point that the motivation to speak the dialect is reduced so drastically that the dialect ceases to be spoken - only remembered. At this point, the dialect has ceased to be productive and hence, it has ceased to exhibit *Vitalität* and it dies.

Once again, Concordia Low German seems to flaunt this conventional logic. Although speakers of Concordia Low German report that, when the Concordia Low German word will not come to them, they merely insert an English word, this perception is not evident in the data.



In other words, although the dialect is in its last generation of speakers, they seem to have full command of usage, and therefore no need to fall back on borrowing from English. It seems that Concordia Low German has skipped Dressler's intermediary steps in dialect death and will, with the death of the last speaker, move from fluency to non-existence in one moment. This author would suggest that Concordia Low German has experienced a slight modification of Dressler's "linguacide" which, rather than being a "brutally enforced" edict on the part of an outside force, has stemmed from within the subconscious of the speakers themselves, due to their merest perception of the national *Zeitgeist* during the first half of the twentieth century. The change in dialect usage frequency and social definitions of when and where the dialect was to be spoken became subtly ever more altered and limited as speakers' exposure to English slowly increased. Thus, with time, it simply became easier to use English in all language situations and Concordia Low German was put into storage by default. It is striking to note that, within a single speaker's lifetime, that person could experience a series of language events like the following:

- 1) learning Concordia Low German and using it exclusively for the first decade of life;
- 2) slowly becoming bilingual over the next decade;

3) supressing Concordia Low German ability slowly over the ensuing several decades;

4) rediscovering and reviving Concordia Low German usage in the last two decades of life.

There exists much literature on the subject of language maintenance and death in the Midwest by a number of different scholars representing the various immigrant groups of the nineteenth century. Jan Bender, professor at Lewis and Clark College, has written many works on the Germans in Nebraska,<sup>13</sup> while Paul Schach, professor emeritus at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, has chosen language extinction in both German and Scandinavian immigrant groups from Manitoba to Texas for study.<sup>14</sup> The patterns of language maintenance and death for communities of immigrants weave a consistent story of initial discrimination leading to reduction of dialect usage and eventual conformity with the dominant language group. As is demonstrated by Enninger's study, the multiplicity of reasons for language death is as individual as are the speech island communities themselves.

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<sup>13</sup> See Bender (1960) and Bender (1980)

<sup>14</sup> See Schach (1953).

### Speaking the Dialect in Concordia

In contrast to the situation in St. Louis, the speaking and teaching of German in Concordia was only broken during the time between World Wars I and II by the arrival of a new teacher sent by the Missouri Lutheran Synod in 1936 to the local Lutheran school who did not speak German. Some informants who attended school during this time remembered all too well the abuse they took at his hands because they could not speak English. This was the first taste of discrimination for many and, according to one informant, they learned their English lessons very quickly for fear of corporal punishment. By the same token, the students could talk to one another without the teacher being privy to the conversation, which must have caused the teacher to seethe with frustration, allowing him a sense of personal justification for his treatment of the students. Though this event may not have seemed so important to the populace at the time, this author feels that it signaled a turning point in the history of the dialect and set the stage for its decline. Psychologically, with a good deal of the students' opportunity to speak German removed by force and rule, the reasons for passing the dialect on to future generations were undermined and the foundation of positive reinforcement for speaking the dialect began to erode. This psychological pressure coupled with the very real pressure imposed by

society during and following World War I not to speak the “tongue of the enemy” dealt the final blow to the desire to pass the language on to successive generations. It was possibly the first time for many that they had ever been made to feel shame for having a German heritage and speaking the language of their forefathers. As one interviewee states, “some folks look down on it [German],” indicating the social stigma still attached to Low German today by some factions of non-supporters of the Hadn Tohopa.<sup>15</sup>

Under the “new teacher” the children began to discover the paradox of communicating with an “outsider”: they discovered that they could not make themselves understood to the outside world and that the communicative ability they had always taken for granted within their community was now a hindrance in dealing with the rest of the country. The citizens of the United States were becoming increasingly mobile and had more contact with Concordia, while Concordia had better travel access to other parts of the United States via the Missouri Pacific railroad line between Sedalia and Myrick, with connections to St. Louis and Kansas City. Later, Highway 40, now Interstate 70, would cut its

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<sup>15</sup> These “factions” are, for the most part, not actively hindering the Hadn Tohopa, but rather passively boycotting functions and questioning why its members would want to dredge up the past, especially the language which caused their loyalties to be questioned and caused them some embarrassment with outsiders.

stretch between St. Louis and Kansas City right through Concordia, ending the town's relative isolation.

Conversely, speaking Low German in a relatively isolated speech island had its advantages as well. The language, along with the Lutheran heritage of the local families, served to promote sentiments of cohesion among the members of the farming communities of Lafayette County that helped bind them together for over 150 years. This binding effect is expressed on a smaller scale in the story of the new teacher not being privy to his students' conversations. The shift from "overt" speech act to "covert" speech act on the part of the students reflects the shift in attitude of the entire community of speakers at the onset of World War II: a "forbidden" language moving underground, out of the public arena and into the private.

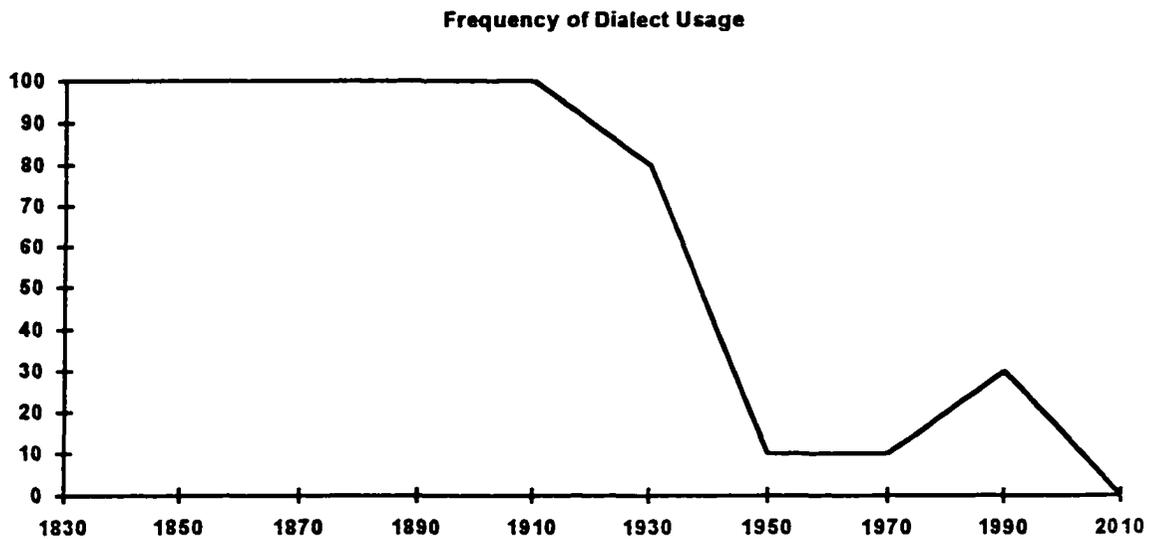
World War I did not appear to have as great an effect on the speaking of Low German in Concordia as did World War II, although the beginnings of discrimination were apparent during the period immediately following World War I. Many informants reported remembering the burning of the German Lutheran Church in Sweet Springs, a neighboring community considered primarily "English" in background. The church was burned along with its school and the temporary building used as a school thereafter because of the teaching, reading and writing of

German.<sup>16</sup> For 80 percent of the informants, however, the message appears to have been more subtle, as they report in their surveys having experienced no discrimination.<sup>17</sup> The reasons for this came out in a most interesting discussion with a group of informants who almost unanimously concurred that they [Concordians] themselves were the ones who did the discriminating against outsiders. They all recollected how the Germans of the area bought out the "English" farmers one by one and sent them packing to Kansas City or Saint Louis to make their way in the big cities. According to all, the German settlers in the area were very self-sufficient, not dependent upon trade with outsiders save for the most necessary of items that could not be fashioned at home or obtained by barter with a neighbor.

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<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, one informant reports that the school was not burned by the "de Englichen" as was believed to be the case, but rather by members of the church's own congregation. He refuses to reveal names, but insisted that he has further knowledge of the crime, which he claims stemmed from the fear inside the community of Germans in Sweet Springs that questions were being raised about their loyalties to the United States. According to him, they burned the church and school and blamed the act on "die Englichen" in order to halt the teaching in German there, the perceived cause of "outside" (possibly government) suspicion.

<sup>17</sup> It should be noted here that oral discussions with some informants yielded recollections pertaining to specific instances of mild discrimination which may not have been considered serious enough to report.

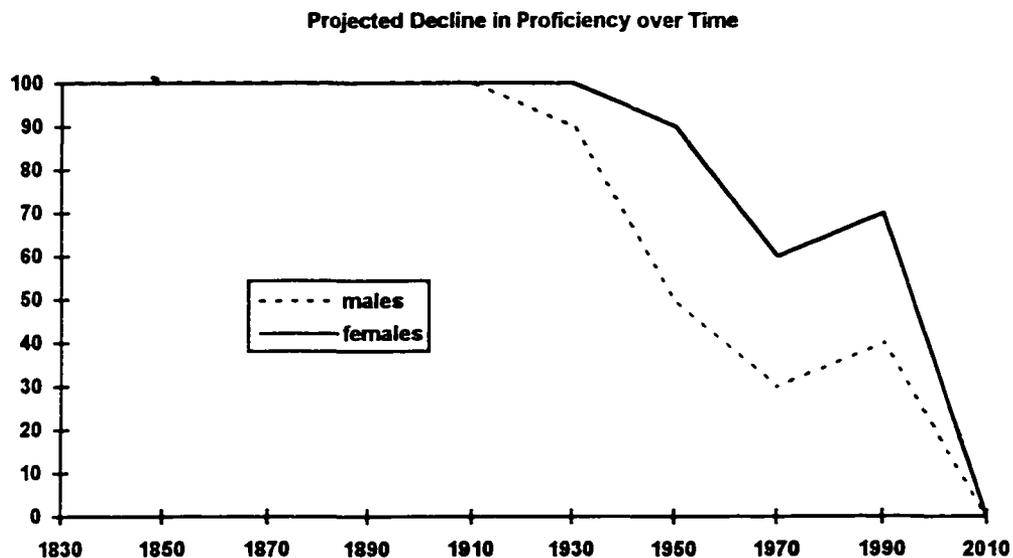


Based on responses to the survey questions and oral interviews, the decline in usage of the dialect occurred rapidly over the course of three generations as can be seen on the chart above.<sup>18</sup> From the founding of Concordia in the 1830s until the 1920s Low German was the common language, spoken by many to the total exclusion of English. Hence, informants born in the 1920s and before have excellent command of the dialect and report having spoken it in the home and at school until the time around the beginning of World War II when they were told by their parents not to speak German in public any longer. At this point, dialect usage at school and on the streets experienced a sharp

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<sup>18</sup> Percentage figures for the charts are subjective approximate projections meant only as a relative gauge of proficiency. They do not represent hard data from those time periods. The assumption is that dialect-primary speakers are 100% proficient and that proficiency drops as English replaces the dialect as the primary language.

decline while home and work usage remained high. This trend continued for approximately fifty years and forced the use of Concordia Low German out of public areas and back into the home. Many members of the generation born during this period report understanding “some to well” but speaking “little to none.” It was also at this time that the women of Concordia became the primary retainers of the language. As the men toiled relatively unaccompanied in the fields during the day, the women had more opportunities for social contact where the language could be spoken with neighbors and friends.



This trend led to the present gender differences in speaking abilities among informants expressed in the chart above.<sup>19</sup> Women

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<sup>19</sup> See note 15.



interviewed have retained the language better in most instances than have the men, with few exceptions, in part because, as daughters raised in a traditional environment, most stayed home and helped their mothers during the day. After marriage, husbands went to work in the fields with loud heavy machinery, which does not lend itself well to open conversation; while the women worked at home or went into town and consequently had more opportunities to converse about a variety of subjects. Therefore, in determining a critical year<sup>20</sup> for Concordia Low German, this difference could be taken into account and critical years assessed for both genders. The female critical year would then fall later than the male critical year, though the critical year determination for both genders, would fall between 1930 and 1940, with the female critical year closer to 1940 and the male critical year closer to 1930. In families where the prior generation of non-nuclear family members lived in the same household, the critical year for both genders would be somewhat later, the children learning German in order to communicate with the proximate relative or relatives. One male interviewee born during this period, considered the youngest true speaker of the dialect by the other informants, has a very good understanding of the dialect and reports

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<sup>20</sup> The term "critical year," as defined by J. Neale Carman, refers to the approximate last year in which the dialect was used in 50% of households with children. Hence, children born after the critical year are less likely to have been exposed to the dialect on any

having spoken the dialect at home growing up; but his language synthesis is greatly dependent upon having a speaker-response<sup>21</sup> environment to guide his construction. Hence, he has difficulty producing the Wenker sentences in isolation, but he *is* able to relate full-length anecdotes and jokes that he remembers from his childhood very fluently and has, because of this talent, been accorded the informal role of "humor preservationist" for the group. Based on informal interviews with several children -- now in college -- of this generation of fluent speakers, the younger generation has no dialect knowledge apart from understanding the occasional phrase used around the home.

As would be expected, the introduction of radio and television into the homes of Lafayette County residents must also be considered as playing a major role in the decline of Low German usage and the consequent acceleration of English into position as the primary language of choice. The lack of German programming became another reason that the young people never felt the need to learn German - another signal that the world outside of their area spoke a different language and would refuse to yield and learn their dialect. A great many of the residents

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meaningful level. They may be able to understand or even use phrases, but typically do not generate spontaneous structures with any proficiency.

<sup>21</sup> I have used the term "speaker-response environment" to denote an environment of free conversation containing at least one other speaker of Concordia Low German upon whose contextual cues the above-mentioned informant may "feed."

interviewed, especially those in outlying areas, have satellite dishes in their yards for television reception as they, like most Americans, have participated in the beginning technological age. Such overpowering influences may become responsible for the influx of English terminology into the dialect. As one informant stated, if a word is not known or does not exist in the dialect, one is borrowed from English and "Germanized."<sup>22</sup> This borrowing is not unexpected, as it occurs in most (if not all) instances where languages come in contact with one another; but it is one of the markers that can signal the death of a dialect in an isolated speech island environment surrounded by a dominant language.

In final analysis, the Low German dialect of Concordia, Missouri, is on the verge of extinction. The beginning of the decline can be traced to the period during and following World War I and continuing through the two decades that followed (critical year approximately 1935), a time when the use of the dialect became restricted to the home environment and gradually faded. The resurrection of the dialect that has occurred within the last decade comes in part as a response to the dissolution of the community and the disappearance of family farming culture in favor of corporate farming concerns.

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<sup>22</sup> This is the case as reported, though no good examples of actual borrowings have surfaced in normal dialect usage.

In his work on the Volga German dialect of Ellis County, Kansas, Johnson cited four reasons for the decline and death of that dialect as follows:

- 1) loss of a self-contained community tied together by a local dialect;
- 2) loss of desire to maintain cultural identity through the German language;
- 3) lack of formal institutions to support the use of the German language;
- 4) outside pressure to assimilate into the English-speaking American cultural mainstream.

There are many superficial similarities, both concrete and existential, between the Volga Germans of Ellis County and the Low Germans of Concordia in the sense that both are primarily rural farming cultures with many of the same types of concerns for the future involving collective ideals of community and livelihood and perceived threats to both. Both communities are becoming increasingly unsure of their futures as the younger generation departs with no plans of returning to farming, leaving the family-run operations there open to corporate farming concerns poised to move in for the kill. Soon, the older generation will be gone with fewer and fewer to replace it, the

populations will dwindle, and the towns will shrink to a minimal population.

It is, however, the differences between these two groups of German-speakers that are more striking, not the least of which is location relative to population centers. Ellis County lies in west central Kansas off of Interstate 70, several hour's drive from any major population center; while Concordia, also on I-70, is within an hour's drive from Kansas City, Missouri. Hence, the Volga Germans of Ellis County are much more isolated and rural in comparison with the Low Germans of Concordia. The point of making an attempt at dialect preservation via the formation of organizations such as theater groups, choirs, and the like is completely lost in a more insular, more subsistence-oriented agricultural population. The main focus in such groups is on existence rather than enrichment. Furthermore, tensions between Catholic and Protestant (predominantly English) villages, stemming from the maintenance and eventual repeal of the non-intermarriage policies of the Catholic Volga Germans, as reported by Johnson, are not present in Concordia due primarily to the Lutheran homogeneity of that region. The religious differences between nearby communities in Ellis County have led to competition with and suspicion of each other which, in turn, has generalized to suspicion of all outsiders and of the government. These

aspects of Ellis County communities, which are not present in Concordia, represent social structures that developed in the years following World Wars I and II, and which have hindered the retention, usage and chances for rehabilitation of the Volga German dialect.

Thus, in contrast to Johnson's reasons for dialect decline and extinction, only reason number four, "outside pressure to assimilate into the English-speaking American cultural mainstream," seems to have any bearing on the current situation in Concordia.<sup>23</sup> Reason one, "loss of a self-contained community tied together by a local dialect," was never the case in Concordia, because many of the descendants of the families which originally settled in the area in the 1830s are still residing in Concordia. In fact, Concordia's attempts at reviving interest in the language are in direct opposition to reasons one through three, though it is most probably too late for a successful re-establishment of the dialect without the installation of a program for teaching it to the young children of the town.

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<sup>23</sup> See Johnson's chapter (1995) on language death for more on Schoenchen dialect extinction.

## Chapter 7

### The Marketing of Concordia Low German

The original idea for the Low German club (called Plattdeutsche Hadn Tohopa - Low German Hearts Together) stemmed from the club activities of the Low German community of Cole Camp, Missouri, about an hour's drive southeast of Concordia. According to informants in Concordia, Cole Camp began its club approximately two years prior to the inception of Concordia's club in 1990. Some of the residents of Concordia were aware of the activities of the Cole Campers and approached them about beginning their own club based on the example of the Cole Camp club. Because of the nature of these beginnings, relatively strong ties have developed between the Concordians and Cole Campers, and each regularly attends the functions of the other, often using these functions as an opportunity to announce an upcoming event in the neighboring community. Further, the members of both clubs take yearly field trips to Low German conventions and celebrations such as the one in Davenport, Iowa, in September 1995.

This genesis is particularly interesting in light of Johnson's research on the Volga Germans of Ellis County, Kansas, and the

communities of Schoenchen and Peiffer in particular. According to Johnson (1994), each community has a strong sense of "in-group affiliation" associated with being a member of the German-speaking community in one's hometown even though the differences between dialects are negligible. This in-group affiliation leads to competitive and often antagonistic relations between members of each community toward the members of the other, a fact still evidenced today in many facets of life such as high school athletics, family ties and marriages, derogatory terminology (each has terms for the other), and agricultural endeavors.

The explanation of this rivalry most probably lies in the pre-existing traditional village rivalries left over from their ancestral times in Germany and Russia. These lingering rivalries do not exist between Cole Camp and Concordia. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the effect of each environment in terms of the other. Both the Volga and Low German dialects will die within a generation, but the nature of those deaths will be vastly different.

Ellis County's dialect will die mostly forgotten and, save for Keel, Johnson and Carman, recorded late in its life cycle due in part to the more suspicious, reserved nature of the speakers and the relative social isolation of each of the communities. Concordia's and Cole Camp's



dialects will die having experienced a renaissance of sorts in their own communities, having become a source of pride and cohesion among community members - pride which shows in their level of cooperation with this project.

Although the Low German club of Concordia currently carries 45 active members, most of whom are senior citizens, there are factions within the community that have felt a sense of persecution about being German-Americans since the 1930s. These factions do not support nor do they believe in what the Low German club is attempting to preserve and accomplish in Concordia; and, although they make little or no attempt to hinder the activities of the others, they make no effort to attend the functions as well, passively making their opinions known. Feelings run from indifference to hostility, some simply questioning why anyone would be interested in reviving that part of their heritage and some openly stating that, because they are now Americans, that part of the past must be forgotten. One can only surmise from such conversations that many of these people felt the sting of discrimination at some point in the past and do not want to be reminded of those experiences.

Concordia markets itself much in the same manner as Cole Camp, with its German club being responsible for many of the festivities

throughout the year. The major festival for the Plattdeutsche Hadn Tohopa is their Low German Theater Weekend, which offers theater skits and sketches on Friday and Saturday evenings at the Concordia Community Center usually in October or early November. Turnout for the event is usually around 200 for the two days and, beginning in 1995, the presentation was accompanied by a catered meal and billed as a "Dinner Theater" which appeared quite successful. The presentation itself is a mixture of choral performances by the club's chorus with an interspersion of skits and story-telling, jokes, and local color plots lasting around two hours. The greeters, whose jobs are to distribute programs, are Little Miss Wunderbar and Little Mister Wunderbar, elected by a contest held in the town park where different questions are posed to and answered by the contestants, ages usually six to twelve.

A further town heritage event are the Wunderbar Days during which one event per month is presented. Some examples of past events include a Bushwhacker raid reenactment, an antique car show, and a Maypole dance in the park. All of these events are sponsored by the Concordia Chamber of Commerce.

Driving through the downtown itself, from the exit off of Interstate 70 to the far end of town on the road to Knob Noster, one first notices the cut-out plywood figures that line the main street, females in

traditional Bavarian dress and men wearing Lederhosen and traditional Bavarian hats. The paradox of a Low German heritage represented by Bavarian symbols is not immediately apparent to those passing through or to those unaware of the differences between Bavarian and Low German cultures, but to the knowledgeable observer it is obvious. When asked to explain why Bavarian symbols were chosen, the answer was pragmatic: most Americans are familiar with these symbols and recognize them readily as German in origin; while the symbols that might be used to specifically represent the culture of northern Germany are not readily apparent as German to many Americans.

The second overt marker of the German heritage of the town is the naming of the local businesses on the main street with German terms. The newspaper office is called "Die Zeitung," the flower shop states "Blumen," the town hall is "Das Rathaus," and at the south end of town is the "Feuerwehr" and so forth for the four-block length of the main street. It is interesting that Modern Standard German was chosen for these designations instead of the local Low German, but understandable since the written form of the dialect has no real standardized spelling system. Furthermore, the standard language would be recognizable to anyone with even basic German language familiarity upon passing through as unmistakably German. These figures and signs

mark the town as having a German heritage to all those who pass through, including those just pulling off of the freeway for fuel. The hope is that those who are interested in the character of the town will stop and look around and possibly return for a town event.

### Conclusion

Concordia, Missouri, is not unlike many rural farming towns in America in its sense of pride, of community, of heritage, and, unfortunately, of impending loss. The attempt has been made, with this document, to preserve one aspect of what the citizens of Concordia would like remembered about the uniqueness of their community's history and its roots. One may think it *interesting*, in coldly academic terms, to research such things as speech-island dialects, or socio-cultural interactions, or vestigial economic sub-strata, or the like in any given number of similar small towns sprinkled across the map; and in a very clinical, analytical way, to produce some conclusions worthy of publication in some high-flown journal. But once again the mission has failed; the most human aspect of preservation -- perhaps one which could never be captured by an outsider looking in -- has been overlooked: the moment of generations changing hands, and the passing of a way of life.

# Appendix

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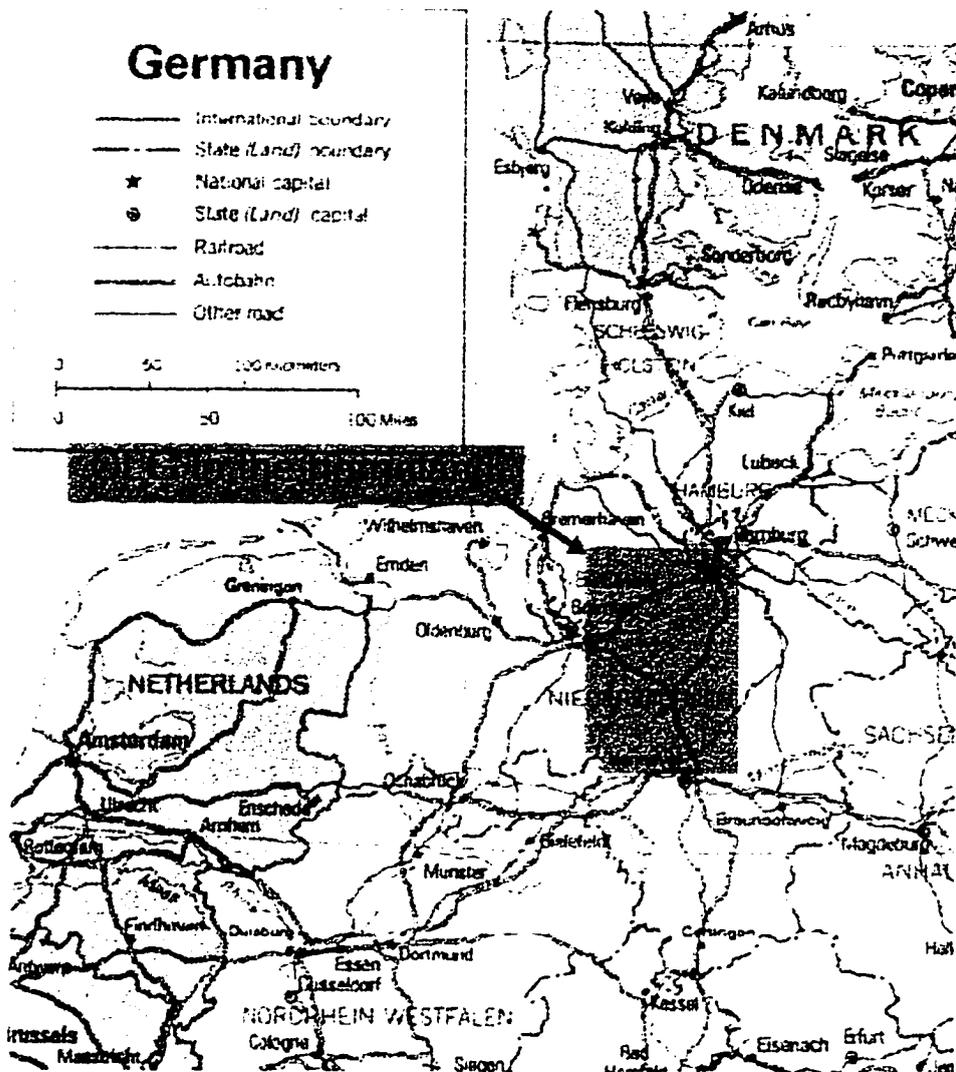
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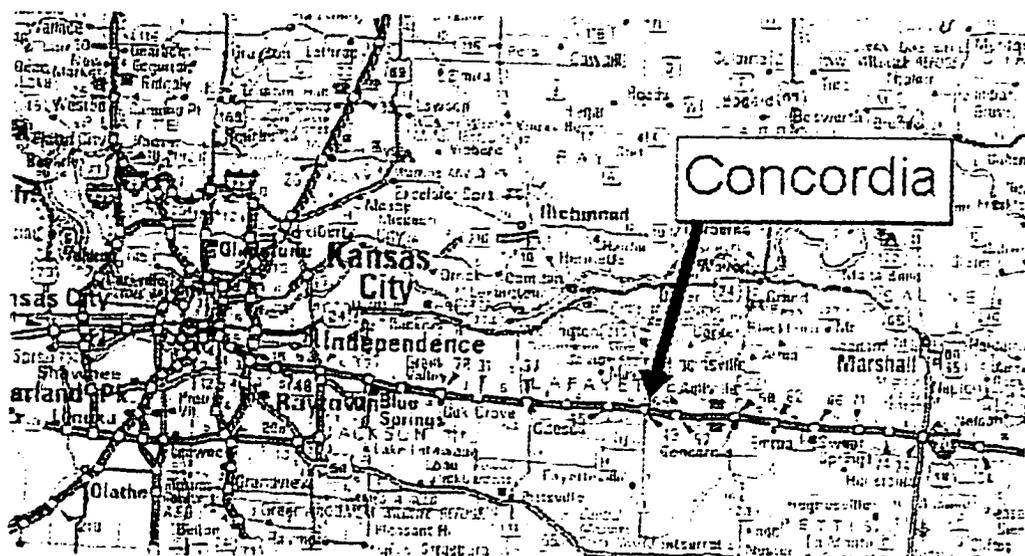
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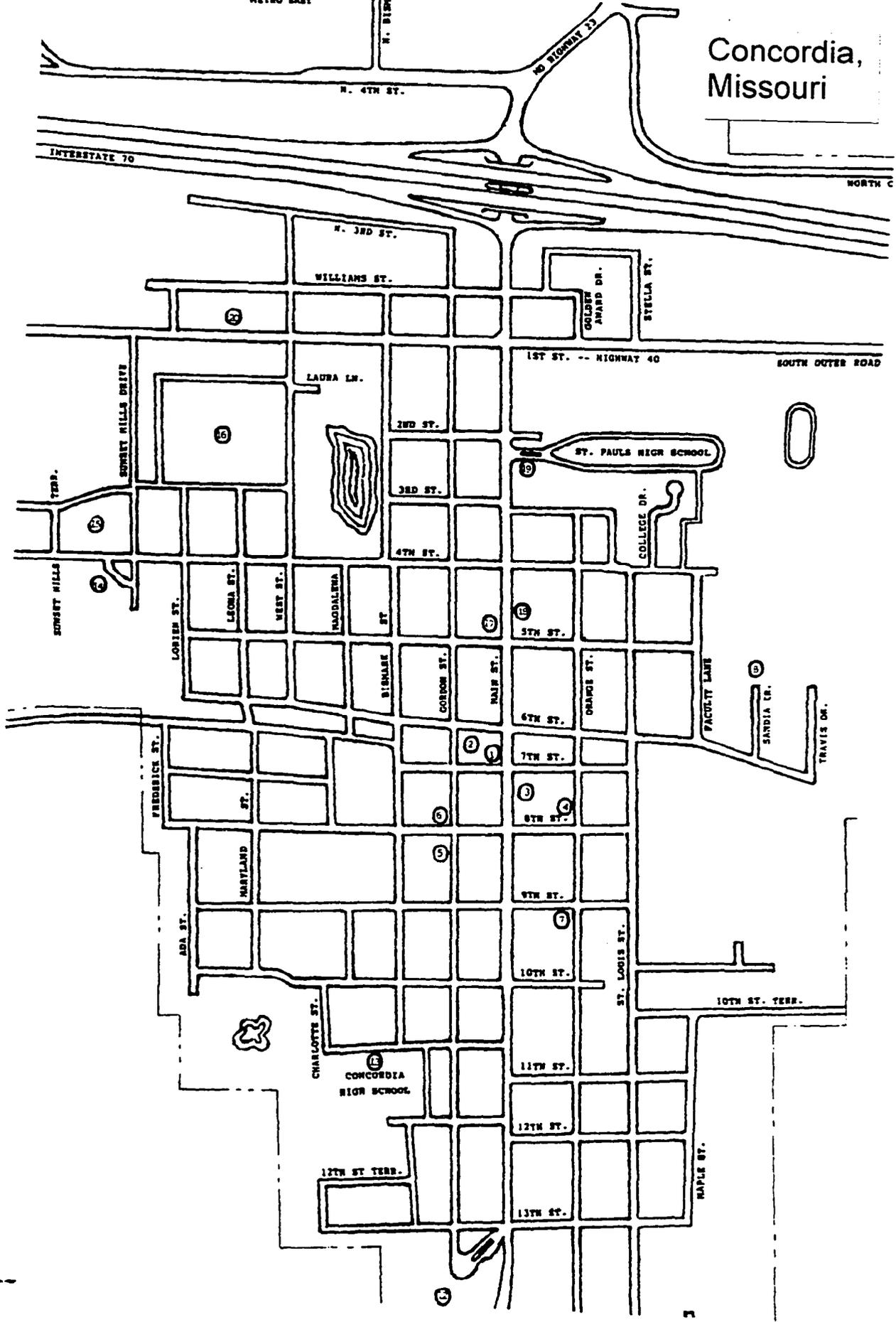
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## Origin of CLG chain-migratory families in the German homeland in Niedersachsen





# Concordia, Missouri





Program from Low German Church Service at St. Paul's  
Lutheran Church (cover)  
May 22, 1994



**Plattdeutsch Gottesdienst \***  
(Low German Divine Service)

Dat anfangt Musik

Prelude

Grusen un wat bekannt to maken is.

Greetings and Announcements

**Gemeen seegt dat Gloria Patri**

Ehr wees den Vatter un den Söhn un den Hilligen Geest, as dat wörr in'n Anfang,  
nu un all de Daag un von evig Tiet to evig Tiet. Amen.

<b>Pastor:</b>	Kyrie eleison.	Kyrie eleison.
<b>Gemeen:</b>	Herr, erbarm di doch!	Lord, have mercy on us!
<b>Pastor:</b>	Christe eleison,	Christe eleison,
<b>Gemeen:</b>	Christus, erbarm di doch!	Christ have mercy on us!
<b>Pastor:</b>	Kyrie eleison.	Kyrie eleison.
<b>Gemeen:</b>	Herr, erbarm di över us!	Your mercy be upon us!
<b>Pastor:</b>	In di, lebe Gott, is us Hoffnung!	In you, dear God, is our hope!

**Chor:** Singt een Leed: *Alleen Gott in de Hööchd de Ehr* *All Glory Be to God on High*

*all* 1. Alleen Gott in de Hööchd de Ehr  
un Dank för all sien Gnaaden,  
dorüm dat nu un nümmermehr  
us röhren kann keen Schaaden.  
Een goot Gefalln Gott an us hett,  
de us to Segen kaamen lett;  
all Stried hett nu een Ennen.

*men* 3. O Jesus Christus, Gott sien Söhn,  
ut Gnaaden Minsch us worden,  
de du för all wullt Heiland ween,  
de hier in Sünn verlooren.  
Hest geven di in düüster Noot,  
büst för us storven bitterm Dood:  
Schenk du us dien Erbarmen!

*ladies* 2. Wi laavt di, pries di, bedt di an,  
dien Ehr singt wi mit Danken,  
üm dat du, Gott, von Anfang an  
regerst alleen ahn Wanken.  
Nich uttometen is dien Macht,  
dat kummt, as du't hest wullt un dacht,  
woll us, wi sund dien Kinner.

*all* 4. O Hilligen Geest, du hööchste Goot,  
von Gott dörch Jesus geven,  
schenk du us Glooven schenk us Moot  
stüür du us' Christenleven:  
Bring du tosaamen dien Gemeen,  
laat us in Freden een bi een  
nu Gott sien Riek hier booen!

<b>Pastor:</b>	De Herr Gott wees mit jo.	The Lord God be with you.
<b>Gemeen:</b>	Sien Wahrheit mit di.	His truth be with you.
<b>Pastor:</b>	Laat us behen ...	Let us pray.
<b>Gemeen:</b>	Amen.	

**Pastor:** De Lesung The readings

*Gott maakt Himmel un Eer* 1 Mose 1, 1-5

*God created heaven and earth* Genesis 1:1-5

Ganz in den Anfang hett Gott Himmel un Eer maakt. Un up de Eer see dat düster un wööst ut, un över dat Water wörr dat stickendüüster. Aver Gott sien Geest swev över de Floot.

Do seh Gott: "Dat schall hell warm!" Un mit een Slag wörr dat hell. Un Gott see, dat dat Licht goot wörr. Do maak Gott een Scheed twischen dat Licht un de Düsternis. Un Gott nööm dat Licht "Dag," un de Düsternis nööm he "Nacht." So wörr dat Abend un Moin: en eerste Dag.

*Na Gott sien Bild* 1 Mose 1, 26–31

*After God's own image* Genesis 1:26–31

Do seh Gott: "Laat us Minschen maaken na use egen Bild! Se schüllt de Herren warm över de Fisch in de See un över de Vogel unner den Himmel un över dat Vee un dat Wildvee in de wide Feld un över dat Kruupschütt, wat up de Eer krupen deit." Un Gott maak den Minsch na sien Bild—na Gott sin Bild hett he em maakt; un he maak ehr as Mann un Fro. Un Gott segen ehr un seh: "Nu weest fruchtbar un breet jo ut; denn de Eer schall vull vun Minschen warm! Un bringt alles in jo Gewalt un regeert över de Fisch in de See un över de Vogel in de Luft un över all de Dinger, de up de Eer krupt un sik tummeln doot!"

Un Gott seh den noch: Ik geev nu in jo Hand all dat Kruut, wat goot to eten is up de ganze Eer, un all de Bööm, de Frucht bringt un dor de Kurn in. Dor schullt ji vun leven! Un för all dat Wildvee in de wide Feld un för all de Vogel in de Luft un för all dat Lebennige, wat up de Eer krupen deit, is dat Kruut dor. Dat schullt se to'n Leven hebben!" Un Gott see alls an, wat he maakt harr, un he müsz seggen: dat wörr gans goot! So wörr dat Abend un Moin: en soszte Dag.

*De eerste Sunn* 1 Mose 3, 1–7

*The first sin* Genesis 3:1–7

Un de Slang wörr listiger as all de Dinger up de Feld, de Gott maakt harr. Un se seh to de Fro: Segg mal! Is dat wurklich so? Hett Gott seggt: ji dörfst nich vun all de Bööm in den Gaarn eten?" Do seh de Fro to de Slang: "Gewiss dörfst wi eten vun de Appeln, de an de Bööm in den Gaarn waszt. Blossz vun de Appeln an den Boom, de merrn in den Gaarn steit—hett Gott seggt—, daar schullt ji nicht vun eten. De Dörfst ji ok nich anreken; denn just güng ji doot."

Do seh de Slang to de Fro: Och, snack doch nich so! Warüm schull he dat wull seggt hebben! Ji warm nich staven. Use Herr Gott weet ganz goot: an den Dag, wo ji daar vun eten doot, maakt ji grote Ogen, un denn weet ji just so as Gott sülsen, wat goot un wat slecht is."

So see de Fro, wat för een herrlich boom dat wörr un dat de Appeln goot smecken wörrn; un se neem sik dar een vun, leet sik dat goot smecken un geev ehm Mann en Stück af, un he probaat dat ok.

Do maken de beiden grote Ogen, un se marken, dat se nakelt wurrn. Un se neiten sik Bledern vun den Giftboom tohopen un maken sik jedereen een Kleed.

*Dat Evangelium*

*The Gospel*

*Dat Evangelium as Johannes dat vertellt hett in* Dat 3 Kapitel, 13–17

*John* 3:13–17

Keen een is noch na'n Himmel rugahn, de nich vörher vun'n Himmel hendaalkaam is, un dat is de Minchensöhn! So as Mose de Slang in de Wööst uphung hett, so schall ock de Minschensöhn uphung warm, dat jedereen, de an em glöven deit, in em ewiges Leven kriggt. Denn so'n leev hett Gott de Welt hatt, dat he sin eenzigen Söhn hergaven dä; denn he wull, dat jedereen, de an em glöven deit, nich verlorn geit, sunner dat ewig Leven kriggt. Den Gott hett den Söhn nich in de Welt schickt, dat he öwer de Welt Gericht holen schull. Ne, de Welt schall dörch em Sicht warm.

In düsse Tied kaam von den Kaiser Augustus een Order rut, dat jedereen sick in de Stüürlisten inschrieben schull. Düt wörr gans wat Nies—dat wörr to'n ersten Mal dör(ch)gahn—un domols wörr Kyrenius Stattholer öwer Syrien. Ja, jedereen mak sick denn ock up de Reis na sin Heimatstadt un leet sick anschrieben. So gung ock Josef von Galiläa ut de Stadt Nazareth na Judäa, na David sin Heimatstadt—de heet Bethlehem—denn he hör to David sin Verwandtschaft un Familie un woll sick anschrieben laten mit Maria, de em antruut wörr. Un de schull Moder warm. As se nu dor worm, kaam de Tiet, dat se to liggen kaam schull. Un se bröch ehm irsten Söhn to Welt un wickel em in Windeln un lä em in een Krüpp; denn se harm sünst keen Platz in de Harbarg.

Un nu Worm in desülben Gegend Schepers buten up de Feld. De holen Nachts bi de Nachtuul de Waak. Un wat passeer? Mit een Mal stunn den Herm sin Engel vör jüm, un use Herrgodd sin Herrlikeit lücht öwer jüm up. So verjagen se sick bennaa. Un de Engel seh to jüm: "Jedock jo keen Angst! Ne, en grote Freud heff ick ju to vertellen—un all de Lü schüllt dat to weten kriegen—denn för ju is vördaag de Heiland born. De Herr Christus is dat, in David sin Stadt. Un dat schall för ju dat Gleeken ween: ji wull'n dat Kind finn'n, inwickelt in Windeln, un liggen deit he in en Krüpp."

Un knapp harr he't seggt, do sweven üm den Engel en grote Swaam von use Herrgott sin Hoffsteed. De loben Gott un sungen:

"Lööv un Ehr da baben för use Herrgott  
un Freden hier nern up de Eer för de Lü,  
de dat hartlich meent un de gooten Willn hett!"

Un as de Engel wedder to'n Himmel förhn dän, do sch'n de Scheper een to'n annen: "Nu lat us flink röverlopen na Bethlehem un düsse Geschichte seen, de dor passeert is un de de Herr us bekannt makt hett!" Un se eilen sick bennaa un funn'n Maria un Josef, dorto ock dat Kind, dat wüikli in en Krüpp leegt. Un as se dat seen harm, do vertelln se överall, wat jüm vun düt Kind seggt wörr. Un alle Lü, de dat to Öhm kaam, wunnern sick öwer dat, wat de Schepers vertellt harm.

Maria aver behöll all düsse Wöör un leet ehr sick ümmer wedder dörch dat Hart gahn.

Un de Schepers gung torüg vuller Gottlööv öwer all dat, wat se hört un seen harm. Dat wörr all's genau so, as jüm dat vertellt wörr.

**Pastor:** de Gemeen bekennt den Glööven:

The Apostles' Creed

**Gemeen:** Ik glööv an Gott, den Vatter  
he alleen is allmächtig.  
He hett Himmel un Eer ut nix weern Laten.

Ik glööv an Jesus Christus,  
Gott sienen eenzigen Söhn, usen Herm.  
He is Minsch woom dör den Hellegen Geest  
vun de Jungfrou Maria,  
hett leeden un is an't Kriüz slaan  
unner Pontius Pilatus,  
is storben un to Grab brocht,  
dahlföohrt nah dat Dodenriek.  
He is den drüdden Dag opstahn vun de Doden  
un is upföohrt nah'n Himmel.  
Dor sitt he an de rechte Sied vun Gott,

den allmächtigen Vatter.  
 Vun dor kommt he wedder,  
 Gericht to hollen  
 över de Lebennigen un över de Doden.

Ik glööv an den Hellegen Geest,  
 Een hellege christliche Kark,  
 de Gemeende vun de Hellegen,  
 ik glööv, dat de Sünden vergeven weerd,  
 dat de Doden opstaht,  
 un dat ewig Leben geven weerd. Amen.

**Gemeen singt een Leed vor de Präken**

Sermon hymn

1. Wat Gott Deit, dat is alltiet goot,  
 nah sien Woort will ik leben  
 he packt de Sack all richtig an,  
 hett mi veel Leevde geven.  
 He is mien Gott, de ok in Noot  
 mi woll weet to erholen.  
 An em will ik mi holen.

3. Wat Gott Deit, dat is alltiet goot,  
 he is mien Lücht un Leben,  
 de mi nix Schlechtes andoon kann,  
 ik will mi nah em geven.  
 In Noot un Dood meent he dat goot,  
 un bo ik mal an't Klagen,  
 lett he mi nich verzegen.

2. Wat Gott Deit, dat is alltiet goot,  
 he will mi nich bedregen,  
 un brengt mi weer up't rechte Padd,  
 is mal mien Goot utgeven.  
 Hebb ik ok Schuld, he hett Geduld,  
 will all mien Unglückwennen.  
 Sien Gootdoon will nich ennen.

Wat Gott Deit, dat is alltiet goot,  
 drum will ik bi em blieden,  
 un is dat düüster um mi to,  
 sien Lücht kann't all verdrieven.  
 Du büst de Sünn, un kummt mien Stünn,  
 deist du de Döör mi open.  
 Ja, dorup will ik hoffen.

**Pastor:** Präken

Sermon

*De Apostelgeschicht' as Lukas dat vertellt hett in Den 2 Kapittel, 1-17*

Acts 2:1-17

As nu de Pingstdag dor wörr, do seeten se all' tohop un luern up dat, wat nu kamn schull. Un dat duer nich lang, do fung dat an to susen un to brusen vun'n Himmel her, grad so as wenn en Storm upkümmt, un in dat ganse Huus, wo se seeten, wörr dat to spörm. Se kreegn ock Tung to sehn, as wenn dat Frierflammen wärm. Se versammeln sick wedder, un up jedeneen vun ehr sett sick een dal. Un se wörm all' vull von Hellegen Geest, un se fung an un snacken in annere Sprachen, grad as de Geest ehr dat ingifft, dat ut to spreken.

Nu wahnten in Jerusalem allerhand Juden, de dat mit ehrn Gloven, ganz genau nahmen un fröher in't Utland levgt harrn, överall, wo dat Minschen gifft ünner'n Himmel. De kööm, as dat Brusen losgung, in groten Swarm tohop un maken grote Ogen; denn jedereen hör, as se grad in sin Sprock snacken dän. Un se wüssen nich, wat se dorto seggn schulln un wunnern sik banna un sehn: "Wodenn geit dat to? Sünd düsse all', de dor snacken dot, nich ut Galiläa? Wodenn is dat doch bloz mögli, dat wi jüm hörn un verstahn dot jedereen in sin Moderspruck, in de wi geborn sund? Dor sund Parther un Meder un Elamiter, un denn weke, de in Mesopotamien un Judäa un Kappadokien, in Pontus un Asien, Phrygien un Pamphylien, Ägypten un in de Gegend vun Libyen bi Kyrene to huus sund, ock de Römers, de sik hier anbuut hett, Juden un so'n Lü, de düssen Glowen annahmen hett, Kreter un

Araber—wi hört jüm snacken in use Moderspruck vun all' dat Grote un Wunnerbaar, dat Gott dan hert?"—Ja, se kreegn würlki gans dat swiegen un wüssen nich, wat se dorto seggn schulln. Un de Een seh to den Annern: "Wat hett dat bloots up sik?" Annere aver maken sik spaasz un sehn: "Ach, de sund bi drinken! Hebbt toveel Wien hatt!"

Do aver stünn Petrus mit de Ölben up un sä luuthals to jüm: "Jüdische Landlü un all ji Börgers vun Jerusalem! Dat schullt ji doch weten, un wat ick nu segg, dat markt ji! Düsse Lü hier sund all anner as verdrunken! Dat is doch ock irst Klock negn un ist nichmal up'n Vörmiddag! Na dat denk jo man nich! Aver nu will ick jo seggen: Nu is dat angahn, wat de Profet Joel mal seggt hett:

" Wenn de letzte Tiet kummt—so seggt Gott—, denn geev ick vun min Geest ut up all Fleisch."

### Angeven

### Offering

(Offering plates have been placed in the church narthex, and in the school auditorium where refreshments will be served following the service. All donations received will be used to meet expenses for this service and to encourage use of the Low German language.

**Chor:** Singt een Leed *Gott, Us' Gott, Wi Roopt Di To (Holy God, We Praise Thy Name)*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Gott, us Gott, wi roopt di to,<br/>hör us behen, hör us singen!<br/>Vör di stahst wi, Mann und Froo,<br/>all us Dandschuld di to bringen:<br/>Du büst Gott un du büst Herr,<br/>di höört Himmel, Luft un Eer!</p>         | <p>3. All wat di tosingen kann,<br/>all de Engel hooch in'n Himmel,<br/>stimmt mit us dat Dankleed an,<br/>di alleen de Ehr to geven:<br/>Help us, Herr, ut all us' Nood.<br/>Du alleen büst goot un groot.</p>            |
| <p>2. Sünn un Maand regeert dien Hand;<br/>all de Steern röppst du bi Namen.<br/>Du throonst öwer See un Land,<br/>lettst de Minschen gahn un kamen.<br/>Dusend, dusend Jahr vergaht<br/>ewig fast steiht bloots dien Raad.</p> | <p>4. Grote Gott in'n Himmel hooch,<br/>Herr, wi liggt vör di op Kneen.<br/>Du büst Herr un König noch;<br/>wat du wullt, dat mutt geschehen.<br/>Sitt wi ok in düster Nacht,<br/>du steihst hooch un höllst de Wacht.</p> |

**Pastor:** Laat us behen ...

Wi Beden dat use Vatter:

Let us pray.

We pray The Lord's Prayer

**Gemeen:** Use Vatter in'n den Himmel,  
Dien Naam wees helleg.  
Dien Riek kaam.  
Dien Will laat warm  
so as in'n Himmel so ok up de Eer  
Us' Dääglich Broot giff us vondaag.  
Un vergiff us use Schuld,  
as wi ok vergeevt wat de us schüllig sünd.  
Un laat us nich versöchen warm.  
Un maak us loos von dat Bööse.  
Denn di höört dat Riek un de Kraft  
un de Herrlichkeit in Ewigkeit. Amen.

**Pastor:** Gott sien Freden gah nu mit jo!  
**Gemeen:** Gott, den Vatter wees Dank un Ehr!  
**Pastor:** segent de Gemeen

God's peace now go with you!  
 To God the Father be thanks and praise!  
 The pastor blesses the congregation

De Herr sege di un bewahr di,  
 de Herr kiek di fründlich an  
 un wees goot mit di.  
 De Herr holl sien Hand över di  
 un geeft di Freide. Amen.

The Lord bless thee and keep thee.  
 The Lord make His face shine upon  
 thee and be gracious unto thee.  
 The Lord lift up His countenance  
 upon thee and give thee peace.

**Gemeen seggt een lesde Vers:**

Glocken von'n Karktoorn  
 roopt över dat Dörp hin,  
 se seggt den Sünndag an,  
 laadt us to Kark in:  
 Se roopt in Huus un Stall,  
 se roopt de Minschen all:  
 Kaamt, latt mit Dank un Sang  
 nu Gott us ehren!

\* The vowels in the Low German script are treated phonetically as they are in the High German. The "a" is pronounced "ah"; "e" is pronounced "a"; "i" is pronounced "e"; "o" is pronounced "o"; "u" is pronounced "ooh"; "ie" is pronounced "e" and "ei" is pronounced "i".

\*\*\*\*\*

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The 150th anniversary committee of Holy Cross Lutheran Church, Cole Camp, Mo., which invited the Rev. Alfred W. Rodewald to conduct the first-known modern day Low German worship service on American soil on Sunday, August 23, 1992, with linguistic vocabulary and grammar input by Mr. and Mrs. Neil Heimsoth, Mr. Leonard Brauer and Mr. Heinz Adolph, all of Cole Camp.

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The Rev. Gary Clayton and St. Paul's Congregation for the use of the sanctuary.

The liturgy is based on *Dor kummt een Schipp* (there comes a ship), published by the Missionhandlung Hermannsburg, Freiburg, Germany, 1991.

Scripture readings are based on *Dat Ole un dat Nie Testament in unse Moderspraak* (The Old and New Testament in Our Mother Tongue), published in Low German by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Publishers, Goettingen, Germany, 1980.

The spelling reference dictionary used is the *Platdeutsch-Hochduetsches Wörterbuch*, by Institut für niederdeutsche Sprache, Schnoor 41, Bremen, Germany; assembled and published by H.M. Hauschild, Gmb H, Bremen, Germany.

Program from Low German Theater Weekend in  
Concordia, Missouri

**Concordia's  
Plattdutsche Hadn Tohopa**

**Presents the Sixth Annual**

**Wunderbar Concordia.**

**Low German Theatre**

**Saturday, October 7, 1995 6:00pm  
Dinner Theater**

**Sunday, October 8, 1995 2:00pm  
Matinee – Theater only**

**Concordia Community Center  
802 Gordon Street, Concordia, MO**



*The Concordia Plattdutsche Hadn Tohopa Club (Low German Club) is proud to present the sixth annual Low German Theatre. The purpose of the Theatre is to promote, preserve, and enjoy the Low German Language as well as our German Heritage. We hope you have a most enjoyable time!*

*Sponsored by:*  
Concordia Chamber of Commerce





## Program from Low German Theater Weekend in Concordia, Missouri (back)

### Chorus

Judith Lehmann, Director, Elaine Bargfrede, Walter Bargfrede, Melba Boeschen, Ledruc Brandt, Leona Brandt, Clarence Brodehoeft, Dorothy Bushman, Irma Camp, Arline Driver, Mildred A. Flandermeyer, Erna Frerking, Paul Heermann, Von Cile Heermann, Vera Hemme, Elbert Kuecker, Lorene Kuecker, Lavona Larimore, Robert Lehmann, Roy Martens, Viola Mieser, Evelyn Nicrman, Elva Rehkop, Rev. Alfred Rodewald, Eldred Schelp, Wilben Schlesselman, Marie Schlueter, Raymond Schlueter, Karen Schroeder, Raymond Stuckel, Hubert Wilkens, Joan Werths, Ann Wolters, Rick Beltz, Accompanist

### Greeters

Little Miss Wunderbar 1995.....Sierra Heyer  
Little Mister Wunderbar 1995 ..... Scott Malcolm

### Production Staff

Theatre Director ..... Robert Lehmann  
Script Writer & Translator ..... Viola Mieser  
Production Coordinator..... Lavona Larimore  
Emcee..... Raymond Stuenkel  
Program..... Lavona Larimore, Erna Frerking, Roy Martens,  
Mildred A. Flandermeyer, Viola Mieser, Vernetta Oetting  
Audio..... Richard Larimore, Alvin Oetting  
Props..... Paul Heermann, La Vern Meyer, Ledruc Mochiman,  
Roy Martens, Raymond Schlueter  
Stage Crew..... Sturley Ziegelbein, Bea Opfer,  
Marie Meyer, Lavona Larimore  
Lighting..... Robert Lehmann, Robert Werths,  
Publicity..... Don Dittmer, Lorene Kuecker,  
Nadine Frerking, Ruth Rodewald, Chester Fiene  
Tickets..... Phyllis Stuerke, Polly Stuenkel,  
Eunice Wilkens, Arlene Fiene.

### Thanks

*Special recognition and thanks to Viola Mieser for her many hours spent writing and translating the skits. A very special thanks to Robert Lehmann for his expert help as our theatre director. Thanks also to Judith Lehmann for all her help and superb directing of our Chorus and to Rick Beltz for accompanying the Chorus. Thanks to Merle Tieman and to Walter and Elaine Bargfrede for providing their wonderful music. Thanks to Karen Meinke for catering the Dinner Theatre, the Concordia Senior Center for the use of their fine center for our many chorus practices, and to many others in the community who each year support and help us in any way.*

Transcriptions of Wenker Sentences in Concordia Low German

1. /de drægən blejə de flaij hærōmə in vintər/ 'In the winter the dry leaves fly around in the air.'
  
2. /dat væjə dat virt bətər wən dat (ɛt) ɛstmə ophært tə snaiən/ 'It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will get better again.'
  
3. /du ma ɛn badən kōilə in de amb dat de mɛlk anfəŋ to koxən<sup>1</sup>/ 'Put coals into the stove, so that the milk will start to boil soon.'
  
4. /de goə kərɫ de ɪs in dat is dōibrōgən mɪt zin pərt ən ɪs in dat kolə wətər fəln/ 'The good old man broke through the ice with his horse and fell into the cold water.'
  
5. /foə fai o\_ə zɛs vegən ɪs hai sto\_abən/ 'He died four or six weeks ago.'

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<sup>1</sup> Informants 3 and 5 realize /koxən/ as /kogən/.

6. /dat fyr vas to hait so is de koxən<sup>2</sup> swart brənt an de ʊnəstən zidə/  
 'The fire was too hot. The cakes are burned black on the bottom.'

7. /hai ɛt zin aiə ɪmə onə zalt ən pɛpə/ 'He always eats his eggs without  
 salt and pepper.'

8. /minə fɔidən de dot so ve ɪk gləvə ɪk hæf de afgaʊn/ 'My feet hurt so  
 much. I believe, I have walked them off.'

9. /ɪk was bi de fraʊ ʊn hæf ɛt ejə zɛgt ʊn ze zɛkt zə vol dət to ejə dɑxtə  
 zɛgən/ 'I was at the woman's and told it to her and she said, she wanted  
 to tell it to her daughter too.'

10. /dat vɪl ɪk salaivə ni veə dɑʊn/ 'I also don't want to do it ever  
 again.'

11. /ɪk slɔə di ʊmə de orən mɪt ən hæltən læpəl du lɛmə/ 'I am going to  
 hit you around the ears with a wooden spoon, you monkey.'

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<sup>2</sup> Informants 3 and 5 realize /koxən/ as /kogən/.

12. /vo gaist du hɪn ʃut vi mɪt di gaʊn/ 'Where are you going? Should we go with you?'

13. /deˈtɪən de zɪnt slɛxt<sup>3</sup>/ 'The times are bad.'

14. /min lʏvə kɪnt blif hiə ʏntən de gøzə de bit di to doə/ 'My dear child, stay down here. Those mean geese will bite you to death.'

15. /du has fədawgə dat maistə lɛrnt ən has diç gut biheft du kanst flaiçt fraiə na hus gaʊn as di andərn/ 'You learned the most today and were well-behaved. You may go home earlier than the others.'

16. /du bɪs niç grot gəʊk dain gansən vinbʊtəl lɛdɪç to məkən du mʊs ɛrsma ən bædən vasən ən grətər vɛ\_ən/ 'You aren't big enough to drink a whole bottle of wine. You have to grow some more first and get bigger.'

17. /ɛrstə so got ən zɛx dinə swɛstə se ʃol dat naiən fɛrtiç mɔgən fo\_ɑ dinə mʊtər dat rain mɔgən kan mɪt ən bɛrstə/ 'Go be so good and tell

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<sup>3</sup> Informant 1 realizes /slɛxt/ as /slɛçt/.

your sister she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother and clean them with a brush.'

18. /hæst du dæn bætər kɪnt dan vɛ\_ə dat alə bætər utkomən ən hai vɛ\_ə nox bætər af vɛzən/ 'If only you had known him! Things would have turned out differently and he would be better off.'

19. /vəə hət min kœf flaij stɔln/ 'Who stole my basket of meat?'

20. /hai stɛlt zɪk an as vɛn hai hɪrt vas fo\_a dat dɛrfən ɔbə dai hæ:\_ənt fo\_a zɪk zɛlbs dɔn/ 'He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing, but they did it themselves'

21. /ven hat he dat kəʃɪftə vətɛlt/ 'To whom did he tell the story?'

22. /du mʊst gans luə kɔiən anəs kan hai di niçt fəstɔn/ 'One must shout loudly, otherwise he doesn't understand.'

23. /vi zɪnt taiərt<sup>4</sup> ən dʊstiç/ 'We are tired and thirsty,'

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<sup>4</sup> Informant 3 realizes /mɔiə/ instead of /taiərt/.

24. /als vi gæstærn amæn na hus koYmn wɛ\_æn de alə in bɛt ən sloYpən/

'When we got home last night, the others were already lying in bed and were fast asleep.'

25. /de sne blif bi uzæn plats ʊfə grʊnt gæstæn ɔmt famo\_æn ɪsə alə vegə/

'The snow at our place stayed on the ground last night, but it melted this morning.'

26. /hɪndə uz hus da stɔnt drai fʊnə apəlbomz mɪt lɪtʃjə roə apəls/

'Behind our house stand three beautiful little apple trees with little red apples.'

27. /tɔɪfma ən omlɪk dɛn go\_æn vi alə mɪtʃɪk/ 'Couldn't you all wait a

moment for us. Then we will go with you.'

28. /dʃji maiət nɪçt so albærn vesən/ 'You all may not be so silly.'

29. /uzə bargən zɪnt niçt gans hox jo\_ə zɪnt fel høgə/ 'Our mountains are not very high. Yours are much higher.'

30. /vo fel pʊnt vʊst ən vo fel brot vɪlt tʃji hæbən/ 'How many pounds of sausage and how much bread did you all want?'

31. /ɪk kan dʃɪk niçt fəstən kɔɪət ən bædən luə/ 'I don't understand you (all). You must speak a little louder.'

32. /hət dʃji niçt ən stɪk zegən op dæn dɪʃ fo\_a mi fʊndən/ 'Didn't you (all) find a piece of soap for me on my table?'

33. /zin bræðə de vɪl twai ʃənə hyzə bæðən ɪn joən gɔən/ 'His brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses in your garden.'

34. /dat vo\_at ɪs gərədə fon harə komən/ 'That word came straight from his heart.'

35. /de hət dat ræçtə dɪŋ dɔn/ 'They did the right thing.'



36. /vat fonə ʃənə lʏtʃə fogəls sɪt da boəm op de lʏtʃə vant/ 'What kind of little birds are sitting up there on the little wall.'

37. /de faməs heən fif osən ən negən kaiə ən twɛlf lʏtʃə ʃɔpə ɪn dɛn do\_ʌf braxt de volən de alə fəkæpən/ 'The farmers had brought five oxen and nine cows and twelve little sheep before the village. The wanted to sell them.'

38. /de lʏə zɪnt alə opən fɛlt ən mai\_ɛt/ 'All the people are outside today in the field and mowing.'

39. /goma taʊ de brunə hʊnt de dai di nɪks ʃoən/ 'Go on, the brown dog won't hurt you.'

40. /ɪk hæf de lʏə veə ovə dɛn pastə brɔxt<sup>5</sup> nɔ dat grɔɪnə fɛlt/ 'I drove with the people back there over the meadow into the grain field.'

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<sup>5</sup> Informants 3 and 5 realize the harder stop /k/ in /brɔkt/.

## Anecdotes in CLG

/enmal as vi nox nax ʃaʊlə gɔn kɪnt dat olə pɛrt den bʌgi<sup>1</sup> niçt ha\_jim de rodən de ve\_ən so drɛkəriç dat dat vas to da\_ipə dɛn mʊsən vi dat pɛrt rijən ən minə swestə de kreç ɪmə den zɔtəl ən ɪk mʊs hɪn rʊp zɪtən so vi də ʃaʊn ən da kɔim di olə zɔtəl los ən dan hɛf ɪk dɛn zɔtəl opdaʊn ən hɛf ɛt niç stramə antaʊn so as vi nax hus gYŋən da ve\_ən vi ɪn dɛn badəm bi den kɪk ən da sɛə enmal jemant vat ɪs dat ʊn dain pɛrt sin foltən kaikən vi dox hɪn da ən dan rYtʃən vi ən rYtʃən vi ən dan vœlɪk ɪnə drɛklox ən min swestə de sait gəradə op mi sai vas ʃən rain/

Once, as we were still going to school and the old horse did not know the way home, the roads were so muddy and too deep. We had to ride the horse and my sister always got the saddle and I had to sit up on the horse's back. We looked and the old saddle had come loose and then I turned it back up on top without tightening it. So as we were heading home we found ourselves in the bottoms by the creek and then somebody said, "What is the matter with your horse?" and we leaned to looked down and began to slide off and tumbled into a mudhole. And my sister landed right on top of me and she stayed completely clean.

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<sup>1</sup> The ʌ is not a sound belonging to CLG, but appears here in the borrowed English pronunciation of the word /bʌgi/ 'buggy' meaning a small horse-drawn vehicle.

/In harst ven de hækænæpəl ɔlə foln dæn sɔɪm vi de ʊp ən ven vi nax hus gYŋ dæn  
 smaitən de miç mɪt de hækænæpəl so ɪk he\_ə ən ganzən dɪkən fɛtən hækænæpəl ɪnə  
 hant ən de juŋə de dat pɛrt ret dat pɛrt vas ən bɛdən ful so dat pɛrt de hɛə ɪmə dæn  
 swans ən bɛdən ap fan zɪç so ɪk hɛtən fɛtən hækænæpəl ən wɪl dæn juŋə damɪt  
 smidən o\_ə ɪk hɛt dæn juŋə nɪtrəʊbənt de hækænæpəl ɪs ɪnər den swans fan dat pɛrt  
 gaʊ\_ən ən dat pɛrt de hat den swans dɔknæbən ən ɪs utknæbən mɪt dæn hækænæpəl  
 darʊnə de juŋə ɪs gɔnz flɪk na hus komən den ɔmt/

In the fall when the hedgeapples all fall, we would pick them up when  
 we were on the way home and they would throw them at me. So I got  
 this big fat hedgeapple in my hand and the boy who was riding the horse  
 - the horse was a bit lazy and it always held its tail up a little like this  
 [gestures] - so I had this fat hedgeapple and wanted to throw it at the  
 boy, but I missed and the hedgeapple went under the horse's tail and  
 the horse clamped its tail down and took off with the hedgeapple under  
 its tail. The boy got home faster that day than ever before.

Grammar Lessons Provided by Informant 1  
(transcribed from manuscripts)

Lesson 1: Pronunciation Guide

a, A = as the a in father

danka (thanks)	salat (salad)
alla (all)	Kaffee (coffee)
kann (can)	ja (yes)
Glas (glass)	krank (ill)

ä, Ä = as the a in ask

wäkn (week)	Tänna (teeth)
lädig (empty)	ähsen (first)
läsn (to read)	fäetig (finished)

e, E = {as the e in eight, as the e in get

Stehn (stars)	wenn (when)
Dehn (girl)	Feld (field)

l, l = {as in machine, ie as in brief, as in wind

wie (we)	nicht (not)
mien (mine)	stilla (silent)
Krieg (war)	Stimma (voice)

o, O = {as in obey, as in often, "aw" as in shawl

Brodt (bread)	brokn (broken)
wo (where)	Knokn (bones)
Koen (corn)	stokn, stawkn (stalks)

u, U = {as in root, as in foot

Buk (stomach)	und (and)
Juni (June)	hunthet (hundred)
Uha (clock or watch)	bunt (colorful)
dutz (dozen)	

aw = when together within a word as "o" in log  
spaws (saving)

ie = {as in brief

siena (his)	jie (you all)
lieba (dear)	zieda (side or aside)

- shient (shines)      ziebsig (seventy)
- ei      = {as in ice  
neit (new)              weit (know)  
Freidag (Friday)      twei (two)  
keina (not any)      beida (both)
- eu      = {as in "oy" in boy (and as in Deutschland)  
Freund (friend)      seukn (to hunt)  
Heuntha (chickens) Feutn (feet)  
teuf (wait)              Steula(chairs)
- au      = {as in "ou" in house  
haupt (main)              Klaus (man's name)  
taufen (to baptize) August (month of August)
- ch      = {as in hue, the c does not combine with the h as in chew,  
chime, chase  
noch (yet)              nechs-mah (next time)  
recht (right)
- g      = {g at end of word has the same sound as 'c'  
nötig (necessary)      fehtsig (forty)  
flietig (energetic)      ewig (forever)
- j      = {as the y in yes, and also as j in joy  
(j) jie (you)      jau-a (yours)  
(y) jümme (always)      jeda (everyone, j or y)  
(y) Junga (boy)      jetzt (now)
- s      = {when 's' is the first letter in a word it is 'z'  
{when 's' is the last letter in a word it is 'ss'  
{when 's' is in the middle it is 's' in 'so'  
sähm (seven)              wass (was)  
sinni (silently)              inseet (inside)
- sch      = {as the letters sh in fish  
Schaula (school)      schöll (should)  
Schüffeln (shovel)      schöna (nice)  
Schaua (shoes)      schimpn (scold)
- st      = {when 'st' is at the beginning of a word, it is pronounced 'sht'

Stimma (voice)      Stille Nacht (Silent Night)

Strumpf (stocking)

{when it is at the end of a word, it has the normal 'st' sound

sp      = {when 'sp' is at the beginning of a word, it is pronounced  
'shp'

spaws (fun) Spiegel (mirror)

Spinnabuk (spider)

{when 'sp' appears lesewhere in the word it has the normal 'sp'  
sound

w W      = as 'v' nearly all the time

wenig (very small amount)      wie (we)

Windt (wind)      watt (what) wo (where)

v V      = {as the f in fish - the letter 'f' is also used the same as the  
letter 'v'

von (from)      vahn (front) Fahmahn (this morning)

Familia (family)

z Z      = {is pronounced as 'ts' in hats (put pressure on both letters)

witzig (sly or smart)      Blitz (lightning)

ziebsig (seventy)

ö Ö      = {as in O Du Fröliche

schön (nice) König (king) wöhhlich (really)

ü Ü      {as in 'eel' with the mouth more rounded

Lüsa (lice)      lütja (little)      Müsa (mice)

## Vocabulary

### Colors:

guld (gold)    witt (white)    swatt (black)    gäl (yellow)    rot (red)  
 blau (blue)    greun (green)    brun (brown)    gries (gray)  
 pink, purple, violet - are as in English    sülva (silver)

### Sentences:

Iss dien Kled witt? (dress)  
 Iss diena Buksen brun? (pants)  
 Iss dien Hus gal utha witt? (house yellow or white)  
 Iss dien Hemp blau? (shirt)  
 Dei Blaum iss rot. (flower)  
 Dei Bläha sind greun. (leaves, green)  
 Dei Böhma sind greun. (trees)  
 Stroh is gäl. (straw)  
 Dei Apple iss tau greun tau äten. (too green to eat)  
 Sind diena Ogen blau utha brun? (eyes blue or brown)

### Unsen Kōepah (Our Body)

Kop (head)    Gesichta (face)    Nāsa (nose)    Ogn (eyes)    Ohen (ears)  
 Munt (mouth)    Kin (chin)    Bakn (cheeks)    Tähna (teeth)  
 Tungn (tounge)    Hawa (hair)    Bawdt (beard)    Hals (throat)  
 Nakn (neck)    Shullen (shoulders)    Anm (arm)    Ahms (arms)  
 Hant (hand)    Hānna (hands)    Finga (finger)    Fingen (fingers)  
 Finga-nägel (fingernail)    Puckel (back)    Mawgn (stomach)  
 Bust (chest or bosom)    West (waist)    Hüfta (hips)  
 Hinthasen (rear or seat)    Bein, Beina (leg, legs)    Knei, Kneien (knee[s])  
 Faut (foot)    Feuten (feet)    Töhna (toes)    Hada (heart)

## Lesson II      Everday Expressions

Watt iss los?	What's the matter?
Et rengt.	It's raining.
Et sneit.	It's snowing.
Et is winnig	It's windy.
Et iss in Oadnung.	It's alright.
Datt stimmt.	That's right.
Du bist recht.	You are right.
Du biss fakeht.	You are wrong.
Datt kumt tha rup an.	It depends.
Gawiss.	Certainly.
Datt is ganauch.	That's enough.
Ick heff nicht ganauch Geld.	I don't have enough money.
Datt kann wähn.	Maybe.
Et mawkt nicks oot.	It doesn't matter.
Weis du?	Do you know?
Ick weit.	I know.
Wie wäht.	We know.
Ick weit nicht.	I don't know.
Ick kanna äha nicht.	I son't know her.
Iss datt wöeklich waha?	Is that really true?
Nawhäha	Afterwards
Nu	Now
Balt	Soon
Et iss gaut.	It is good.
Datt iss shön.	That's nice. (or pretty)
Et iss schlecht.	It's bad.
Et iss schrecklich.	It's terrible.
Et iss wuntha shön.	It is beautiful.
Hei iss krank.	He is sick.
Ick feula mie traurich.	I am sad.
Ick bin ootawohn.	I am worn out.
Ick mutt nawh Abeit.	I must go to work.
Ick mutt nawh Bett.	I must go to bed.

Using common verbs:

danken = to thank

Ick danka. Du dankst. Hei dankt. Sei dankt. Wie dankt.

deint = to serve

Ick deina. Du deinst. Hei (sei, wie) deint.



löfft = to believe  
 Ick löwah. Du löffst. Hei (sei, wie) löfft.  
 köppa = to buy  
 Ick köppa. Du koffst. Hei (sei, wie) köppt.  
 hö-et = to hear  
 Ick hö-ah. Du hö-est. Hei (sei, wie) hö-et.  
 grüssa = to greet  
 Ick grüssa. Du grüsst. Hei (sei, wie) grüsst.  
 kawkn = to cook  
 Ick kawka. Du kawkst. Hei (sei, wie) kawkt.  
 le-ahn = to learn  
 Ick le-ah. Du le-ahst. Hei (sei, wie) le-aht.  
 mawkn = to make  
 Ick mawka. Du mawkst. Hei (sei, wie) mawkt.  
 mehn = to mean (or to say)  
 Ick mehna. Du mehnst. Hei (sei, wie) mehnt.  
 feuen = to travel  
 Ick feu-a. Du feu-ast. Hei (sei, wie) feu-et.  
 segn = to say  
 Ick sega. Du segst. Hei (sei, wie) segt.  
 kiekn = to look  
 Ick kieka. Du kigst. Hei (sei, wie) kiekst.  
 spawhn = to save  
 Ick spaw-a. Du spawst. Hei (sei, wie) spaw-et.  
 späln = to play  
 Ick spälla. Du spällst. Hei (sei, wie) spällt.  
 stähln = to steal  
 Ick stähla. Du stählst. Hei (sei, wie) stählt.  
 seukn = to hunt for or look for  
 Ick seuka. Du sochst. Hei (sei, wie) socht.  
 dansen = to dance  
 Ick dansa. Du danst. Hei (sei, wie) dannst.  
 wawnt = to live (reside)  
 Ick wawna. Du wawnst. Hei (sei, wie) wawnnt.  
 well = to want  
 Ick well. Du wutt. Hei (sei, wie) wütt.  
 wehn = to cry  
 Ick wehna. Du wehnst. Hei (sei, wie) wehnt.  
 wiesen = to show  
 Ick wiesa. Du wiest. Hei (sei, wie) wiest.  
 tähln = to count  
 Ick tähla. Du tählst. Hei (sei, wie) tählt.

keu-an = to talk

Ick keu-a. Du keu-est. Hei (sei, wie) keu-et.

schlawpn = to sleep

Ick schlawpa. Du schlöppst. Hei (sei, wie) schlawpt.

### More Vocabulary

#### Household Items

##### In the kitchen: (Kögn)

Dish or Tish = table

Kaffee pott = coffee pot

Staul = chair

Tellah = plate

Iss-bux = refrigerator

Pott = pan or pot

Awm = stove

Messt = knife

Bak-awm = oven

Gahwel = fork

Glas = glass

Läpel = spoon

Shop = cabinet

Keupn = cup, mug

Tassen = cup

##### In the bathroom

Hand-dauk (towel)

Seppn = soap

wawtah = water

##### Other areas in the home

zofah = sofa

Wandt = wall

Staul = chair

Stepdekkn = quilt

Bettlawkn = sheet

Telefon = telephone

Küssabeuan = pillow case

Dish-lawkn = tablecloth

Bauk = book

Lampn = lamp

Zeitung = newspaper

Betta = bed

Biebel = Bible

Klockn = clock

Fenstha = window

Uha = watch

Döhn = door

Bilt = picture

Treppn = steps, stairway

Now you can read:

Datt Bilt hängt an dei Wandt.

Dei Lampn steit oopn Tish.

Dat Brot bahkt inn Bak-awm.

Zett die henn oopn Zofah.

Dau datt Fleish (meat) inna Iss-bux.

Dei Klocka schleit (strikes) tein (10) Uha.

Ick mutt nu nawhn Betta gawn.

Gudn-nawmmt. (Good night.)

## Lesson III

## Food items:

Meal = Mahlteet    Dinner = Mittag    Breakfast = Freustück

milk = Mälk    coffee = Kaffee    tea = Tee    wine = Wien  
 beer = Bei-a    water = wawtha    juice = Sahft  
 bread = Brod    butter = But-then    eggs = Eia  
 bacon = Speck    ham = Shinkn    Chicken = Heunthafleish  
 beef = Rindfleish    fish = Fisha  
 turkey = Troot-hahn    potatoes = Kahtoofeln  
 beans = Bohn    spinach = Spinawt    peas = Ahsnen or Ahfken  
 corn = Kohen    beets = Roha Reuva    carrots = Gähla Reuva  
 lettuce = Salaad    cream = Flött    cabbage = Kohl  
 pancakes = Pahnkaukn    cherries = Kee-ashun    apple = Ahpel  
 strawberries = Erdbähen    plums = Pluhm    pears = Bähen  
 gooseberries = Stickabeie    nuts = Nötta

## Sentences:

1. Watt wutt du äatn?    Ick will \_\_\_\_ äatn.
2. Watt machs du?    Ick mach \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Watt iss gaut fah die? \_\_\_\_\_ iss gaut fah mie.

## Numbers:

1 = ein    2 = twei    3 = threi    4 = fei-ah    5 = feef  
 6 = zess    7 = zähn    8 = acht    9 = nägn    10 = tein  
 100 = hunthed    1000 = dausend

## the...

1st = dei ähasta    2nd = dei tweita    3rd = dei thrüdda  
 4th = dei feiahta    5th = dei fünfta    6th = dei zessta  
 7th = dei zäfte    8th = dei achta    9th = dei nägnta  
 10th = dei teinta

## Now we can talk some more:

What is your name?    Watt is dein Nawhm?  
 My name is \_\_\_\_\_.    Mien Nawhm iss \_\_\_\_\_.  
 I live in \_\_\_\_\_,    Ick wawnna in \_\_\_\_\_.  
 How long have you lived there?    Wo langa hass du dawh wawnt?  
 Do you go to school?    Geis du nawh Schaula?

I have finished school.	Ick bin fähtig mitt Schaula.
Are you married?	Bis du fah-heirahted?
Yes, I am married.	Yah, ick bin fah-heirahted.
What kind of work do you do?	Watt vonna Aabeit deis du?
I work in a restaurant.	Ick aabeita in en Restaurant.
What does your husband do?	Watt deit dien Keal?
What does your wife do?	Wat deit diena Frau?
My husband is a farmer.	Mien Keal iss en Fahmah.
My wife works in the bank.	Miena Frau aabeit in dei Bank.
Do you have a family.	Hett jie en Familia?
We have one girl and one boy.	Wie hett en Dehn und en Yung.
Have you a dog?	Hett jie en Hund?
We have no dog. We have a cat.	Wie hett kein Hund. Wie hett en Katsa.
I'm glad to have met you.	Ick bin froh datt wie bakant sind.

**Opposites:**

good, gaut - bad, schlecht	well, gesundt - sick, krank
cool, küllig - warm, wahn	cold, kold - hot, heit
happy, froh - sad, traurig	short, kawet - long lahn
big, grot - small, lütjet	light, lichta - heavy, schwaha
empty, lädig - full, full	dry, dröga - wet, naat
smart, klauk - stupid, dumm	thick, dicka - thin, dünna
straight, lieka - crooked, scheif	fat, fett - slim, dünna
open, awphen - shut, tau	loose, losa - tight, wissa
smooth, ähm - rough, un-ähm	right, recht - wrong, fahkeht
right, recht - left, links	well-behaved, awhtig - naughty, unawhtig
cheap, billig - costly, dühah	young, jung - old, oldt
poor, ahm - rich, rieka	high, hoch - low, ziet
clean, reina - dirty, thräckig	fast, flink - slow, lanksom
bright, hella - dark, düstha	soft, weika - hard, hadt
sweet, zeuta - sour, zuha	pretty, schön - ugly, eeklich
new, neit - old, oldt	tall, hoch - short, kawet
many, massa - few, wenig	over, awvah - under, üntha
busy, eelich - idle, fuhl	hunt, zeukn - find, finnd
quiet, stilla - noisy, lu-ah	wild, wild - tame, tahm
work, ahbeitn - play, spälln	start, anfahngn - stop, stoppn

## Lesson 4 Conversation (based on Lessons 1, 2, and 3)

## Part 1:

Wie wüßt nu frawgn, und fah dei Antfawt mött jie oop Les. 1 kiekn.

1. Watt is dei besta Fahva utha Kalō-ah fah die?

\_\_\_\_\_ iss dei best Kalō-ah fah mie.

2. Wenn du en Ahpel isst, gliest du en rohen utha en gäln Ahpel?

Ick gliecka en \_\_\_\_\_.

3. Gliest du leiva brun Brod utha witt Brod?

Ick glieka \_\_\_\_\_ bātha ans \_\_\_\_\_.

4. Iss diena Uhr Sülva utha Guld?

Miena Uhr iss fon \_\_\_\_\_ mawkt.

5. Dei meistenj Wienacht's Blaum sind rot. Anhandt sind sa \_\_\_\_\_ utha \_\_\_\_\_. Wekka denks du iss dei shōnsta Kalō-ah?

Ick mach leiwa dei \_\_\_\_\_ Blaum liehn.

6. Dei vashiedenen Kalō-ah fah dei Lichta

oopn Wienacht's Bohm sind \_\_\_\_\_ und \_\_\_\_\_. Ick gliecka dei \_\_\_\_\_ Lichta am besten.

## Part 2 Regarding "Unsern Keopah" (Our Body)

1. Rāngt et?

Ick weit nicht.

Denn stāck dien \_\_\_\_\_ oota Dōahn. Denn finndst du bald oot.

2. Diena T \_\_\_\_\_ shient jo sau witt. Wo deis du dei mitt putzen?

Ick putza mitt \_\_\_\_\_ Tāhana Kliesthah.

3. Du hast die vaküllt. Hass du dei Vaküllung inn K \_\_\_\_\_, inna N \_\_\_\_\_ inn H \_\_\_\_\_, utha inna B \_\_\_\_\_?

4. Du geis jo sau scheif. Hass du et inn P \_\_\_\_\_?

Ick hefft inn P \_\_\_\_\_ und ook in miena K \_\_\_\_\_.

5. Mie daut dei B \_\_\_\_\_ ook anhandt weih.

6. Ein Dag wass dei Temperatur üntha null. Datt wass Bootn sau koldt, ick bin weiha inn Huus kawhn. Mien G \_\_\_\_\_ und B \_\_\_\_\_ wohen sau rod, und miena T \_\_\_\_\_ füngn ann tau sitt-then. Ick woll gans shuha dein Frust inn miena F \_\_\_\_\_ und T \_\_\_\_\_ griegn.

7. Ditt wass Vahdawga en bättn haadt tau läsen, awvah miena M \_\_\_\_\_ ahbeitd jumma en bättn bātha mitt datt Platdütcha läsen und keuen.

8. Balt kann ick miena T \_\_\_\_\_ jüs sau gaut regieren ans jie, dei all lange Yaka Plattdütch keuet hett.

## Part 3 Coffee Time

1. Kumm rinn und mawk dei D \_\_\_\_\_ tau.
2. Zett die henn bie mie ahn T \_\_\_\_\_. Et iss K \_\_\_\_\_ Teet.
3. Miena ähsta T \_\_\_\_\_ K \_\_\_\_\_ iss lädig.
4. Dawah iss noch meha Kaffee in K \_\_\_\_\_ P \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Kann ick die en T \_\_\_\_\_ K \_\_\_\_\_ bringn?
6. Nimmst du Sukka in dien K \_\_\_\_\_? Und dawah bie nimm mann ook en bättn Flött.
7. Sau! En L \_\_\_\_\_ foll Sukka und feinen frischen Flött.
8. Nu könnt wie isch jo watt vatelln.
9. Blied taun eetn. Ick heff dat Mittag oopn A \_\_\_\_\_ und datt Fleish ist inn B \_\_\_\_\_ A \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Datt iss bald K \_\_\_\_\_ 12:00. Denn eed wie Mittag.

## Lesson 4

## Part 1:

Wie gawht nah Käägn.

Wo gawht jie denn nah Käägn? Watt bis du?

(a) Ick bin \_\_\_\_\_.

(b) Ick gawh nah dei \_\_\_\_\_ Käägn.

(a)	(b)
Evangelisch	Evangelischa
Lutheranisch	Lutherischa
Baptist	Baptista
Methodist	Methodista

Oosa lütjen Kintha mött ook leehn nawh Käägn tau gawhn.

(Our little children must also learn into church to go.)

Sei mött leehn stilla tau zittn, gaut tau höhn, und tohoppa singn und bäähn. (They must learn to sit still, listen well, and together sing and pray.)

Jeden Sönntag gawt wie alla nah Käägn.

## Part 2

1. Guttn Dag. Wo geit die datt Fahdawga?

Dankaschön. Mie geit dat jo gans \_\_\_\_\_.

Wo geit die sülbst?

2. Woneiah ist dien Gabohtstag. (When is your birthday?)

3. Wo wawhnst du? (Where do you live?)

4. Segga mie mawh, watt machs du äatn? (Tell me, what do you like to eat?)

5. Wenn du Tiet tau spawhn hast, watt machs du daun? (When you have time to spare, what do you like to do?)

6. Watt vonna Aabeit machs du daun? (What kind of work do you like to do?)

7. Biss du leiwa Bootn utha inn Hoosa? (Do you rather be outdoors or indoors?)

8. Watt Tiet geis du nah Aabeit? (What time do you go to work?)

9. Wawhnst du inna Stadt utha inna Kunthrie? (Do you live in town or in the country?)

## Lesson 5

### Proverbs -- Sprichwöatha

1. When the cat is away, the mice will play.  
Wenn dei Kaata weg iss, den späht dei Müsa.
2. He laughs best who laughs last.  
Weha am letsten laacht, dei laacht am besten.
3. He who lives in a glass house should not throw stones.  
Weha inn gläzenet Hus wahnt schöll keina Steina smietn.
4. As you make your bed, so you must lie in it.  
Sau ans du dien Bett mawkst, mus du tha inn lingn.
5. Well begun is half done.  
Mittn rechtn anfang iss dei hälfta fähtig.
6. Birds of feather flock together.  
Vogel mitt dei sülwigen Fähen fleigt tauhoppa.
7. New brooms sweep clean.  
Neia Bessens fägt reina.
8. You must strike the iron while it is hot.  
Mann mutt datt lesen slawn wenn it heit iss.
9. All is not gold that glitters.  
Ahns iss nicht Guld watt glisthet.
10. You can't fell an oak with a single stroke.  
Mann kann kein Eikn Bohm dawl bringn mitt ein schlach.
11. Experience is the best teacher.  
Erfahrung iss dei bessta Schaumestha.
12. No rose without a thorn.  
Keina Rausen awhna Do-en.



### Family Conversation

1. I am sleepy. I would like to go to bed early.  
Ick bin meu-a. Ick möch freu nawhn Betta gawhn.
2. Wake me at six o'clock. I must be at work early.  
Wawk mie oop bie Klocka zessa. Ick mutt freu anna Aabeit.
3. Did you rest well? Did you have enough covers?  
Haas du gaut schlawpn? Haas du ganauch Deckn hatt?
4. Where is Maria? Maria is dressing.  
Wo iss Maria? Maria tüt zick ann.
5. Anna was already dressed, but now she is changing.  
Anna was all antawgn, awvah nu tüt sei zick umma.
6. Anna changed her mind. She would rather wear the red dress.  
Anna hatt zick bazuhn. Sei woll leiwa datt roha Kleet an tein.
7. That's how it goes with girls. They never know what they want.  
Sau geit datt mitt Dehns. Sei wäht niemahls watt sei wütt.
8. Ben is clean now. He washed his hands with soap.  
Ben iss nu reina. Hei hatt ziena Hännna mitt Zeepn wuschen.
9. Soon we will all be ready. Have you put the dog out?  
Balddt sind wie alla fäetig. Het jie dähn Hundt root lawn?
10. Dad is already in the car. He blows the horn.  
Papa iss all inna Kawha. Hei blawsst dat Höen.

### Familiar Rhymes - Bekannta Rhiemarei

1.  
Maria heah en lütjet Lahmm,  
Lütjet Lahmm, lütjet Lahmm;  
Maria heah en lütjet Lahmm  
Siena Wulla was witt wie Schnei.  
Und allawähnks wo Maria güng,  
Maria güng Maria güng;  
Und allawähnks wo Maria güng,

Datt Lahmm follgt jümma nawh.

2.

Ulla Mutha Hubbard,  
 Güng nawh ehan Schapp  
 Fah en Knawkn fah ehan Hundt.  
 Awwah, ans sei nawh Schapp keum,  
 Wass datt Schapp lädig;  
 Und dei ahma Hundt häha kein Knawkn.

3.

Lütja Bo-Peep  
 Hatt eha Schawpa falawen  
 Und weit nicht wo sei sah findn scholl.  
 Lawt sah gawehn, sei kawmt nawh Hus  
 Und schläbbt eha Schwänsa ahtha-heha.

4.

Jack Spratt könn kein Fett äattn.  
 Siena Frau dröff kein Fleish  
 Sau twischen alla beida ---Süh mah henn --  
 Hett sei dähn Tella reina lickt.

## Lesson 6

### Translation.

1. Did you bring a friend with you?  
Hass du en Fründ mitt die brocht?
2. We want to eat now.  
Wie wütt nu ättn.
3. Come and sit by me.  
Kum und zitt bie mie.
4. Today many people came.  
Fadawga sünd fähla Leue kawhm.
5. Did you see the birthday cake?  
Süs du dähn Gaboatsdag Kauken?
6. Who has a birthday this month?  
Wäha hatt ditt Monawht en Gaboatsdag?
7. What will you do this afternoon?  
Watt wutt du Fanawhmadag daun?
8. The sun is shining and it is nice and warm.  
Dei Sünna shient und et iss fein und wahn.
9. It would be nice to go fishing.  
Dat was fein nawhen fishen tau gawhn.
10. We could drive around in the country.  
Wie könn-n rumma feuen unn dei Kunthrie.

Examples of Skit Scripts from the Low German Theater Weekend in Concordia, Missouri

Title: Warrumma Saun Gashenk? [Why such a gift?]

Players: Young Lady, Rosina; Doctor Ludwig; Dentist; Delivery man

Scene 1: Outdoor doorway. Ludwig is bringing Rosina home from an afternoon band concert. Curtain opens as they are talking at the door.

Rosina:

Ick well die dankn fawh saun fein-n Nawmadag, Doctor Ludwig. Dei Tiet iss sau flink fabie gawhn. Und dei Leua in dei Band hett schauh feina Musik mawkt.

Ludwig:

Yeah, ick heff ook einmawh saun Grodt Höen hatt. Mitt datt groda Höen heff ick mien Weg döeh dei College tootd!

Rosina:

Döeh dei College tootd? Datt wass awahs tau fähl Malöah in saun Gabeuda! Hett sah die rootsmätn?

Ludwig:

(laughs) Ach, no, Rosina, datt mehnt nich datt ick döah datt Gabeuda machie-et heff, weil ick mien Höen tootn deu! Datt mehnt datt ick heff Geldt fadient alla feiah Yawha mit mien Höen. Yeda Wäka deun wie in saun Band Concert späln und wie dreign gaut batawit. Datt ick gaut tootn könn hatt mie en massa Geldt fadient.

Rosina:

Yah, Doctor Ludwig. Awwah sau thraafts du hieah rumma häha nich fon dien tootn keuen. Hieah wenn en Mann zick ein tootd hatt datt mehnt gans wass anthes. Und datt höet zick nich gaut ann fawh en Doctah. Du hass dien Höen blawst. Datt höet zick bātha ann.

Ludwig:

In twei Wäkn hett sei weiha en Band Concert. Wenn du weiha mitt mie geis, denn kawhm ick in mien Model T und denn blaws ick mien Model T Höen faw die. (He gets up here)

Rosina:

Oh dat dau ick gans gehn. Twei Wäkn fon Fahdawga?

Ludwig:

Bie Klocka eina? (They part in whatever manner seems fitting; Rosina goes indoors)

## Scene 2

(Rosina is in her living room. Edmund knocks; Rosina opens the door and admits Edmund)

Rosina:

Oh, Edmund, wo kummst du oopm mawh weg?

Edmund:

Ick hähs nich fähl tau dauna in miena Office. Dei Leua hähn vollshienlich kein Tähn-doctah nötig Fahdawga. Und ick woll fahbie stuppn und von die frawgn opp du mitt mie güngst nawhn Appel-Fest bie Waverly fanawhmt. Awwah heff ick recht feina datt Doctah Ludwig fon dien Hoos keum en omlick trügga? Bis du krank Rosina?

Rosina:

Oh no, Edmund. Ick bin nich krank!

Edmund:

Denn warumma hass du dähn Doctah kawhm lawtn.

Rosina:

Ick heff ähn nich frawgt root tau kawhm. Hei iss hieah fabie kawhm glieks nawh Mittag und freuk wenn ick mitt ähn güng nawh Higginsville. Hei möss dawh en drankn Keal zein. Hei säha datt wass sau einsahm allena tau feuen. Dau bin ick mitt gawhn.

Edmund:

Warumma hatt hei die frawgt mitt tau gawhn? Hei häha jo mann ziena Mutha utha ziena Swestha mitt nähm könnt.

Rosina:

Well, falleicht voll hei datt nich. Hei gliegt geehn mitt mie tau wähn, jüs sau wie du, Edmund.

Edmund:

Watt vonn Vahgnügn wass datt fah die, mitt ähn tau gawhn en krankn Menshcnen tau bazeukn?

Rosina:

Oh, datt hatt mann en Ohmlick nawhm. Nawh datt hätt hei mie nawhn fein-n Band Concert nawhm.

Edmund:

Rosina! Hatt hei die oopm anthera Tiet all wohns henn nawhm?

Rosina:

Yeah, en pawh mawh. Hei iss en gansen fein-n Keal, und datt is en Vahgnügn mitt ähn tau wähn.

Edmund:

Rosina! Ditt finn ick sau plötslich oot - datt kann ick nich löbm. Du hass mie jümma seggt datt du gliest mitt mie tau wähn.

Rosina:

Ick weit. (pause) Und du muss mie entschuldigen wähn ick die ähagalick mawkt heff. Und ick mutt baalla tau bazinnung kawhnm -- entweethah ähn utha du. Ick kann keina twei Keals hemm!

Edmund:

In alla Weldt, Rosina! Du denkst doch nich sau fähl fon ähm (he hangs his head and wals the floor and thinks awhile). Hei iss fähl olletha wie du, und alla watt hei dei jeden Dag iss (pause) hei keuet tau dei Krankn, hei kickt zah awvah, hei petts zah hieah, und drücks zah dawh, und denn schlect hei zah oopa Knei und frawgt, "Deit datt Weih?" Denn segat hei, "Stick diena Tungn oot." Denn schrifft hei watt dawl oopm lütjet stück Papieah, watt kein Menscha läzn kann.

Translation of "Why such a Gift?"

Scene 1

Rosina:

I want to thank you for a nice afternoon. The time went by so quickly. And the people in the band surly gave us a good music program.

Ludwig:

Yes. At one time I had such a big horn, too. With that big horn I "tooted" my way through college.

Rosina:

"Tooted" through the college? That must have been a lot of noise going through a building! Did they throw you out?

Ludwig:

(laughs) Oh no, Rosina. That doesn't mean that I marched through the building tooting my horn! That means that I earned money all four years in college by blowing my horn in band concerts. We'd get paid for that. Because I could "toot" my horn so well, I earned a lot of money playing.

Rosina:

Yeah, Doctor Ludwig. But around here you shouldn't be talking about having "tooted" around. Here it means something way different when someone got himself "tooted" -- and that doesn't sound good coming from a doctor. You must say you blew your horn. That sounds better.

Ludwig:

In two weeks there will be another band concert. If you go with me again, I'll come in my Model T and then I'll blow my Model T horn for you.

Rosina:

Oh, I'd love to. Two weeks from today?

Ludwig:

At one o'clock.

Scene 2

Rosina:

Oh, Edmund. Where did you come from?

Edmund:

I didn't have much to do in my office. The people probably had no need for a dentist today. And I wanted to stop by and ask you if you'll go with me to the Apple Festival at Waverly tonight. But did I see correctly? Was that Doctor Ludwig who just left from your house? Are you sick, Rosina?

Rosina:

Oh no, Edmund. I'm not sick.

Edmund:

Then why did you ask Dr. Ludwig to come?

Rosina:

I didn't ask him to come. He came by here right after noon-time and asked if I would go with him to Higginsville. He had to visit a sick man there. He said it was so lonely to drive to Higginsville by himself, so I went with him.

Edmund:

Why did he ask you to go along? He could just as well have taken his mother or his sister.

Rosina:

Well, maybe he didn't want to. He likes being with me just as you do.

Edmund:

What kind of pleasure was that for you to go along to visit a sick man?

Rosina:

Oh that only took a few minutes. After that, he took me to a nice band concert.

Edmund:

Rosina, I'm finding out about this so suddenly. I can't believe this. You always told me you enjoyed being with me.

Rosina:

I know, and you have to excuse me if I am making you angry. And I have to make up my mind soon whether it's to be Dr. Ludwig or you.

Edmund:

In all the world, Rosina! You surely don't think that much of him? He is much older than you -- and all he does every day is (pause) he talks to the sick, he looks them over, then he knocks them on the knee and asks, "Does that hurt?" Then he says "Stick out your tongue." Then he writes something down on a little piece of paper which no man can read.



## LOW-GERMAN DICTIONARY

a		church	käegn
about	<i>umwärd</i>	claus	klaus
above	<i>üw</i>	clock	klockn
advice	rawdt	clock	klocka
afterward	nawhäha	clock or watch	uha
age	ölla	coffee pot	kaffee pott
all	alla	coffee	kaffee
always	jümma	come over	Kawma ravvah
amazing	fahmost	cold	kolt
and	und	colorful	bunt
are	sind	colors	fawa
arm	ahm	- come	kumm
arms	ahms	cook	kawkn
as	<i>äho</i>	corn	cöen
ask	fragen	count	tähln
at	<i>dake</i>	cry	wehn
august	august	cup	tässen
back	puckel	cup or mug	keupn
bad	schlecht	dance	dänsen
baptize	taufen ? <i>döbm</i>	day	<i>daug</i>
beard	bawdt	dear	lieba
beautiful	wunthashön	definatly	badeutlich
because	<i>dassum</i>	do	<i>daw</i>
bed	bett	doctor	dotha
bed	bedda	dog	hundt
before	<i>indate</i>	doer	döha
believe	löfft	dozen	dutz
bible	biebel	dress	kled
big	<i>groß</i>	during	<i>in die tuck</i>
black	swatt	ears	ohen
blue	blau	empty	lädig
body	köehpah	energetic	flietig
bones	knokn	enough	ganauch
book	bauk	evening	aunt
both	beida	everyone	jeda
boy	junga	everything	<i>alles</i>
bread	<i>brodt</i>	examine	ünthazeukkn
broken	brokn	eyes	ogen
brown	brun	eyes	ogen
but	auva	face	gesichta
buy	köppa	fah	for
by	<i>bee</i>	family	familia
can	kann	feet	feutn
certainly	gawiss	feet	feuten
chair	staul	field	feld
chairs	steull	finger	finja
cheeks	bakn	fingers	finjen
chest or bosom	bust	fingernails	finja nägel
chickens	heuntha	finished	fäetig
child	<i>kend</i>	first	ähsen
chin	kin	flower	blaum
christmas	wiennachten	foot	faut

for			knee	knei
forever	ewig		knees	kneien
fork	gahwel		knife	messt
forty	fehtsig		know	weit
friday	freidag		lamp	lampn
friend	freund		lantern	lichten
from	von		last	lettzt
front	vahn		late	lawta
fun	spaws		later	nahäha
girl	dehn		laugh	lachen
give	<del>gift</del>		learn	leahn
glass	glas		leaves	bläha
glass cabinet	glas shop		leg	bein
glass	glas		legs	beina
go	<del>ga</del>		lice	lusa
gold	guld		lightning	blitz
good	gaut		little	lütja
goodnight	gudn nawmmt		live	wawnt
grabbed	gräbn		look	kiekn
gray	gries		love	lieba
green	greun		main	haupt
greet	grüssa		make	mawka
hair	hawa	haw-a	man	<del>geh</del>
hand	hant	haw-a	me	mi
hand	hänna		mean	mehn
hängt	hang		meat	fleish
happy(glad)	froh		mice	müse
has	hatt		mine	<del>nena</del>
have	<del>habe</del>		mirror	spiegel <del>ei</del>
he	hi	hei	money	geld
head	kop		more	mien <del>more</del>
hear	höet		morning	fahmahn
heart	hada		mouth	mund
him	<del>him</del>	öän	my	<del>mein</del>
hips	hüfta		myself	sülbn
his	siena		naturally	naturlich
hot	heit		necessary	nootig <del>notig</del>
hour	stümma		neck	Nakn
house	hus		new	Neit
how	<del>wo</del>		newspaper	zeitung
hundred	hunthet		next time	nechs-mah
hungry	hungrich		nice (pretty)	shon
hunt or look	seukn		nice	schöna
hunt	seukn		nice	shön
hunt	jagen		no	<del>no</del>
husband	<del>husband</del>	Keal	nose	Näsa
I	ick		not	nicht
in	in		not any	keina
inside	inseet		now	nu
it	<del>dat</del>		now	netzt <del>f</del>
June	Juni		ook	also <del>f</del>
keep	bahohl		on	<del>up</del>
king	könig		one	<del>one</del>
kiss	küssen		or	<del>or</del>

owe you	shülig	sing	zingn
our	<i>was</i>	sleepy	meua
out	<i>rut</i>	sleep	schlawpn
other	<i>erwas</i>	sly or smart	wittzig
oven	bak awm	small amount	wenig
pain	weihdawga	sofa	zofah
pan or pot	pott	soon	balt
pants	buksen	spider	spinnabuk
person	<i>leie</i>	spoon	läpel
picture	bilt	stairway	treppn
pillowcase	küssabeuan	stalks	stokn
Plate	tellah	stalks	stawkn
play	späln	stand	steit
probably	vollshienlich	stars	stehn
put	stelln	steal	stähln
quilt	stepdekn	stocking	strumpf
raining	rengt	stomach	buk
rather	<i>other</i>	stomach	mawgn
read	läsen	stove	awm
read	läsn	straw	stroh
really	wöklich	strike	schleit
really	wöhklich	table	dish
rear or seat	hinthasen	tablecloth	hand lawkn
red	rot	take	<i>nahm</i>
refrigerator	iss bux	talk	keuan
right	recht	teeth	tänna
right	recht	terrible	shrecklich
sad	trurich	thank	danken
saving	spawson	thanks	danka
say	segn	that	datt
school	Schaula	the	dei
scold	schimpn	their	<i>leie</i>
see	<i>si</i>	there	<i>da</i>
send	schickn	these	<i>die</i>
serve	deint	they	döstich
serve <i>care</i>	spawhn	thirsty	<i>stich</i>
seventy	ziebsig	this	<i>die</i>
seven	saahn	those	häls
seventy	ziebsig	throat	möah
she	<i>wie</i>	tired	<i>tau</i>
sheet	bett lawkn	to	<i>tau</i>
shines	sieent	to be	<i>tau</i>
shirt	hempt	to do	<i>tau</i>
shoes	schaua	toes	töhna
should	schöll	tongue	tungn
shoulders	skullen	travel	feuen
shovel	schüffeln	tree limb	telgn
show	wiesen	trees	böhma
sick	krank	tried	probeiat
sick	krank	true	wäha
side or aside	zieda	two	twei
silent	stilla	until	<i>bet</i>
silently	sinnig	us	<i>wie</i>
silent Night	stille Nacht	voice	stimma

*traumlich**zine**zinn**föan**hisch*

voice  
wait  
wall  
want  
war  
was  
watch  
we  
week  
what  
when  
where  
where  
which  
white  
who

stimma  
teuf  
wandt  
well  
drieg *gung*  
wass  
uha  
wie  
wäkn  
watt  
wenn  
wo  
wo  
*mucken*  
witt  
*W. a*

wife  
window  
windy  
wind  
with  
without  
woods  
work  
woman  
wrong  
yellow  
yes  
yet  
you  
yours  
zett

*die hauer*  
fenstha  
winnig  
Windt  
*mit*  
*mitt*  
hult  
abeit  
*hauer*  
fakeht  
gäl  
ja  
noch  
jie  
gau-a  
set

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