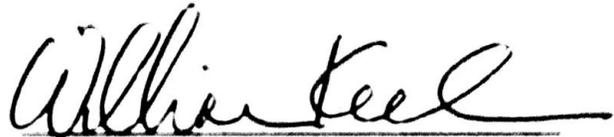


The Yolga German Dialect of Schoenchen, Kansas

by

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ABSTRACT

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University of Kansas

The town of Schoenchen, Kansas, lies 11 miles south of Hays, Kansas, in Ellis County. Schoenchen was founded in 1876 by German-speaking immigrants from the southern Volga region in Russia. Their forebears first came to Russia largely from the southern Hessian and northeastern Palatine regions of Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century at the invitation of Catherine the Great of Russia.

The Volga German dialect of Schoenchen, Kansas, remained strong for two generations following immigration to Kansas. Most of the grandchildren of the original immigrants were still actively using the dialect as young children during the years between the First and Second World Wars. The use of German began to decline during these years due to strong anti-German sentiment in the United States.

This dissertation describes the current state of the German dialect in Schoenchen, Kansas, which, like most of the other German dialects in Kansas, is in its last stages of existence. Seven informants participated in recorded interview sessions using interview materials which provided the basis for the Deutscher Sprachatlas and the Deutscher Wortatlas. In addition, informants were asked to describe pictures of rural scenes and to participate in extended question and answer sessions on a variety of topics dealing with life on the Great Plains prior to the 1950s. Some informants also related jokes and short anecdotes. All interviews were bilingual, with translation exercises and other questions presented in English and the informants answering in German. In addition, recordings of dialect interviews made in 1981 also provided data for this study.

Based on the data gathered from these interviews, the phonological, morphological and syntactic systems of the dialect are described and analyzed. In addition, a chapter is devoted to the analysis of Russian and English loanwords in the dialect. The final chapter deals with the decline and impending death of the dialect. The appendices contain all the interview questionnaires, as well as phonetic transcriptions of some translation exercises and selected anecdotes.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to those speakers of the Volga German dialects who have participated in dialect interviews and recording sessions. Because of their interest, a record of the Volga German dialects, which were spoken for more than a century in central Kansas and are now in decline, is preserved on cassette tape and on paper.

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I would like to thank William Keel of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Kansas for introducing me to the field of German dialectology and making me aware of the opportunity to do fieldwork on German dialects in Kansas.

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Foreword

The history of a language often relates the story of its spread far from the land of its origin. Overpopulation may create conditions of hunger and lack of shelter, forcing people by necessity to seek new land. Customs may force family descendants without a land inheritance to seek property elsewhere. Political conditions may force some to seek better treatment in a distant land. Some are lured to new lands by the promise of cheap land and personal freedoms. These people often settle together in a distant location and create "islands" of immigrants, unified by language and cultural background.

Separation by distance and time creates a condition in which the speech habits of the homeland no longer play a role in influencing speech habits in the speech island. The language of the speech island may seem frozen in time to the speakers in the homeland. People making up the speech island often come from different dialect areas of the homeland, leading to dialect mixture in the speech island. The influence of speakers of another language in the newly settled regions may create pressure on the speech island to either resist the intrusion of the neighboring language or to suffer language death by assimilation.

The Volga German dialects represent a German language speech island which separated from the main body of German dialects and established itself along the southern Volga River in the districts of Samara and Saratov during the reign of Catherine the Great in the second half of the eighteenth century. After a century in Russia, many Volga Germans chose to move again to the Americas in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Those who remained in Russia were forcibly relocated during the Stalin years to Kazakhstan and Siberia and other regions of the former

Soviet Union.¹ Thus today only a few widespread remnants of the original large Volga German speech island remain.

The dispersal of the speakers throughout the world has led to the gradual abandonment of the dialects by subsequent generations. In South America, Spanish and Portuguese have gradually replaced German as the first language of many Volga German descendants. In the United States and Canada, most Volga German descendants now speak English. Even in the former Soviet Union, the Volga German speakers who remained behind have gradually chosen to give up their German language in favor of Russian.

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide written documentation of what is left of a Volga German dialect spoken in Schoenchen, Kansas. Based on interviews with dialect speakers carried out in 1981, and again from 1991-93, an "Ortsgrammatik" is presented for a dialect which has survived and evolved for more than 200 years since the first emigrants to Russia left their German homeland.

¹ See Giesinger (1974) for the history of the Germans in Russia from the 1760s through the early 1920s.

Chapter 1

The Study of the Volga German Dialects: An Overview

The Volga German speech islands have been the subject of research since the middle of the nineteenth century. The earliest call for research on these dialects in Russia appears to have come in 1854 from a member of The Russian Geographic Society, D. Mordowzew. In volumes 18 and 19 of the newspaper Nachrichten des Saratowschen Gouvernements Mordowzew wrote the article "Einige Worte über das Volkstum der deutschen Kolonisten im Saratowschen Gouvernement," in which he called for scholars to study the history, culture and language of the Germans on the Volga. Based on some poems he acquired, Mordowzew made some basic observations about the peculiarities of the German language spoken along the Volga. His was the first published work about the Volga Germans and it prompted others to begin to write about the Volga Germans from a historical and cultural perspective. Serious linguistic research on Volga German dialects did not really begin however, until some fifty years later, at the prompting of German dialectologists.

Beginning in 1876, Georg Wenker, a German dialectologist, sent out questionnaires to schoolteachers in Germany, asking them to render some written sentences in the dialect spoken in the area where the teachers worked. He used these transcriptions as the basis for his Deutscher Sprachatlas. Around forty years later, this research using the Wenker sentences started to be carried out on the dialects in the German speech islands in Russia. At the urging of Ferdinand Wrede, Wenker's student and successor as head of the Deutscher Sprachatlas project, two teachers in Russia began in 1913 to gather samples of German spoken in villages in the Volga

region, as well as to collect dialect samples from the Ukraine, from the Caucasus region, from along the Crimean Sea and in the Urals. August Friedrich Lonsinger, a teacher at the Saratov State University and Johann Georg Kromm, a schoolteacher in Jagodnaja Poljana on the Volga were able to gather Wenker sentences from eighty-seven villages during 1913 and 1914. Their work was halted by the First World War and the subsequent Russian Revolution and civil war.

World War I did, however, provide an opportunity for the German linguist, Wolf von Unwerth, to study the dialects of German-speaking Russian prisoners of war being held in a camp at Holthausen in Westfalia. With the support of Wrede and the Deutscher Sprachatlas, von Unwerth collected dialect samples of German-speaking prisoners from the Volga region and from the Ukraine in March, April and June 1917. His research was sponsored by the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, as part of an effort by the society to investigate the German dialects among prisoners of war. Von Unwerth's task was not only to gather dialect samples, but also to analyze the dialects linguistically and attempt to identify a linguistic homeland.

Von Unwerth, in fact, divided his 1918 study Proben deutschrussischer Mundarten aus den Wolgakolonien und dem Gouvernement Cherson into chapters according to dialect regions in Germany. The three chapters he devotes to Volga German dialects are titled "Vogelsberg- und Spessartmundarten," "Hessisch-Pfälzische Mundarten" and "Westpfälzische Mundarten" (von Unwerth, 1918). In each chapter the forty Wenker sentences are given, followed by a discussion of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the dialect samples, with the greatest attention paid to the diachronic study of the phonology¹. The influence of German dialect

¹ Specifically, the transformations from Middle High German to modern Volga German dialects are treated in this study

geography is obvious in this work, as phonological and lexical evidence is the sole basis for any conclusion about the German homeland of the dialects.

In the decade after the civil war in Russia, a period of great productivity ensued with regard to the study of ethnic and immigrant languages in the Soviet Union. Three centers for the study of Russian-German dialects were established.² One center, headed by Viktor Schirmunski,³ was in Leningrad. This center was responsible for the study of the dialects around the widely separated cities of Leningrad and Voronezh, as well as in parts of the Ukraine, in the Crimean Sea area and in the Caucasus. The second center, located in Odessa under the direction of Alfred Strom, was also responsible for the study of Russian-German dialects in the Ukraine. The third center was responsible for the study of the Volga German dialects. This center was located in Saratov and was headed by Georg Dinges, arguably the most productive researcher of the Volga German dialects in Russia.

Dinges's dissertation, written in 1917, and entitled "Der russische Einfluß in den Mundarten der deutschen Kolonisten der Gouvernements Samara und Saratov," treated the phenomenon of Russian borrowings in the Volga German dialects.⁴ A

² Berend and Jedig (1991) provide an extensive history of research on the German dialects in the former Soviet Union. They provide good summaries of the key findings of scholars working with these dialects.

³ The English transcription for this Russian name is Zhirmunski. I have elected to use the German transcription Schirmunski, since he also published in German.

⁴ According to Berend and Jedig (1991) Dinges's dissertation was probably destroyed along with other research and personal papers after his death in 1932 from typhoid fever. They summarize the contents of his dissertation based on a late (undated) unpublished manuscript by Dinges entitled "Über den Einfluß des Russischen in den wolgadeutschen Mundarten," located in the Dinges-Dulson Archive at the Engels Branch of the Saratov State Regional Archives (Manuscript 25). Based on their summary, Dinges classifies reasons for borrowing lexical items from Russian into German according to "reasonable" or "emotional" factors. A reasonable cause for borrowing is for the designation of a newly encountered item foreign to the new settlers. Another reasonable basis for borrowing is to replace an existing German term for something with a shorter foreign borrowing. He also designates as reasonable the borrowing of the Russian name for an item, even if some Volga German speakers may have known a German term for it. Finally, he considers as reasonable borrowing a foreign term for something when the speaker no longer has a firm grasp of the mother tongue and cannot quickly come up with a native term for an item and substitutes the more often heard borrowing.

Emotional reasons for borrowing an item refer to a borrowing which may express more feeling than the native word, such as cursewords, or may more precisely express a foreign environment. Finally, a

related Russian language article about Russian borrowings in Volga German entitled "Über die russischen Wörter, die von den Wolgadeutschen bis zum Jahre 1876 entlehnt wurden"⁵ was published by Dinges in 1929.

Along with August Lonsinger, Dinges established the "Arbeitsstelle zur Erforschung der wolgadeutschen Mundarten" in the early 1920s. At this time, Dinges was a professor in the Department of West European Languages and Literature at the Chernyshevsky University in Saratov. While in Saratov, Dinges made many field trips into the Volga German villages during the early 1920s, collecting data for the creation of an atlas of the Volga German dialects similar to the Deutscher Sprachatlas. He used the Wenker sentences and questionnaires he developed himself to gather information for his "Wolgadeutscher Sprachatlas" and other research projects. Altogether over 1000 samples of Volga German dialects were gathered from villages in the southern Volga region.⁶

Dinges made another important contribution to the study of the Volga German dialects. He began to study the Volga German dialects synchronically, studying the phenomenon of dialect mixing. He initiated the comparative study of the differences between the dialects of mother colonies and daughter colonies in the Volga region. He began to analyze which dialect features predominated in towns where several dialects competed, a typical situation in the daughter colonies. This was only possible because records were available at that time about the towns of origin of many of the residents in the various Volga German towns. Dinges and others were able to analyze

speaker may find the foreign language more eloquent than the native dialect and foreign words are borrowed to embellish the dialect.

⁵ German translations for Russian titles are provided by Berend and Jedig (1991)

⁶ Copies of the questionnaires and research data and transcriptions are archived at the Engels Branch of the Saratov State Regional Archives, as are maps for the "Wolgadeutscher Sprachatlas". See Berend and Jedig (1991)

the competition among primary and secondary characteristics of mother colony dialects in the daughter colonies.

Dinges was able to collect and publish data until 1929, a year before deportation from his Volga German homeland. Although his ambitious goal of a Volga German *Sprachatlas* was never realized, he did publish several articles and a map which today provide valuable information about the Volga German dialects in the 1920s. One article, "Über unsere Mundarten," written in 1923, was intended to convince the Volga Germans of the worth and stature of their dialects in comparison to literary Standard German.⁷ It did so by drawing connections between the dialect areas of the old homeland and the dialects along the Volga, thus showing that the spoken German of the Volga Germans was not a corruption of literary Standard German. He also published a companion map to this article which graphically illustrates major German homeland dialect characteristics found in the Volga German towns. This map remains a valuable research tool.

Two students under Georg Dinges published works about the Volga German dialects following his departure from the university and the Volga region. Franz Schiller did more research on foreign borrowings in the Volga German dialects which resulted in his article "Über den Einfluß des Krieges und der Revolution auf die Sprache der Wolgadeutschen," published in 1929. When Dinges was forced to leave Saratov, he turned over much of his research materials to his former student, Andreas Dulson. Dulson had become a close associate of Dinges and helped organize the large quantity of data involved in the "Wolgadeutscher Sprachatlas." Dulson published a short article in 1933 entitled "Einige lautliche Eigentümlichkeiten der wolgadeutschen Mundarten." He published this article as a teaching aid for those

⁷ See Schach (1984) for a current analysis of this article

teaching literary German and Russian to the speakers of Volga German dialects. His article provided an extensive phonological description of the dialects, designed to help teachers overcome the problem of dealing with the pronunciation peculiarities of the dialect speakers.

Meanwhile in Leningrad, Schirmunski was establishing his reputation as a linguist working with Russian German dialects. Best known outside Russia for his Nemetskaya Dialektologiya 1956 (transl. Deutsche Mundartkunde 1962), Schirmunski wrote two general articles about the Russian German dialects prior to the Second World War. In one of these articles, "Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten," written in 1930, Schirmunski draws from Dinges's research on Volga German dialects.

The deportation of the Volga Germans between the 1920s and the 1940s spelled the end of intensive research on Volga German dialects. The great Volga German speech island ceased to exist. Today, the Volga Germans in Russia are spread throughout Kazakhstan, Tadshikstan, Siberia and other republics of the former Soviet Union, with few traces remaining of their nearly 180 years along the Volga.⁸

The Volga Germans who emigrated to the United States one hundred years after settling along the Volga began to catch the attention of scholars in Kansas within a generation after resettlement in that state. Three works were written prior to World War I which mention the Volga German dialects. One work, written by William H. Carruth in 1893 entitled "Foreign Settlements in Kansas," only mentions that there were communities of Germans from Russia located in Ellis County, Kansas, and other counties in the state who still used German in the churches and in the schools as of 1891.

⁸ Post World War II dialect research in Russia deals to a large degree with dialect mixing in the deportation settlement areas. See Berend and Jedig (1991)

An excellent study by Rev. Francis S. Laing, a Capuchin monk in Ellis County, Kansas, relates the settlement history and cultural practices among the Volga German towns in Ellis County. His article, "German-Russian Settlements in Ellis County, Kansas," written in 1910, also confirms the use of German in the home, school and church at that time. Furthermore, his article mentions some of the Russian lexical borrowings in use among the Volga Germans in Kansas.

In Russell County, Kansas, directly east of Ellis County, J. C. Ruppenthal, a district judge, also wrote a very detailed article about the settlement of the Germans in Kansas, including names of settlements and German language newspapers. His article, "The German Element in Central Kansas," published in 1913-14, concentrates mainly, but not exclusively on the Russian Germans in central Kansas. He names the Russian settlements from which the immigrants originated and also lists Russian vocabulary still in use at the time by the German speaking settlers. A similar list of Russian borrowings used by the Volga Germans in Kansas was submitted by Ruppenthal to the American Dialect Society. This list was published in 1914 under the title "Russian Words in Kansas."

World Wars I and II interrupted scholarly study of the German dialects in Kansas. It was not until 1946 that a Catholic sister, Mary Eloise Johannes, published her dissertation "A Study of the Russian-German Settlements in Ellis County, Kansas." In this dissertation, she describes, among other things, the use of German and English in the Ellis County schools and the effects of Russian and English on the German dialects. She provides examples of Russian and English loanwords and speculates on how the Russian loans may have entered the language. She also briefly defines the differences in vowel pronunciation of the various Volga German dialects in Ellis County.

M. Francesca Keller, another Catholic sister, wrote a master's thesis in 1956 entitled "A Study of St. Anthony's Parish, Schoenchen, Kansas, 1877-1956." In this thesis, she briefly touches on the German dialects of Ellis County and provides some more examples of English words filtering into the dialect.

The period between World Wars I and II was a time of high decline in the transmission of the dialect to the younger generation, due in part to extreme persecution of German ethnic groups. It was not until 1962 that notice was served that the use of foreign languages in Kansas was in decline. Foreign Language Units of Kansas, by J. Neale Carman, describes the extent of use and decline of all non-English languages in the counties of the state. An important aspect of the work is the establishment of a "critical year" for each settlement founded by non-English speakers. This designates an approximate year "in which a community ceased to use [lang [foreign language] habitually in the majority of homes where there were growing children" (Carman 1962, 2). In effect, Carman draws attention to the impending death of the non-English speech islands in Kansas. He also provides a great service by identifying areas of great potential for the gathering of language data for people interested in studying foreign language speech islands. This work gave birth to serious study by linguists of the Volga German dialects in Kansas from the 1970s to the present.

The centennial of the establishment of the Volga German settlements in Kansas awakened renewed interest in the history of the Volga German language and culture. Books and articles were written by descendants of the original settlers in an effort to reinstall a sense of worth in the Kansas Volga Germans.⁹ Scholars were once again

⁹ Toepler and Dreiling (1966), who tell of the trials of the Volga Germans while in Russia, on the way to America, and during their first century in Kansas, anticipate the awakening cultural awareness and self-worth of the Volga Germans which culminates in the centennial celebration of the founding of the Volga German communities in central Kansas ten years later. The centennial itself was celebrated in Schoenchen, Kansas in part through the publication of Werth (1979), which through pictures and text

drawn to central Kansas to investigate the re-emerging culture.¹⁰ It was at this point that linguists began to seriously study the Volga German dialects in Kansas.

In the mid 1970s, two articles were written about the Volga German dialects in Ellis County, Kansas. Gilbert (1976), drawing heavily from Carman, provides some vocabulary data showcasing some differences between Standard German usage and dialect usage among the Volga German towns in Ellis County. He also mentions a few of the differences among the dialects with regard to vocabulary, morphology and sentence word order in his article. Interestingly, Gilbert also compares characteristics of the Kansas Volga German dialects with Texas German and Pennsylvania German. He also claims a Southwest German origin for the Volga German dialects in Ellis County.

Denning (1977) in turn relies heavily on Gilbert in introducing the research goals in his article. His article does provide much more data than Gilbert with regard to vocabulary and grammar collected from speakers in Victoria and Emmeram, both in Ellis County, as well as in Odin (Odin Austrian German from Moravia), located in neighboring Barton County. Drawing from Gilbert, Denning compares the Volga German dialect characteristics with those of Texas German speakers and Pennsylvania German dialect groups. He also agrees with Gilbert's conclusion about

chronicles the founding of Schoenchen and connects the modern generations with their immigrant ancestors.

Dreiling (1976), another centennial publication, chronicles the establishment of the Volga German settlements in Ellis and Rush counties. He acknowledges Laing (1910) as a primary source for his historical material, as well as Dreiling (1926), the golden jubilee publication celebrating the 50th anniversary of settlement.

¹⁰ Saul (1974) explores the reasons for the Volga German immigration to Kansas and tells about the effort of immigrant agents to attract the settlers to Kansas.

Kloberdanz (1975, 1980, 1986), studies the Volga Germans from an anthropological perspective, analyzing among other things, the adaptation of the Volga Germans to the Great Plains and the interaction among the inhabitants of the various towns. He tells of some surviving Russian lexical items found among the Volga Germans. He also mentions some of the affiliation characteristics among the various Volga German villages in Kansas, noting that residents of one town have unflattering nicknames for residents of another, yet he does not mention any of the dialect differences among the villages.

a southwest German origin for the dialects, keying incorrectly in on Swabia as the likely homeland, as does Gilbert.¹¹

Albrecht (1979) relies heavily on research done by Laing, Ruppenthal and Carman in his study of German speech communities in Kansas. He deplores the "phonetische Korruption" (1979,165)¹² among the Volga German speakers, basing his judgment primarily on information collected sixty-four years earlier by Ruppenthal (1913-14). He also mentions as a source a one paragraph anecdotal article, Sackett (1960), which is based on second-hand information told to the author by a student.

Samples of Volga German dialects in Ellis and Rush counties were finally systematically collected in the early 1980s, soon after the arrival of William Keel at the University of Kansas. With the help of grant funding from the University of Kansas, Keel was able to undertake the collection of Wenker sentences and words from the Deutscher Wortatlas for all the Volga German communities in Ellis and Rush counties. He and his students were able to collect approximately fifty hours of dialect interviews. These data were the basis for one master's thesis (Shire,1981), two research papers, (Wasinger, 1985 and Johnson, 1985), and a number of articles written by Keel.

Shire's 1981 thesis is a study of one specific Volga German dialect in Ellis County. She investigates the sound system of Katherinenstädter Deutsch, spoken in Catherine, Kansas. She provides a current as well as a historical analysis of the phonological system of this dialect.

Keel (1981) provides an introduction to the six dialect divisions of Volga German in Ellis and Rush counties. He also attempts to determine the German homeland for the Volga German dialect in Schoenchen, Kansas. By the use of

¹¹ See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the German homeland of the Schoenchen dialect.

¹² presumably in comparison with Modern Standard German

traditional German dialect isoglosses, Keel comes to the conclusion that Schoenchen German exhibits many characteristics common to the area in and southwest of Frankfurt. He expresses surprise that, despite the potential for extreme dialect mixing following migrations from Germany to Russia and then to America, such strong characteristics of a localized German homeland dialect are still exhibited.

Keel (1982) then enlarges the scope of the search for linguistic homelands for all the Volga German dialects in Kansas. Keel describes this "Heimatbestimmung" not as an attempt to determine the point of German origin for the dialects, but rather as "a linguistic description of the Ellis County dialects in terms of the characteristics which distinguish the West Germanic dialects" (1982,98). In this article he concludes that along with the Schoenchen dialect, the dialects of the towns of Munjor, Pfeifer and Liebenthal all show strong affinities to South Hessian. Herzog dialect, (spoken in Victoria, Kansas) is categorized as West Palatine and the dialect of Catharine is described as descended from a West Middle German *Stadtmundart*, similar to its namesake on the Volga.

Schach (1984) also treats, among other things, the Volga German Herzog dialect spoken in Victoria, Kansas. He takes exception to the assignment of the dialect by Keel to the dialects of the western Palatinate, claiming equally good arguments can be made for classifying Herzog German as Hessian, along with the majority of the other Volga German dialects in Ellis County, Kansas.

Keel (1989) is a study of the verb morphology of Herzog dialect, spoken in Victoria. This article is the first attempt to begin to create an "Ortsgrammatik" for an individual Volga German dialect in Kansas. In this article he describes the verb system as being very consistent with the system found in the Rhenish Franconian dialect region of Germany. There is also first mention in this article of the desire to create a Sprachatlas for the Volga German dialects.

In the 1989 volume Sprachatlannten des Deutschen, edited by Werner H. Veith and Wolfgang Putschke, Keel introduces the "Sprachatlas der wolgadeutschen Mundarten in Kansas," as a work in progress.

The work of Keel and others has not gone unnoticed by dialectologists in Germany. Veith (1989) relies on the evidence provided by German language speech islands, one of those being Ellis County Volga German, as the basis for his claims regarding the age of a particular realization of [ç] in certain dialects of the German homeland.¹³

Volga German dialects in Nebraska have also been the focus of study by Paul Schach. Schach (1983) provides information about the Balzer dialect, spoken in Lincoln, Nebraska.¹⁴ He chose this dialect because of the good fortune that the origins of the original settlers on the Volga could be traced with reasonable certainty to the region in and around Budingem, Germany. Based on his observations about the lack of central Hessian features in Balzer German, he speculates the dialect is based on a Volga *Umgangssprache*, which developed in the Volga region prior to emigration and which had many Rhine Franconian features. He also describes bidialectal language activity among the Balzer speakers by virtue of their use of linguistic registers in various speech situations.¹⁵

The Volga Germans in Colorado also received some attention in the 1986 article by Klaus D. Hoffmann. His article is a discussion of the gradual decline of the use of mainly Volga German in towns situated on the Colorado plains east of the Rockies.

¹³ Specifically Veith discusses the shifting of [ç] to [j] in central Germany. He uses Volga German evidence, as well as other dialect evidence lacking this occurrence, to determine that the coronalization had to become widespread after these speakers left the German homeland for Russia in the late eighteenth century.

¹⁴ The informants immigrated to Nebraska after World War I and were educated in both Standard German and Russian.

¹⁵ He refers to these linguistic registers as levels. He describes the two levels in use among the dialect speakers as follows: "One is used for casual conversation among themselves, the other for singing, reading aloud, and for speaking to tourists or intruders like myself" (161).

where many Russian Germans settled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. No specific information is provided about any one Colorado Volga German dialect.

Scholars have also been drawn to the Volga German settlement areas in Argentina and Brazil. As in the United States, Volga German culture in the South American settlement areas has received the most attention, the dialects being described mostly as one manifestation of the culture.

Thomas Kopp, a German schoolteacher from Hamburg, first worked among the Volga Germans in the Entre Rios region of Argentina. His early encounters with the Volga Germans resulted in his 1957 article "Deutsche Muttersprache in der Pampa Argentinien." In this very unscientific article he speaks of the colloquial speech (Koloniesprache) as a mixture of mainly Rhenish Franconian dialects. He also comments on the incursion of Spanish and Russian words into the speech of the Volga Germans.¹⁶

Kopp's travelogue style in his 1957 article gives way to a much more scholarly approach toward the Volga German dialects in his 1979 book Wolgadeutsche siedeln im argentinischen Zwischenstromland. Although he claims there are no phonetic characteristics separating the dialects of the various towns in Entre Rios, he is able to cast some light on some of the residual dialect characteristics of original settlers which still stand out in the town of Marienthal, a town settled by speakers of six different Volga German dialects in Russia. In this discussion he does bring out some of the phonological differences among the dialects. Kopp relies heavily on Dinges (1923) in discussing the problem of determining the "Urheimat" for the Argentinian

¹⁶ In his own words: "Soweit steht fest: die Hauptsprache der Pampakolonisten ist noch die deutsche. Wie aber in einem Kuchenig Rosinen eingestreut sind, so gibt es auch hier in der Sprache dunkle Punkte" (373)

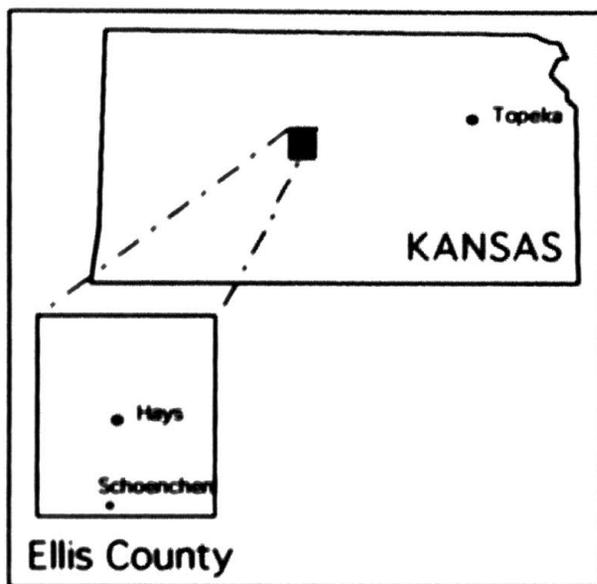
Volga German dialects. As a part of this discussion, Kopp provides a useful analysis of Volga German dialects in Russia. He comes to the conclusion that no firm information about a particular place of origin for the speech of a German community in Argentina can be derived through analysis of a dialect alone, due to factors such as prestige, which influence which dialect might prevail in a community where there is dialect mixture. He also provides more information about the influences of Russian and Spanish on the dialects in his book.

Graefe (1971) is a description of the Volga German culture in Argentina. She devotes one section of her book to the dialects. She dwells mainly on German language lexical characteristics of the dialects, but does provide some useful examples of Russian and Spanish loans found in the dialects.

Fausel (1959) provides a list of Portuguese loanwords found in the colonial German in Brazil. Among the towns from which he culled his list he mentions Santa Catarina, a Volga German colony. The majority of the list is derived, however, from the largest colonial dialect, Hunsrückisch, brought over by immigrants from Germany in the 1820s and 1830s.

Chapter 2

Schoenchen: A Short History and Current Population Statistics



Schoenchen, Kansas, is located 11 miles south of Hays in Ellis County. It is located on the banks of the Smoky Hill River, which stretches across central Kansas, eventually feeding into the Kansas River. Surrounding the town are farms, which derive their income from raising wheat and other crops, ranching, some oil drilling and sand extraction. The landscape is

characteristic of the high plains, mainly flat, but hilly in the areas near the rivers. The geology of the area is dominated by the remnants of a former great inland sea. Beneath the topsoil lie sand and limestone deposits, very important in the construction of many of the enduring buildings in the area. Oil deposits have also provided sources of income for many of the farmers in the region.

After the Civil War, the Great Plains of the United States were opened up for settlement, primarily due to the construction of the railroads. In an effort to settle the areas surrounding the railroad lines,¹ the major rail lines advertised heavily for homesteaders to settle the plains. Word of the availability of large tracts of land made it to immigration agents, who made a major effort to attract foreign immigrants seeking new opportunities. In Kansas, the Kansas Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka

¹ In Kansas, the railroads were granted rights to land 20 miles either side of the tracks. See Saul (1974)

& Santa Fe railroad companies played major roles in attracting Russian Germans to Kansas,² with the Kansas Pacific³ reaching Ellis County.

In the southern Volga region, conditions which had first attracted the original settlers from Germany to Russia had vastly changed.⁴ Due to population growth, there was not much land left to support the large population. The Volga German villages grew to be very large.⁵ The inducements for settling the region, offered by Catherine the Great on July 22, 1763, had been rescinded a century later by Alexander II in 1871. Russification policies began to be implemented in the Volga German villages, affecting local self-government and military service requirements. A few years earlier in 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed the Homestead Act, offering 160 acres of free land to any immigrant willing to become a United States citizen. Brazil, Argentina and Canada also made similar offers. After hearing of the opportunities to acquire land overseas, the Volga Germans began to send out scouts to find desirable land for relocation. The landscape in central Kansas was reminiscent of the Volga steppe, which the immigrant farmers felt compelled to leave.

Schoenchen, founded in 1877, was the last of the original Catholic Volga German villages in Ellis County to be founded by the first major wave of immigrants from Russia. This major immigration period started with scouting expeditions in 1874.

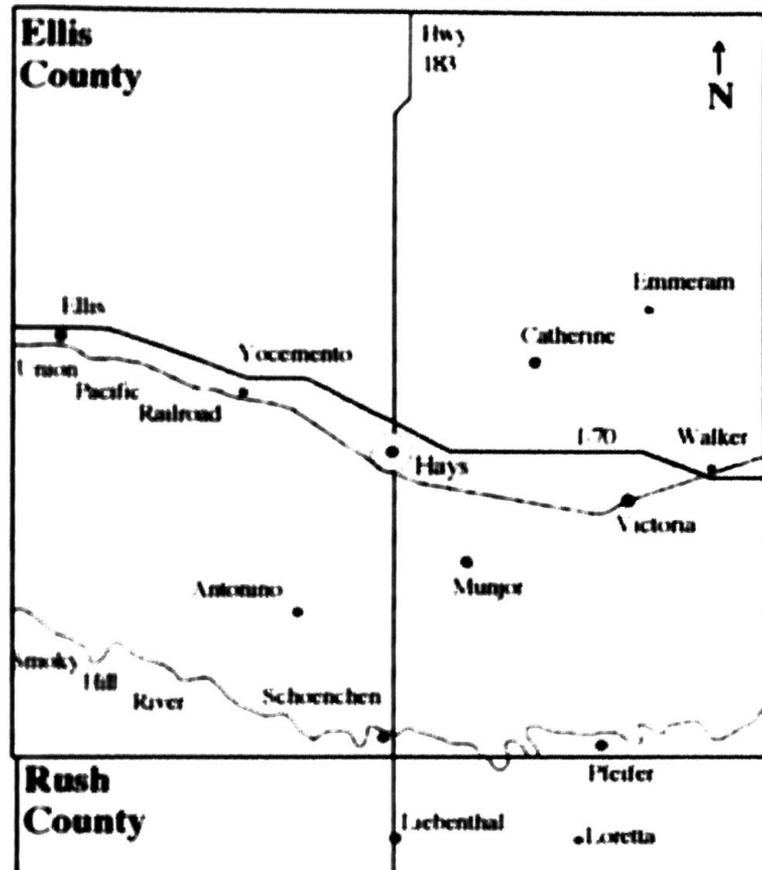
² See Saul (1974) for details about the efforts of the railroads and their agents to attract settlers to Ellis County and other Kansas counties.

³ Now the Union Pacific Railroad

⁴ See Giesinger (1974) for a comprehensive history of the Germans in Russia. Chapter I describes the inducements Catherine offered the German immigrants. Chapter XII relates the repudiation of Catherine's promises and the resulting emigration of many Russian Germans.

⁵ Paninskoye, Russia, renamed Schoenchen, was founded in 1767. According to Stumpp (1973), Schoenchen had a population of 198 in 1772 and by 1912 had grown to have a population of 3,132. Neu-Obermonjou (Bobrowka), founded in 1859 as a daughter colony for Obermonjou (Kriwoskoje) had a 1912 population of 1,053, according to Sallett (1974), with no figure given for the founding year population. These two towns provided most of the original settlers of Schoenchen, Kansas. Obermonjou had a 1772 population of 279 and grew to 2,882 by 1912, despite spawning the daughter colony. In fact, all 1912 population figures show how the area continued to grow despite the exodus of a large number of Volga Germans a generation earlier in the 1870s.

The majority of settlers left Russia in 1875 and established villages in Ellis County in 1876.



The Catholic Volga German Settlement Area

The six original villages, Liebenthal (actually located just south of the Ellis County line in Rush County), Catherine, Herzog (now Victoria), Munjor, Pfeifer and Schoenchen were named after the villages along the Volga from which their respective founders originated. Ironically, Schoenchen was the last village to be settled because of a controversy among the settlers in Liebenthal, the first Volga German village established in Rush County.

Liebenthal was first settled by three groups of immigrants from Russia. The first group left Saratov in 1875, and included people from Neu-Obermonjou.⁶ About six months after the establishment of Liebenthal in February 1876, a second group arrived from Schoenchen, Russia, with a third group arriving from Neu-Obermonjou, Russia a month later.⁷

These early settlers began to pursue plans to move Liebenthal to a more suitable location on higher ground with a good water supply. Some settlers built dwellings on lots at the new location. The new location was, however, zoned as school land. Due to lack of funds, the settlers were unable to purchase the title on the land in order to build a church. Meanwhile, another settler had donated four acres of land to the Catholic diocese for a church within the bounds of the original town, making the move to a new location impractical. The settlers who had begun settling the new location abandoned the buildings they had erected on the unpurchased lots and decided to move farther north to the banks of the Smoky Hill River to establish a new village.⁸

Of the three groups mentioned above who arrived in Liebenthal in 1875 and 1876, those in the first group who were from Neu-Obermonjou, the majority of those in the second group who came from Schoenchen, and most of the third group, also from

⁶ The town of Obermonjou, Russia, of which Neu-Obermonjou was a daughter colony, was named after Major Otto de Monjou, an immigrant agent.

⁷ See Laing (1910) for the names of the original settlers of the various Volga German villages in Ellis and Rush counties, as well as the names of the ships which carried them across the Atlantic. This information can also be found in Dreiling (1976) and Werth (1979), with the descendant generations of the original settlers also listed.

⁸ According to Toepfer and Dreiling, Liebenthal was settled by people from the Russian towns of Liebenthal, Schönchen, Graf, Marienburg and Neu Obermonjou. They describe the causes leading to the split in the following way: "This was the only settlement in which major groups from different Volga towns tried to establish themselves in America in a new colony. This natural enmity as well as a disagreement over the town site led to the establishment of Schoenchen on the site it presently occupies in the bend of the Smoky Hill river in Ellis county." (1966,167).

Neu-Obermonjou, moved to the new location which was to become Schoenchen, Kansas.

The next issue of controversy dealing with the founding of Schoenchen involved naming the village. The town was first called St. Anthony,⁹ named for the patron saint of the Catholic church in Neu-Obermonjou, Russia, the town of origin of approximately half of the new settlers. The town name also appears in 1882 records as San Antonio. The Schoenchen residents who emigrated from Schoenchen, Russia, did not like the name San Antonio for the village, preferring the name of their former town on the Volga. The final compromise was to name the village Schoenchen, but the church St. Anthony, thus appeasing all the settlers of the young town. By 1885 the name Schoenchen [Schoengen] appears.

The new community started out with approximately 200 residents.¹⁰ The population appears to have remained at or above this number until 1940. No actual population figures for the town are officially recorded until the census of 1940, the population for that year being 259. The figure for the 1950 census, 170, provides the first evidence for a decline in population. By 1970 the population dipped even further to 162, according to census records. The 1990 census lists the population of Schoenchen as 128.¹¹

The 1990 population is divided among 48 households, making the average number of persons per household 2.67. The average family size for Schoenchen is

⁹ The town was also known for a short time as Tyner, after the First Assistant Postmaster General, James N. Tyner, who provided his name for the first post office in the town in 1880.

¹⁰ This figure was reported by the first postmaster for St. Anthony, George Gottschalk (Werth 1979, 18)

¹¹ The population of Lookout Township, that area including and immediately surrounding Schoenchen, does not display the same trend toward population decline. The 1940 census showed its population to be 579. The 1950 census reported 636 residents in the township and the 1970 census reported 489. The 1990 census lists the population for Lookout Township at 534.

3.11.¹² The median age for Schoenchen residents is 37.1. The age breakdown for Schoenchen is as follows: ¹³

Age	Number of Residents
5 and under	6
16 years and older	94
18 years and older	88
18 to 20 years	2
21-24 years	1
25 to 44 years	38
45 to 54 years	13
55 to 59 years	5
60 to 64 years	6
65 years and older	23
75 years and older	10
85 years and older	3

The table can be broken down into larger age categories. The population of the 17 years old and younger group is 40. For the category 18 years old to 44 the population is 41. The group from age 45 to 64 numbers 24. The population of those 65 and over numbers 23. It is primarily from the last two groups that competent speakers of Schoenchen German can be found. These are the people born before the critical year 1945 established by Carman (1962, 133) for Schoenchen.

¹² For Lookout Township, the average household size is 2.75 and the average family size is 3.15

¹³ The median age for Lookout Township is 36.2. The breakdown of ages is: 5 and under, 37; 16 years and older, 399; 18 years and older, 381; 18 to 20 years, 19; 21 to 24 years, 12; 25 to 44 years, 157; 45 to 54 years, 53; 55 to 59 years, 23; 60 to 64 years, 38; 65 years and older, 79; 75 years and older, 33; 85 years and older, 6

Chapter 3

The Methodology for Dialect Interviews and Transcriptions

The "Ortsgrammatik" to be presented in Chapter 4 is designed to provide a permanent record of the main features of the Schoenchen dialect as well as to provide data for scholars interested in German dialectology, Volga German foreign language speech islands, and German dialects in the United States. To this end, the dialect interviews were designed to collect data for comparison with the work carried out on German dialects in Germany by Georg Wenker and his followers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the research conducted in the 1920s in Russia by Georg Dinges, as well as research conducted in the United States by Lester W. J. Seifert, William Keel and others.¹

The determination of fluency was not a critical factor in designing the interviews, due to the limitations of the dialect informants. The Schoenchen dialect is on the verge of extinction. One symptom of this is the paucity of highly fluent informants. There are very few left who can converse easily in the dialect on a variety of topics. Most informants speak from recollection, not constant, continual usage. The language lives on in childhood memories, but English is the primary language at home and outside the home. The informants can be mostly classified as what Dorian

¹ Many questionnaires were available as references for the design of the interviews used for this study. Some of these questionnaires were designed to gather actual dialect data. From Germany, these include the 40 Wenker sentences published in Mitzka (1952, 13-14). Volume 20 of the Deutscher Wortatlas, which appeared in 1973, provides a list of the 200 items used in creating the dialect maps found in the atlas. From the United States, the unpublished Seifert Questionnaire (1946) was used. Other U.S. questionnaires consulted include Kurath (1939, 149-58), Haugen (1953, 645-53) and Gilbert (1972, 4-5). Berend and Jedig (1991, 56-69) published the questionnaires used by Dinges in Russia in the 1920s. These questionnaires were also consulted for this study.

An unpublished questionnaire designed by Kurt Rein for the study of German immigrants from Bucovina and one designed by Phillip Webber for Amana German were consulted for questions meant to solicit data about the frequency of dialect use as well as determining the occasions when a speaker would most frequently speak Schoenchen German rather than English. These data are discussed in Chapter 8.

refers to as "semi-speakers" (1977, 24), in that they can make themselves understood in German, but feel more at home in English.

Several were capable, however, of extended conversation in the Schoenchen dialect on a variety of subjects, so long as conversation avoided matters dealing with modern technology, the most obvious trigger for code-switching to English. Informants selected for inclusion in this study were more than capable of providing the necessary data for comparison with prior dialect research carried out in Germany, Russia and the United States.

The bilingual capabilities of the informants did play an important role in the dialect interviews. Translation exercises were employed with English cues being rendered into German dialect equivalents. Conversations were also bilingual. Questions were posed to the informants in English, with the responses in German dialect. There was very little concern among informants about the correctness of the German spoken, since Standard German was not employed.² Few had difficulty dealing with bilingual interaction, since it has been a fact of life for all involved for most of their lives.

The basic interview³ consisted of four distinct exercises and was designed to last ninety minutes to two hours.⁴ All informants were first given the forty Wenker sentences in English (Appendix 1)⁵ and were asked to translate them into German. The next translation exercise involved providing the German equivalent for as many items as possible from the two-hundred-item list from the Deutscher Wortatlas, also translated into English (Appendix 1). The third exercise involved describing three

² Dialect informants are aware of the "High German" once used by priests and teachers.

³ As used in the 1991-93 interviews.

⁴ Because of time restraints, some interviews had to be shortened, which usually meant reducing the number of items solicited from the DWA.

⁵ The appendix gives the original German sentence with the English equivalent used for the interview. The informants neither saw nor heard the original German models.

pictures depicting rural life (Appendix 1). The final step in the basic interview consisted in asking the informant to relate an anecdote in German or asking the informant assorted questions in English and requesting replies in German. Topics included such things as describing the first day at school, the depression and dust bowl years, the wedding day, or questions about the family. A critical factor in choosing conversation topics was to attempt to have the informants recall events prior to the 1950s, when English began to make major encroachments into the life of the Schoenchen German speakers, due to the increasing access to radio and television and the necessity of using English terminology for all the new appliances and electronic devices.

The Wenker sentences were utilized because they have been used by German dialectologists since 1876 for the determination of dialect isoglosses in Germany. They provide comparison data for determining a possible German place of origin for the Schoenchen dialect. Although the sentences could be criticized as being provincial or outdated for the study of modern German dialects, they have proven themselves to be very practical for translation exercises involving informants born into a rural environment. All the informants for this study were easily able to translate the sentences into the Schoenchen dialect. Informants also found the translation of the Wenker sentences very entertaining.

Another possible weakness of Wenker sentences for comparative dialect study evolves from their original use as a tool for an indirect method of dialect data acquisition. Wenker originally sent out the sentences to schoolteachers throughout central Germany and asked them to transcribe the sentences into what the schoolteachers felt was an accurate rendering of the dialect in their immediate vicinity. These transcriptions were then returned to Wenker for analysis. There was no training of the schoolteachers in transcription and inconsistencies were apparent

when questionnaires were returned.⁶ Over the years, however, as linguists trained in phonetic transcription began to take over the task of gathering the dialect data, the reliability of the transcriptions improved. There is no reason to think that transcriptions of Wenker sentences provided by trained linguists like von Unwerth and Dinges are not accurate and reliable for comparison with data collected in the 1980s and 1990s, even considering the minor differences in transcription systems. Comparisons of this sort are critical for analyses of the similarities and changes in dialects over space and time. The Wenker sentences are indispensable for this type of analysis, since so many transcriptions of the sentences have been made over the last century.

Another weakness of the Wenker sentences concerns their utility for syntactic analysis. The sentence structure of an informant's response may be influenced by the sentence structure of the model sentence, regardless of whether the model is provided in German or English.⁷ The response may not reflect how the informant might construct a sentence in natural speech. Because of this weakness, the Wenker sentences are utilized only to a small extent in the discussion of syntax in the grammar.

The reason for collecting the two hundred items from the Deutscher Wortatlas (DWA) was to have more data for drawing some clues about the possible place of origin of the dialect in the German homeland. The ability of the informants in Kansas to give a German equivalent for all two hundred items proved to be impossible.

⁶ Wenker recommended that teachers use the Standard German writing system for writing the transcriptions. See Schirmunski (1962, 70-78) for a good overview of Wenker's methodology and the resulting inconsistencies in transcriptions. Schirmunski then gives his opinion of the indirect method of dialect research. "In Wirklichkeit ist es klar, daß durch die Anzahl der von Laien ohne Kenntnis der phonetischen Transkription ausgefüllten Fragebogen die Genauigkeit ihrer Antworten nicht erhöht wird" (1962, 91)

⁷ However, an interesting study by Maurer (1926) of the word order of the subordinate clause in Wenker sentence 24 (Appendix 1) could not have been written, if the Standard German model indeed influenced the dialect realizations which were produced.

Many of the plant life terms asked for in the German model are not native to the steppes of Russia or the Great Plains of Kansas, such as primrose or cranberry. Informants were unable to provide these terms. Other terms lost from the German dialect in Schoenchen throughout the years involve occupations such as tinsmith and barrel maker, or an obscure item such as a barrel hoop.⁸ Aside from this fact, and the fact that some terms were forgotten by some and remembered by others, many of the most common terms from the DWA charted in the dtv- Atlas zur deutschen Sprache could be successfully collected.

The last two exercises in the initial interview were designed to gather Schoenchen dialect in a free speech environment. First, informants were asked to describe three pictures of rural settings. They could talk about the landscape and buildings, the sky and weather, the seasons, and about the animal life depicted in the pictures. None of the pictures proved difficult for the informants, and in fact, the exercise was surprising in that it provided an excellent way to get some informants to use subjunctive verb forms.⁹

To complete the initial interview, some informants took part in a simple question and answer session. This exercise was intended to collect examples of conversational dialect. Other informants, however, chose to recite anecdotes and jokes in Schoenchen dialect. These had been memorized earlier, but were useful in determining the sound system of the dialect in extended discourse. Three versions of the same joke were recorded from the same informant over a ten-year period, each version differing slightly from the others with regard to vocabulary chosen. This is a reflection of this informant's ability to improvise within the dialect.

⁸ Informants were, however, able to provide the equivalent for barrel.

⁹ Informant 1 discusses in his first interview, for example, that the scene looks as if a horse were out in the pasture and had a colt

This ability to improvise was critical for determining which informant would serve as the principal informant for the detailed description of the grammar, with the other informants providing the supporting data. The principal informant would have to be the most comfortable and fluent in the dialect in free conversation. Ideally, this person would also be able to recite verb paradigms and noun phrases within the context of a sentence or in isolation.

The principal informant (Informant 1) chosen for this study was born in 1927, a grandson of one of the founders of Schoenchen, Kansas. He has worked as a housing inspector and has earned income as a farmer and by selling sand from his property. He has a high school education, but was never schooled in Standard German. He is highly regarded by many German-speaking residents in Ellis County for his ability to speak Schoenchen dialect fluently.

Informant 1 was first recorded in 1981.¹⁰ His recording was the basis for the seminar paper written by Wasinger in 1985. He was chosen as the principal informant for this study based on the quality of this interview, and based on the recommendation of a highly regarded expert on Ellis County Volga Germans, Lawrence Weigel.¹¹

Along with the data provided by the principal informant, recordings from another three of the eleven Schoenchen speakers interviewed by Shire in 1981 were transcribed for this study.¹²

¹⁰ Cassette copies of the 1981 interviews, conducted by Ilse Shire, as well as all interviews conducted between 1991 and 1993 by the author, are kept at the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at the University of Kansas.

¹¹ Weigel, aside from his expertise on German folksongs in Ellis County, has published dozens of essays in the *Ellis County Star* related to the culture of the Volga Germans. These essays, recordings of folksongs, and other items contained in the Weigel Collection are kept in the Ethnic Heritage Collection in Forsyth Library at Fort Hays State University in Hays, Kansas. See Schmeller (1980) for a bibliography of the complete collection.

¹² Many informants interviewed by Shire had difficulty remembering how to speak in German. Those chosen for this study from the 1981 group had the least difficulty in translating the Wenker sentences into Schoenchen dialect.

Information on these three other 1981 informants:

<u>Informant #</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>
2	F	1914
3	M	1912
4	M	1919

These three informants were able to provide translations of the Wenker sentences, as well as a few items from the DWA. Informant 4 also was able to relate several short anecdotes in the dialect, which were transcribed.

Informant 1 participated in interviews again in 1991 and 1992, providing a new set of Wenker sentence translations as well as a more complete list of the 200 items from the DWA than had been collected before in Ellis County. He also participated in picture description exercises, recited anecdotes and participated in question and answer sessions. He was able to provide verb and noun phrase paradigms in isolation. In subsequent interviews, he provided a complete translation of the Seifert Questionnaire and provided data on English and Russian loanwords in Schoenchen German.

Information on other 1991 informants:

<u>Informant #</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>
5	F	1932
6	M	1909

Informants 5 and 6 both provided recordings of the Wenker sentences, with Informant 6 also providing a short anecdote.

Informant 4, first interviewed in 1981, agreed to be interviewed again in 1993. He provided a new set of Wenker sentences as well as picture descriptions, anecdotes, free conversation, and some verb and noun paradigms.

Three other informants were also interviewed in 1993:

<u>Informant #</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>
7	M	1921
8	M	1926
9	M	1926

These informants recorded Wenker sentences, described pictures, and participated in question and answer exercises.

All the informants except Informant 9 were educated beyond the eighth grade. Informant 6, the oldest informant, was the only one to receive schooling in Standard German.

The family histories of the 9 informants were researched in order to ascertain the extent of dialect mixture in the informants' families. The following table provides parental place of birth information as provided by the informants themselves or by chapter 22 of Werth (1979, 128-52) (Russian locations in bold) :

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
1	Schoenchen	Schoenchen
2	Schoenchen	Schoenchen
3	Schoenchen	Munjor
4	Schoenchen	Schoenchen
5	Schoenchen	Schoenchen
6	Schoenchen	Schoenchen
7	Preuß	Preuß
8	Schoenchen	Preuß
9	Schoenchen	Munjor

Informants 1, 2, 4, and 5 fit in one class in which both parents were born in Schoenchen, Kansas. All other informants have at least one parent born in Schoenchen, Kansas, or Schoenchen, Russia, except for Informant 7, whose parents were both born in Preuß, Russia, and came to Schoenchen in 1915. All the informants grandparents were from Russia except for the paternal grandfather of Informant 5, who came from Bucovina. All informants are considered Schoenchen

natives, as evidenced by their inclusion in Werth (1979) and their recognition of one another as such.

The transcription system used in this study is based on symbols adopted by the International Phonetic Association with one arbitrary modification by the author.¹³ Vowels in the dialect are described in terms of position and tense/lax distinctions.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

Informants participating in the 1991-93 interviews were recorded on cassette tape using a Realistic VSC-2001, a variable speed control cassette recorder. A small external table-top microphone was used during recording sessions. Sessions were either held in informants' homes, or at the Forsyth Library at Fort Hays State University in Hays, Kansas.

¹³ Pullum and Ladusaw (1986) was consulted for clarification on specific questions about the use of a particular symbol, such as the arbitrary decision to use [a] for the lax lower back unrounded vowel and [ɔ] for the tense

¹⁴ Choosing the tense/lax distinction was done in accordance with modern convention for describing Standard German and German dialects. Dinges, however, stressed the vowel length distinction when instructing his fieldworkers in transcription. They were told to designate vowel length by transcribing two consonants after the short vowel or using two vowel symbols to designate the long vowel, if the pronunciation did not correspond to Standard German. See Berend and Jedig (1991, 58)

¹⁵ See Moulton (1962, 62-4). Stress corresponds to Standard German patterns at both the word and the sentence level

Chapter 4

The Grammatical Description of Schoenchen German

This chapter presents an 'Ortsgrammatik', or overview of the linguistic structure of Schoenchen German. The phonology, morphology and syntax of the Schoenchen dialect will be described and analyzed in as complete a manner as the present state of the dialect allows.

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops								
Voiceless	p			t			k	
Voiced	b			d			g	
Fricatives								
Voiceless		f		s	ʃ	ç	x	h
Voiced	β	v	ð	z	ʒ		ɣ	
Voiceless Affricates				ts	tʃ			
Nasals	m			n			ŋ	
Liquid				l				
Trill				r				
Approximant						j		

The Consonant System of the Schoenchen Dialect

Phonology : Consonants ¹

Stops

/p/ [p] - The voiceless bilabial stop is aspirated in word-initial position only. In word final position, syllable-final position before a following consonant, and in consonant clusters, the sound retains its voiceless nature, but with no aspiration in the release. It never occurs in intervocalic position.

word-initial position- /pe:vɔː/ 'pepper'; /paʊnt/ 'pound'; /pæstɔː/ 'pasture'

word-final position- /blaɪp/ 'stay!'; /ʒosəp/ 'Joseph'; /ʃteɪp/ 'steppe'

clusters- /gɪp/ 'give!'; /ʃpreɪk/ 'speak (dependent infinitive)'

/b/ [b] - The voiced bilabial stop occurs mainly in word-initial position. It occurs rarely in intervocalic position and never word-finally. Clusters containing /b/ and a following liquid or resonant occur only syllable-initially or word-initially.

word-initial position- /bet/ 'bed'; /beɪz/ 'angry'; /berɪjz/ 'mountains'

intervocalic position- /eɪbəl/ 'apple'

clusters- /bleɪvz/ 'leaves'; /braʊnz/ 'brown'

/t/ [t] - The voiceless alveolar stop occurs only occasionally in word-initial position, where it is aspirated.² It most often occurs word-finally and in clusters. With regard to clusters, /t/ occurs only as the second element. Intervocalic use of /t/ is rare. Instead, the voiced fricative /ð/ often occurs in this position.

word-initial position- /təʊdəvaxɪ/ 'funeral'; /tɑːnəʊtm/ 'pine trees'

intervocalic position- /vetɔː/ 'weather'

¹ Forms in tables are phonemic representations.

² There is, however variation in word-initial position with /d/, which occurs much more commonly. One factor in the phonemic variation in word-initial /t/ and /d/ may be the way data is collected. A word pronounced in isolation may have more emphasis on the initial consonant. The word /təʊdəvaxɪ/ 'funeral' was collected using the DWA two-hundred word list, while /dɒt/ 'dead' was collected in the context of Wenker Sentence 14

word-final position- /bet/ 'bed'; /dʊrʃt/ 'thirst'; /fɔːtsɛlt/ 'told (past participle)'; /hʊnt/ 'dog'

clusters- /blɪtst/ '(it is) lightning'; /kʊxt/ 'cooks'

/d/ [d] - The voiced alveolar stop occurs most often in syllable-initial and word-initial position. It also occurs in intervocalic position. It only occurs initially in clusters accompanied by a following /r/.

word-initial position- /dɒt/ 'dead'; /dɛŋk/ '(I) think'

intervocalic position- /saɪdɔː/ 'times'; /ʃnaɪdɔː/ 'cutting (dep. inf.)'; /rɒdɔː/ 'red'

clusters- /drʊgɔːnɔː/ 'dry'; /draɪ/ 'three'

/k/ [k] - The voiceless velar stop occurs aspirated word-initially and syllable-initially alone or as the first element of a cluster followed by a voiceless fricative. It also occurs in one instance in a cluster preceded by the affricate /tʃ/. It occurs also aspirated in word-final position preceded by a vowel or as the second element of a cluster, preceded by /ŋ/. All words collected with /k/ in intervocalic position involved the preceding past-participle prefix /gɔː/, the /k/ actually acting as the first element of the following syllable.

word-initial position- /kɪnt/ 'child'; /kʊxɔː/ 'to cook'; /ksaɪ/ 'said (past part.)'

intervocalic position- /gɔːkɛmt/ 'combed (past part.)'

word-final position- /dɛŋk/ '(I) think'; /bɛk/ 'back (adverb)'; /kɛk/ 'biscuit'

clusters- /fɔːrɪkɪ/ 'crazy'; /kʃtɔːlɔː/ 'stole (past part.)'; /nɔːkfaɪlɔː/ 'fell (past part.)'; /nɪkɔː/ 'nothing (adv.)'; /dɔːʃkɔːl/ '(spinning) top'

/g/ [g] - The voiced velar stop occurs alone word-initially preceding a vowel or in a two consonant cluster followed by a resonant. It occurs in intervocalic position as

well, but is often realized as the corresponding fricative. It does not occur in word-final position.

word-initial position- /gɑul/ 'horse'; /gɔrats/ 'stolen (past part.)'

intervocalic position- /logal/ 'bird'; /naɪgaŋa/ 'went down (past part.)'; /agɔr/ 'acre'

/gɔlegɔnhɔt/ 'opportunity'; /gɔgɔkt/ 'looked (past part.)'; /aɪgɔn/ 'own (adv.)'

clusters- /grɔzɔr/ 'bigger'; /glunɔ/ 'small'; /glɔɪks/ '(you) like'; /gɪgl/ 'rooster'

Fricatives

/β/ [β] - The voiced bilabial fricative occurs only in intervocalic position or in a cluster following a resonant.

intervocalic position- /ɔβɔnt/ 'evening'

clusters- /sɪβɔrs/ 'themselves' ; /gɔʃtɔrβɔ/ 'died (past part.)'

/f/ [f] - The voiceless labio-dental fricative occurs most often word-initially and word-finally. It also appears in clusters word-initially and word-finally. It occurs occasionally in intervocalic position.

word-initial position- /faɪr/ 'fire'; /fɔn/ 'from'; /fɛlt/ 'field'

intervocalic position- /kafi/ 'coffee'; /pɔsɪfɪk/ 'Pacific'

word-final position- /af/ 'monkey'; /sɔf/ 'soap'; /dɪf/ 'deep'

clusters- /fɪŋzɔr/ 'Spring (the season)'; /flaɪʃ/ 'meat'; /dɔrf/ 'town'; /kfunɔ/ 'found (past part.)'; /hɔrfɪsɪç/ 'barefoot'; /frɔʃ/ 'frog'; /ɛftɔr/ 'more often'

/v/ [v] - The voiced labio-dental fricative occurs most often word-initially and in intervocalic position. Initially the sound can occur with very little friction so that it

sounds more like the bilabial continuant [w].³ It does not occur word-finally. In consonant clusters it can occur at a syllable boundary preceded by /p/, word-finally preceding a syllabic resonant consonant or following the affricate /ts/ or sibilant /ʃ/.

word-initial position- /vant/ 'wall'; /viðɔr/ 'again'; /ver/ 'who'; /vuts/

'wheat'; /vɔrt/ 'word'; /vintɔr/ 'winter'; /vurɔn/ '(they) were'

intervocalic position- /fɔrkuvɔ/ 'sell (dep. inf.)'; /ovɔ/ 'oven'; /gɔvɛzɔ/ 'been (past part.)'; /vorʃt/ 'sausage'; /vuts/ 'wheat'

clusters- /levl/ 'spoon'; /laipvɛ/ 'stomach ache'; /tsvai/ 'two'; /ʃvestɔr/ 'sister';

/ð/ [ð] - The voiced dental fricative only occurs in intervocalic position.

intervocalic position- /hleðɔr/ 'leaves'; /viðɔr/ 'again'; /hlaυðɔrɔ/ 'speak (dep. inf.)'

/s/ [s] - The voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in all environments and in two and three-consonant clusters. Four-consonant clusters can sometimes be found at syllable boundaries.

word-initial position- /salz/ 'salt'; /sam/ '(they) are'; /sof/ 'soap'

intervocalic position- /nɔsɔvatsɪç/ 'curious'

word-final position- /grɔs/ 'big'; /rɔnhus/ 'rabbit'; /haos/ 'house'

³ This variation is not likely the result of any English interference from words such as *weather* or *water*. The variation is more likely a reflex of MHG word initial <w->, probably pronounced as [w-] in words such <weter> or *wasser*. This means that by the late eighteenth century this consonant had not evolved completely to the voiced labiodental fricative [v-] in the dialects of many speakers who settled Schoenchen, Russia.

Schirmunski (1962, 366) claims that most High German dialects have the bilabial pronunciation while Low German dialects have the labiodental in word-initial position. See also sections 115 and 116 of Paul/Wiehl/Grosse (1989, 140-41) for a complete description of MHG /w/.

Writers of Volga German descent in Kansas display this uncertainty between <w-> and <v-> in their transcriptions of dialect words in Ellis County as well. Pfeifer (1983, 39), for example, writes *Waa:* for 'wheat', while Werth (1979, 67) writes *Vā:*, although he later transcribes the word for 'what' as *Wō:*

clusters- /hɪsja/ 'a little bit'; /ɔksɔ/ 'oxen'; /gɔgaksɪ/ 'cackled (past part.);

/gensɔr/ 'goslings'; /hɛltsjɔr/ 'matches'; /gaulsmɪk/ 'horsefly'

/z/ [z] - The voiced alveolar fricative does not appear in word-initial position in careful speech but occasionally occurs in this position in free conversation.⁴ It occurs most often in intervocalic position. It can occur occasionally in a cluster following a lateral or preceding a syllabic resonant or lateral.

intervocalic position- /hɑɪzɔ/ '(it will) bite'; /gɔvɛzɔ/ 'been (past part.);

/grɛzɔr/ 'bigger'; /kɛzɔ/ 'trough'

word-final position- /sɑlz/ 'salt'

clusters- /hɔlzɔnɔ/ 'wooden'; /hɔkmezɔr/ 'scythe'

/ʃ/ [ʃ] - The voiceless post-alveolar fricative occurs very often in word-initial position, both alone preceding a vowel or in a cluster. It also occurs often in two-consonant clusters.

word-initial position- /ʃɛn/ 'nice'; /ʃɛf/ 'sheep'; /ʃɪp/ 'shovel'

intervocalic position- /gɔvɛʃɔ/ 'washed (past part.)'

word-final position- /kɪnɪʃ/ 'foolish'; /dɪʃ/ 'table'; /frɔʃ/ 'frog'; /flɑɪʃ/ 'meat'

clusters- /ʃvɛstɔr/ 'sister'; /sɛlβɔrʃ/ 'themselves'; /fɔrʃtɛ/ '(I) understand';

/flɔʏ/ '(I will) hit'; /bɔrʃt/ 'brush'; /dɔrʃt/ 'thirst'; /ʃtɪk/ 'piece'; /ʃnɛ/

'snow'; /ɛrʃt/ 'first'; /kʃtɔlɔ/ 'stole (past part.)'

/ʒ/ [ʒ] - The voiced post-alveolar fricative occurs infrequently and only appears in intervocalic position.

⁴ Most speakers use the demonstrative pronouns /der, des, di/, but occasionally the plural demonstrative /di/ is often realized as /z/ or even /z/. This often occurs in fast speech following a word ending in /l/. /di hun ɔlɔs vɔs si hun vɔlɔ/ *Sie haben alles, was sie haben möchten*. 'They have everything they want', /ɪç dɛŋk ɪç hun zɪ ʌpgɔlɔvɔ/ *Ich glaube, ich habe sie durchgelaufen*. 'I believe I have walked them off.'

intervocalic position- /gratʒʌ/ 'yell (dep. inf.); /grɪʒʌ/ 'locust'; /ʃvɪʒʌs/
'between'

/ç/ [ç] - The voiceless palatal fricative does not appear in word-initial position. It is occasionally found in intervocalic position or in a cluster, but it most often occurs in word-final position. This consonant always follows a front vowel in word-final or intervocalic position.

intervocalic position- /ʃpreçʌ/ 'talk (dep. inf.)'⁵

word-final position- /mɪlɪç/ 'milk'; /marɔdɪç/ 'tired'; /ɪç/ 'I (1st person personal pronoun)'; /arɪç/ 'very'

clusters- /fleçt/ 'bad'

/x/ [x] - The voiceless velar fricative does not occur in word-initial position. It does occur in intervocalic position and in clusters with a following /l/. This consonant always follows a back vowel.

intervocalic position- /koχʌ/ 'to cook'; /gəbrɔχʌ/ 'broken (past part.)'

/maxʌ/ 'to make'; /brauχ/ '(I) need'

word-final position- /sax/ 'dress'; /hoχ/ 'high'; /aʊχ/ 'also'; /betdʊχ/ 'bedspread'

clusters- /dɔχtʌ/ 'daughter'; /tɔdɔvaxt/ 'burial'; /ʃlaxtʌ/ 'butcher';

/gɔmaxt/ 'made (past part.); /fruχt/ 'fruit'

/ɣ/ [ɣ] - The voiced velar fricative occurs mainly in intervocalic position. It occasionally occurs in word-final position.

intervocalic position- /ʃpreɣʌ/ 'talk (dep. inf.); /ʃeɣʌljʌ/ 'little bird'; /fliɣʌ/

'(they) fly'; /sʊɣʌ/ 'tell (dep. inf.); /vʊɣʌ/ 'wagon'

word-final position- /mɔndaɣ/ 'Monday'

⁵ In this particular word, many speakers pronounce this consonant as the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/

/h/ [h] - The voiceless glottal fricative occurs mainly in word-initial position. When it occurs in intervocalic position, it always follows a verb prefix and is pronounced after a juncture pause. The same is true of consonant clusters at compound-word boundaries. There is a juncture pause before the /h/ is pronounced.

word-initial position- /haus/ 'house'; /hum/ 'home'; /hɛjər/ 'higher';

/hʊnt/ 'dog'

intervocalic position- /həhova/ 'behaved (past part.)'; /gəhus/ 'called (past part.)'

clusters- /hɪŋəlhaus/ 'chickenhouse'

Affricates⁶

/ts/ [ts] - The voiceless alveolar affricate occurs in all positions. It occurs most often in two-consonant clusters, but can also be a part of a three-consonant cluster.

word-initial position- /tsaɪdə/ 'times'; /tsvai/ 'two'; /tsɔŋk/ 'ago'; /tsɪk/ 'goat'

intervocalic position- /retsəlɔ/ 'story'⁷

word-final position- /vʊts/ 'wheat'; /herts/ 'heart'; /kraɪts/ 'cross'

clusters- /fɔrtsɛlt/ 'told (past part.)'; /blɪts/ '(it is) lightning (past part.)';

/ʃpɛtsjə/ 'sparrow'; /hɛltsjɛr/ 'matches'; /lɛts/ 'last'

/tʃ/ [tʃ] - The voiceless post-alveolar affricate occurs only rarely. It occurs in word-final position in one word and in a cluster in one other collected word. It does not occur in word-initial or intervocalic position.

word-final position- /hʊtʃ/ 'whip'; /dʌtʃ/ 'German'

⁶ Moulton (1962: 44-8) prefers to treat affricates as consonant clusters, while Schweikle (1990: 129-32) treats each affricate as a phonologically distinct unit derived historically from a single consonant. For the purposes of this study, Schweikle's interpretation is the basis for the inclusion of affricates in the phonemic inventory.

⁷ Some informants weaken this affricate to /dʒ/ or even /ʒ/ in intervocalic position.

clusters- /dɔtʃkɔl/ 'top'

Nasals

/m/ [m] - The bilabial nasal occurs in all positions. It occurs in compounds following /ʃ/ or preceding the verbal past participle suffix.

word-initial position- /mɪlɪç/ 'milk'; /mɪr/ 'we (nom. pl. pronoun), me (dat. sg. pronoun)'

intervocalic position- /ɪmɔː/ 'always'; /kɔmɔː/ 'came (past part.); /ʃumɔː/ 'sheep (pl.)'

word-final position- /hʌm/ 'home'; /tʃɛm/ 'trees'; /flʌm/ 'flower'

clusters- /ʃmoʊ/ 'mosquito'; /ʃmoʊɔː/ 'Smoky (Hill River)'; /fɔːdɑmɔː/ 'damned (past part. adj.)'

/n/ [n] - The alveolar nasal occurs in all positions. Most occurrences in intervocalic position involve a following adjective ending. It occurs often in clusters preceding another alveolar consonant, but can also occur as the second element of a cluster following /ʃ/. It also occurs in combination with non-alveolar consonants at syllable junctures, where a pause occurs between the nasal and other consonant.

word-initial position- /nɔː/ 'new'; /naxɪ/ 'night'; /naɪn/ 'nine'

intervocalic position- /glɔːnɔː/ 'small'; /brɔːnɔː/ 'brown'; /ʃɛnɔː/ 'pretty'; /fɪv/ 'five'

word-final position- /vaɪn/ 'wine'; /maɪn/ 'mine (possesive adj.)'; /sɑɪn/ '(they) are'; /hɔːn/ '(they) have'

clusters- /ʃnɔː/ 'to snow'; /kɑːnɔː/ '(you) can'; /ɑːndɔː/ 'other'; /kɪl/ 'child'; /ʌs/ 'us (dat./acc. pronoun)'; /ʌŋgræʃ/ 'weeds'; /bɪrɪəl/ 'burial'

/ŋ/ [ŋ] - The velar nasal occurs most often but not exclusively in combination with a following velar consonant, in word-final position or in intervocalic position. It does not occur word-initially.

intervocalic position- /hɪŋəl/ 'chicken'; /driŋə/ '(to) drink'; /fɔŋgəŋə/ 'melted (past part.)'

word-final position- /jɒŋ/ 'boy'; /dɪŋ/ 'thing'

clusters- /fɪŋkəts/ 'skunk'; /fræŋk/ 'cabinet'; /gəɪdɪŋt/ 'hired (past part.)'

Liquid

/l/ [l] - The alveolar liquid occurs in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final position. It can occur in many two-consonant clusters. When clusters of greater than two occur, it is at a syllable or compound word juncture, with a pause occurring at some point in the cluster. If the cluster occurs word-finally with /l/ as the final element, the /l/ is a syllabic consonant.

word-initial position- /luft/ 'air'; /laʊt/ 'loud'; /lɑːt/ 'people'

intervocalic position- /ʃeɪlə/ '(we) shall'; /kəɪlə/ '(we) call'; /hɪlɪtʃə/ 'cheaper'

word-final position- /fiːl/ 'much'; /hɪŋəl/ 'hen'

clusters- /sɔːlt/ 'salt'; /fiːld/ 'field'; /flæʃtə/ 'butcher'; /ɡeɪt/ 'money';

/flaʊə/ 'flower'; /ɡəʊlsmɪk/ 'horsefly'; /ɡlɔːnə/ 'small'; /seɪβəz/ 'themselves'; /spiːnəl/ 'spoon'

Trill

/r/ [r] - The alveolar trill occurs in all positions and in many clusters as the second element of the cluster, although it can occasionally occur as the first element of a cluster. The trill is stronger in a stressed syllable than in an unstressed syllable.

where it tends to weaken more toward a flap [r], but the sound never becomes approximate in nature, nor does it tend to vocalize in word-final position. It also tends to be more of a flap than a trill in clusters.⁸

word-initial position- /rɔdɔ/ 'red'; /retsɔljɔ/ 'story'; /ruslant/ 'Russia'

intervocalic position- /ɔrɔn/ 'ears'; /andɔrɔ/ 'others'

word-final position- /dɛr/ 'the (masc. sg. def. art.)'; /mir/ 'we'; /vasɔr/
'water'

clusters- /ʃtrak/ 'straight'; /braunɔ/ 'brown'; /gardɔ/ 'garden'; /dɔrf/ 'town';

/hart/ 'hard'; /ʃprɛɣɔ/ 'talk (dep. inf.)'

Approximant

/j/ [j] - The palatal approximant does not occur in word-final position. It occurs only occasionally in intervocalic position. It most often occurs in word-initial position and as the second element of two-consonant clusters, where the cluster is actually split by a syllable juncture joining the diminutive suffix /-jɔ/ to a word stem.

word-initial position- /jɔr/ 'year'; /ja/ 'yes'; /jetsɔ/ 'now'

intervocalic position- /hejɔr/ 'higher'

clusters- /ʃɛɣɔljɔ/ 'little bird'; /ʃɛfjɔ/ 'lamb'; /ʃɛnjɔ/ 'Schoenchen'

The following table shows the distribution of the consonant phonemes in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final position. Although not all consonants occur in all environments, enough contrasts are provided to support the inclusion of each sound described above in the phonemic inventory.⁹

⁸ Pfeifer (1983, 39) refers to this sound as a 'soft r' in intervocalic position in words such as *gefährten*, *waren* and *Ernte*, and 'hard r' in words such as *gross*, *recht*, *Donnerwetter* and *Kerch*.

⁹ The design of this table is based on Moulton (1962, 21)

<u>Word-Initial</u>			<u>Intervocalic</u>		<u>Word-Final</u>	
/p/	/paif/	'pipe'			/ʌaip/	'stomach'
/h/	/hantʃ/	'whip'	/ɛhəl/	'apple'		
/β/			/ɔβant/	'evening'		
/v/	/vaif/	'because'	/ovə/	'oven'		
/f/	/faif/	'fire'	/kafi/	'coffee'	/paif/	'pipe'
/ʌ/	/ʌun:ɔhcm/	'pine tree'	/vet:ɔr/	'weather'	/hant/	'today'
/d/	/das/	'cup'	/pedɔr/	'godfather'		
/l/			/hleɔr/	'leaves'		
/ɔ/	/ɔain/	'(I) am'	/vasɔr/	'water'	/hus/	'hot'
/t/			/gre:zɔr/	'bigger'		
/ʃ/	/ʃarf/	'quickly'	/gɔveʃɔ/	'washed'	/diʃ/	'table'
/j/			/gratʃɔ/	'yell'		
/k/			/ʃpreçɔ/	'to speak'	/kɪnç/	'church'
/k/	/kants/	'(you) can'			/mik/	'fly'
/g/	/gans/	'goose'				
/ɔ/			/koxɔ/	'to cook'	/hux/	'book'
/ɔ/			/ʃmoxɔ/	'Smoky'	/daɔ/	'day'
/h/	/hus/	'hot'				
/m/	/man/	'man'	/familiɔ/	'family'	/hom/	'home'
/n/	/nam:ɔ/	'name'	/ʃnɔ/	'nice'	/man/	'man'
/ɪ/			/ɔnkfɔɪɔ/	'begun'	/lɔɪ/	'long'
/ʌ/	/ʌaip/	'stomach'	/alɔ/	'all'	/mail/	'mile'
/r/	/raif/	'ripe'	/anç/	'very'	/faif/	'fire'
/j/	/ja/	'yes'	/hejɔr/	'higher'		
/ʌ/	/ʌaif/	'time'	/retʃɔjɔ/	'story'	/vuts/	'wheat'
/ʃ/					/hantʃ/	'whip'

In comparison with modern and historical stages of German, the voiceless consonants of the Schoenchen dialect reflect lenition, yet this tendency toward weakening is not systematic in all environments, as the following examples will show. Lenition tends to occur most often in medial environments, but some initial

position weakening of voiceless stops is documented, especially in free conversation or sentence translation exercises. Voiced stops and fricatives are also occasionally lenited in medial environments.

The Schoenchen dialect displays no reflex of the sound shift from West Germanic (WG) /p/ to the Old High German (OHG) affricate /pf/ in word-initial or word-final environments: /punt/ *Pfund*¹⁰ 'pound'; /kɔp/ *Kopf* 'head'. Medial WG geminate /pp/ also does not shift to OHG /pf/, but rather lenition occurs in this environment: /ɛhol/ *Äpfeln* 'apples (dat.)'. WG /p/ does shift to OHG /f/ medially, often lenited to /v/: /pɛvɔɾ/ *Pfeffer* 'pepper'. The dialect also displays evidence of lenition of OHG /p/ in word-initial environment: /blaudɔɾ/ *plaudern* 'to speak'; as well as in later borrowings: /hʉntʃ/ *Peitsche* 'whip'. The voiced bilabial fricative /β/ reflects the lenited actualization of medial OHG /b/: /kʃtɔɾβɔ/ *gestorben* 'died'.

The dialect reflects the sound shift WG /t/ → OHG /ts/ in word-initial and OHG /ts/ in medial environments: /tsaidɔ/ *Zeiten* 'times'; /vasɔɾ/ *Wasser* 'water'. The shift of WG /t/ → OHG /t/ in word-final position is also documented: /des/ *das* 'the (3rd person neuter definite article)'. Medial OHG /ss/ can also occur with the lenited realization /z/: /grɛzɔɾ/ *größer* 'bigger'. Word-initial OHG /t/ is inconsistently lenited: /dir/ *Tür* 'door'; /diʃ/ *Tisch* 'table'; /dɔp/ *Topf* 'pot'; /dɔt/ *tot* 'dead'; but: /tannɔɾɛm/ *Tannenhdume* 'pine trees'; /tɔdɔvaxl/ *Begräbnis* 'funeral.' Unshifted medial OHG /t/ is lenited: /bleɔɾ/ *Blätter* 'leaves'. Word-initial WG /d/ → OHG /t/ also exhibits lenition: /daɣ/ *Tag* 'day'.

The shift of the voiceless velar stop WG /k/ → OHG /kʰ/ is also reflected word medially, e.g. /koxɔ/ *kochen* 'to boil'. There are both full and lenited pronunciations of word-initial OHG /k/ in the dialect, lenition occurring when /k/ is paired with a

¹⁰ New High German (NHG) forms are given in italics.

following liquid or trill in a word-initial cluster: /kolə/ *Kohle* 'coal'; /kirç/ *Kirche* 'church'; but: /grœt/ *Kraut* 'plant, weed'; /glunə/ *klein* 'small'; /grin/ *kriegen* 'get'. Word-final OHG /g/ is often lenited to /ɣ/ : /mondəɣ/ *Montag* 'Monday'. Intervocalic OHG /g/ is reflected in the dialect as the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ : /səɣə/ *sagen* 'to say'.

Besides lenition, the dialect is distinguished by another interesting feature. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is nearly always palatalized when it falls between /r/ and /u/: /hærʃt/ *Bürste* 'brush'; /du varʃt/ *du warst* 'you (sg.) were'.¹¹ In addition, two of the informants consistently replace the word-final phoneme /-f/ with /-x/ in the NHG preposition *auf*, realized in their spoken ideolects as /ux/. There is not enough evidence among all the Schoenchen German speakers to warrant any speculation that this variation in consonants is significant in the dialect.¹²

¹¹ Word-final /s/ is also palatalized after /t/ in one word: /selβərʃ/ *selber* 'themselves'.

¹² An extreme backing of a consonant is not unprecedented in the history of the German language. For example, Braune/Eggers (1987, 130) provide examples from a manuscript from Darmstadt with a word-final <-ft> cluster being realized as <-ht>. One example they cite is <luht> *Luft* 'air'. The same word in Dutch is *lucht*. Another example is the English word 'soft', realized in Standard German as *sanft*, in Low German as *sacht* and in Dutch as *zacht*.

	Front Unrounded	Mid Unrounded	Back	
			Unrounded	Rounded
High Tense:	i			u
Lax:	ɪ			ʊ
Mid Tense:	e			o
Lax:	ɛ	ɔ		ɔ
Low Tense:	æ		ɒ	
Lax:			a	
Diphthongs:	ai, au			

The Vowel System of the Schoenchen Dialect

Phonology - Vowels

Front Vowels

/i/ [i] - The high front tense unrounded vowel does not occur in word-initial position. It occurs in stressed syllables in interconsonantal position and in word-final position.¹³

interconsonantal position- /fi/ 'feet'; /fi/ 'much'; /rijɔr/ 'Spring'; /bigal/

'to iron (3rd person sg.)'; /bri/ 'letter'

word-final position- /ki/ 'cows'; /di/ 'the (fem. sg. nom.), she (nom. sg.

pronoun)'

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

¹³ Stress rules for the dialect parallel NHG stress rules. See Duden (1984, 52-53). Tense vowels in stressed positions are pronounced longer than either tense or lax vowels in unstressed positions. Therefore, length has not been specifically marked. See Moulton (1962, 62-4). The selection of /a/ for the lax back unrounded vowel and /ɒ/ for the tense back unrounded vowel is arbitrary.

word-initial position- /ɪmɔːr/ 'always'; /ɪn/ 'in'; /ɪr/ 'you (2nd. pers. nom. pl. pronoun)'; /ɪç/ 'I'

interconsonantal position- /kɪnt/ 'child'; /mɪt/ 'with'; /dɪf/ 'table'; /mɪlɪç/ 'milk'

/ɛ/ [e] - The mid front tense unrounded vowel occurs most frequently in interconsonantal position in a stressed syllable. It occurs occasionally in word-final position in a stressed syllable. It is sometimes nasalized, which reflects the assimilation of a following nasal which has been lost. It does not occur in word initial position.

interconsonantal position- /ʃen/ 'pretty'; /grɛːɔːr/ 'bigger'; /fɔːtsɛlt/ 'told (past part.)'; /hɛjɔːr/ 'higher'; /bɛm/ 'trees'

word-final position- /vɛ/ 'ache'; /gɛ/ 'go (dep. inf.)'

/ɛ/ [ɛ] - The mid front lax unrounded vowel occurs in word-initial and interconsonantal position in stressed syllables.

word-initial position- /ɛhɔːl/ 'apples'; /ɛftɔːr/ 'often'

interconsonantal position- /vɛðɔːr/ 'weather'; /gɛns/ 'geese'; /hɛrts/ 'heart';

/æ/ [æ] - The low front tense unrounded vowel only occurs in interconsonantal position in a single syllable word preceding the consonant cluster /rʃt/.

interconsonantal position- /bærʃt/ 'brush'; /mæɪrʃt/ 'most'

Central Vowel

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

interconsonantal position- /gələmt/ 'learned (past part.)'; /əβənt/ 'evening';
/fənt/ 'crazy'

word-final position- /koxə/ 'to cook'; /gɛstərə/ 'yesterday'; /glɒnə/ 'small'

Back Vowels

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

interconsonantal position- /gudəs/ 'good'; /blum/ 'flower'; /dʌt/ '(he) does';
/brʌðə/ 'brother'

word-final position- /du/ 'you (sg. nom. pronoun)'; /ʃu/ 'shoe'

/ʊ/ [ʊ] - The high back lax rounded vowel occurs in stressed and unstressed syllables. It occurs in word-initial and interconsonantal position. It does not occur in word-final position.

word-initial position- /ʊnsə/ 'our (poss. adj.)'; /ʊngraʊ/ 'weeds'

interconsonantal position- /sʊŋk/ 'ago'; /hʊŋt/ 'dog'; /dʊrʃt/ 'thirst'

/ɔ/ [ɔ] - 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 position- /ovə/ 'oven'

interconsonantal position- /kɒlə/ 'coal'; /dɒt/ 'dead'; /rɒdə/ 'red'

word-final position- /vɔ/ 'where'

/ɔ/ [ɔ] - The mid back lax rounded vowel occurs in stressed syllables in word-initial and interconsonantal position.

word-initial position- /əβənt/ 'evening'

interconsonantal position- /dɔxtə/ 'daughter'; /frɔʃ/ 'frog'; /jɔr/ 'year'

/ʊ/ [u] - The low back tense unrounded vowel occurs in stressed syllables in word-initial, interconsonantal and word-final position. When not in word-final position, it is followed by a single consonant.

word-initial position- /uhɔr/ 'but, or'; /umits/ 'ant'

interconsonantal position- /hʊm/ 'home'; /glʌnɔ/ 'small'

word-final position- /fru/ 'woman, wife'

/ʌ/ [a] - The low back lax unrounded vowel occurs often in stressed syllables in interconsonantal position, but only occasionally in word-initial position. It can be followed by a single consonant or multiple consonants.

word-initial position - /af/ 'monkey'

interconsonantal position- /ʃnaps/ 'whisky'; /vasɔr/ 'water'; /man/ 'man';

/gɑrdɔ/ 'garden'

Diphthongs

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

word-initial position- /aɪt/ 'eggs'

interconsonantal position- /saɪdɔ/ 'times'; /haɪt/ 'today'

word-final position- /draɪ/ 'three' /haɪ/ 'with'

/aʊ/ [au] - The diphthong /aʊ/ occurs in word-initial, interconsonantal and word-final position in stressed syllables. In word-final position, it is sometimes nasalized, reflecting a lost following nasal consonant.

word-initial position- /aʊy:hɔrm/ 'eyebrow'

interconsonantal position- /gaʊl/ 'horse'; /ʌngraʊt/ 'weeds' /blaʊm/ 'plum'

word-final position- /daʊ/ '(to) do'

The following table shows the contrasts among the vowel phonemes in stressed word-initial, interconsonantal and word-final position. Just as with the consonants, it is not easy to provide exact minimal pair contrasts to support the phonemic status of each vowel. A look at the table, however, shows that contrasts can be established between many tense and lax vowels in interconsonantal position.¹⁴ The evidence also presents a reasonably good argument for the phonemic status of the tense vowels in word-final position and the lax vowels in word-initial position.¹⁵ The last vowel /ɔ/ occurs only in unstressed position and thus, does not fit well in the table.

<u>Word-Initial</u>			<u>Interconsonantal</u>		<u>Word-Final</u>	
/i/			/di/	'deep'	/vi/	'how?'
/u/	/ɪn/	'in'	/di/	'table'		
/ɛ/			/ʃɛn/	'nice'	/vɛ/	'sore'
/ɛ/	/ɛhɔ/	'apple'	/gɛns/	'geese'		
/æ/			/hæɾʃt/	'brush'		
/ʌ/			/du/	'(he) does'	/du/	'you'
/ʌ/	/ʌns/	'us'	/dʊɾʃt/	'thirst'		
/ɔ/	/ɔvɔ/	'oven'	/dɔ/	'dead'	/vɔ/	'where?'
/ɔ/	/ɔβɔn/	'evening'	/dɔp/	'pot'		
/ʊ/	/ʊβɔɾ/	'or, but'	/dɔs/	'(Anas)tas'	/fru/	'wife'
/ʌ/	/ʌf/	'monkey'	/dʌs/	'the'		
/ʌɪ/	/ʌɪɔɾ/	'egge'	/ʌnt/	'people'	/draɪ/	'three'
/ʌɪ/	/ʌɪγɔ/	'eye'	/ʌʊt/	'loud'	/daʊ/	'(to) do'
/ɔ/	/ɔɾnk/		/gɛstɔɾɔ/			

¹⁴ Although /di/ 'deep' and /di/ 'table' are not true minimal pairs, there have been no data collected from Schoenchen German speakers to show that any single consonant following a vowel has any effect on the realization of that vowel. Similarly, even though /ʃɛn/ 'nice' and /gɛns/ 'geese' are not true minimal pairs, there is no indication that a single preceding consonant affects the realization of any vowel, nor does a consonant trailing the nasal after a vowel affect the vowel. See Moulton (1962, 22) for a discussion on the use of word pairs which are not strictly minimal pairs.

¹⁵ The fact that stressed vowels in word-final position and unstressed vowels in word-initial position are not in complementary distribution can be seen by the occurrence of word-initial /ɔ-/ in /ɔvɔ/ 'oven' and /ɔ-/ in /ɔβɔɾ/

There are no occurrences of the New High German (NHG) front rounded vowels /y/, /ø/, /ʏ/ or /œ/, nor of the NHG diphthong /ɔɪ/ in the Schoenchen dialect. These are realized respectively as /i/, /u/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, and finally /e/ or /aɪ/: /ki/ *Kühe* 'cows'; /mɪsɔ/ *müssen* 'to have to'; /ʃɛn/ *schön* 'nice'; /kɛnɔ/ *können* 'to be able to'; /bɛm/ *Bäume* 'trees'; /lɛit/ *Leute* 'people'. Some suffixes, such as the diminutive suffix or some plural allomorphs, do create an environment for the fronting of vowels in the dialect: /kɔrb/ *Korb* 'basket' vs. /kɛrbjɔ/ *Körbchen* 'little basket'; /bʊm/ *Baum* 'tree' vs. /bɛm/ *Bäume* 'trees'; /bɛtdɔx/ *Bettuch* 'bedsheet' vs. /bɛtdɪçɔr/ *Bettuche* 'bedsheets'; /ku/ *Kuh* 'cow' vs. /ki/ *Kühe* 'cows'. NHG /ʏ/ is realized in the dialect as /æ/ before /rʃt/: /bærʃt/ *Bürste* 'brush'.

The realization of NHG /aɪ/ ← Middle High German (MHG) /ɛɪ/ is /u/: /hʊm/ *Heim* 'home', /kɔ/ *kein* 'no (negative pronoun)'; while NHG /aɪ/ from MHG /i:/ does reflect NHG diphthongization: /maɪ/ *mein* 'mine', /saɪ/ *sein* 'his'; . NHG /aɪ/ ← MHG /ɛɪ/ occurs often as /u/: /fru/ *Frau* 'wife', /bʊm/ *Baum* 'tree'; but NHG /aɪ/ ← MHG /u:/ consistently reflects the diphthongization: /haʊs/ *Haus* 'house'. NHG tense /u/ ← MHG /u/ is often realized in the dialect as /ɔ/: /jɔr/ *Jahr* 'year', /ɔβɔnt/ *Abend* 'evening', /vɔrhɛit/ *Wahrheit* 'truth'. There are two major exceptions, however: /vɔr/ *war* 'was', /kɛfɔrn/ *gefahren* 'travelled'.

Schoenchen German speakers will also occasionally insert an epenthetic vowel /ɪ/ between either /l/ or /r/ and a following word-final fricative such as /ç/ or /ʃ/: /mɪlɪç/ *Milch* 'milk'; /kɪrɪç/ *Kirche* 'church'; /tsvɛlɪf/ *zwölf* 'twelve'. An epenthetic vowel can also occur between /n/ and following word-final /f/: /fɪnf/ *fünf* 'five'.

Pronominal Morphology ¹⁶

	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Poss.
1st person singular	ıç	mıç	mır	maı(n)
2nd person singular	du	dıç	dır	daı(n)
3rd singular masculine	der	den/ın	den	saı(n)
feminine	di/si	si	ır	ır
neuter	des/es	des	den	saı(n)
1st person plural	mır	ons	ons	onsəɾə
2nd person plural	ır	aıç	aıç	aırə
3rd person plural	di	si	si	ır(ə)

As the table shows, the pronominal system of Schoenchen German tends to collapse into a nominative and common objective case system, particularly in the 3rd person singular masculine. A common objective case is also apparent in all plural forms. Dative and accusative forms are clearly differentiated, however, in the 1st and 2nd person singular forms, as well as the 3rd person singular feminine form.

The retention of the accusative/dative distinction is illustrated by the following examples:

/mır ʁələ məl mıt dır gē?/ *Sollen wir mit dir gehen?* 'Shall we go with you?'

/di həʁə gens həʁə dıç dət/ *Die bösen Gänse heißen dich tot.* 'The angry geese will bite you to death.'

Symptomatic of the collapse of the dative/accusative distinction in the pronouns is the inconsistent use of the 1st person singular pronoun as an indirect dative object in the following sentence:

/der hət mır tʁən dɔlər angəbətən/ *Er hat mir zehn Dollar angeboten.* 'He offered me ten dollars.'

/der hət mıç tʁu venıç geld angəbətən/ *Er hat mir zu wenig Geld angeboten.* 'He offered me too little money.'

¹⁶ The grammatical charts were sometimes completed by direct questioning for specific forms.

The possessive pronouns sometimes occur with the loss of the final nasal, with the vowel being nasalized. The demonstrative forms occur with high frequency in the nominative case with all genders, but third person singular masculine and neuter demonstrative pronouns predominate as well in accusative and dative environments.

Formal Pronoun:

/ɪr/ *Ihr* 'you (2nd pers. pl.)' is used for formal address, following eighteenth-century practice in Germany, the period when the migrations to Russia began: /ɪr ʃpʁɛçt dantʃ? ʁant ɪr dantʃ?/ *Sie sprechen Deutsch? Sind Sie Deutsche?* 'You speak German? Are you German?'¹⁷

Impersonal Pronoun:

The /ɛʁ/ variation of the 3rd person singular neuter pronoun functions as the impersonal pronoun. It is often contracted: /vi ɡɛts?/ *Wie geht's?* 'How's it going?'; /maks ɡut/ *Mach's gut!* 'Keep out of trouble!'; /ɛs hɛrt dɛs bɔld ʊf tʁu ʃnɛn/ *Es hört gleich auf zu schneien...* 'Soon it will stop snowing..!'

Reflexive Pronouns:

Four verbs with accompanying reflexive pronouns have been collected. The first two examples show the use of accusative forms, while the last two examples show examples of dative case reflexive pronouns:

/...ʊn hʊn sɪç ɡut bəhɔvə/ *...und haben sich gut benommen* 'and have behaved themselves'

/dɛr ʃmɔɣə dɪt sɪç hət pɪfɛr/ *Der Smoky Hill biegt sich bei Pfeifer.* 'The Smoky Hill bends at Pfeifer.'

¹⁷ Informant 1 was relating a story where he was addressing a woman.

/di hon siç dʊgəʊts ɡəmaxt/ *Sie haben sich Unterstände gebaut.* 'They built themselves dugouts.'

/mir hon ʊns di sax ɡestərn ɡəwɛʃə/ *Wir haben die Kleidung gestern gewaschen.* 'We washed the clothes yesterday.'

Genitive Case:

There is no productive genitive case in the Schoenchen dialect. Instead, possession is expressed periphrastically, using possessive pronouns:¹⁸

/des var main dæd saɪn namə/ *das war der Name meines Vaters* 'that was my father's name';

/iç var hat der fru ɪr haʊs/ *ich bin bei der Frau gewesen* 'I was at the woman's (home).

Interrogative Pronouns:

The NHG interrogative pronouns *wer* 'who?', *wie* 'how?', *wieviel* 'how many?', *wann* 'when?', *wo* 'where', *was* 'what', *was für* 'what kind of?' and *warum* 'why' have been collected for Schoenchen German, their realizations in the dialect respectively being /vɛr/, /vi/, /vifil/, /van/, /vo/, /vas/, /vas fir/ and /varum/.

There is further evidence of a common objective case based on the accusative case forms with the oblique form of *wer*, functioning in this example as a dative: *Asu ven hat der dan des narə ʃtəri fərtselt?* / *Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt?* 'Whom did he tell the new story to?'

Nominal Morphology

¹⁸ This is a common occurrence in German dialects. See Schirmunski (1962, 433).

Nouns, adjectives and articles are declined for three genders in Schoenchen German: masculine, feminine and neuter. ¹⁹ There are also singular and plural declinations. As mentioned above with the pronominal system, there have been no genitive case inflections observed with adjectives or articles. Articles and adjectives can be, however, inflected for nominative, accusative and dative cases. As has been already mentioned, the accusative and dative cases sometimes collapse into a common objective case.

The Definite Article:

	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.
Masculine	der	den	den
Feminine	di	di	di/der
Neuter	des	des	den
Plural	di	di	di/den

Schoenchen German displays a tendency toward merger of the accusative and dative forms of the definite article into a common objective case, based on accusative forms. This process is carried out in full with regard to masculine forms, but there are some occurrences of a distinct dative/accusative difference with feminine and neuter articles, as well as with the plural articles.²⁰ The following sentences will illustrate the use of the historically masculine accusative form of the article in both accusative and dative environments.

The first example shows the definite article with a noun functioning as the accusative direct object:

/di fɪst den vɔlf/ Sie schießt den Wolf. 'She shoots the wolf'.

¹⁹ There may be some evidence of a breakdown in grammatical gender distinctions, with speakers assigning in many cases neuter case to inanimate objects and male or female gender to animate objects according to natural gender. This is probably due to lack of use.

²⁰ Further simplification occurs with feminine singular and all plural forms sometimes realized in casual speech as /da/.

The accusative form of the definite article also appears with historically dative verbs, as the following two examples will show:

/di helf den man/ *Sie hilft dem Mann.* 'She helps the man.'

/dan̩k den alm̩eçtɪg̩ər g̩ət/ *Dank dem allmächtigen Gott!* 'Thank almighty God!'

The next example shows a masculine accusative direct object as well as a masculine dative indirect object, with the identical definite article:

/ɪç gɛp den man den hʊnt/ *Ich gebe dem Mann den Hund.* 'I give the man the dog.'

The accusative form of the masculine definite article also appears in another historically dative (of location) environment:

/ɪr tsvaɪ sɑɪt hɪn̩ər den b̩ɑm/ *Ihr zwei seid hinter dem Baum.* 'You two are behind the tree.'

The historical dative masculine ending in /-m/ appears to be retained in a contraction with the preceding preposition /baɪ/ 'at', although this could also be the result of assimilation of the word-final nasal in the article to the immediately following bilabial consonant.

/des must̩ə b̩ɑɪm b̩ʊtlɛçər kʌf̩ən/ *Das mußte (man) heim Bootlegger kaufen.* 'That had to be bought from a bootlegger.'

Noun plurals:

Plural marking for nouns in Schoenchen German is very consistent with that of NHG. The noun stem vowel sometimes shows raising in anticipation of the plural suffix vowel. Some plural forms are not standard in that the suffix is actually another word stem rather than an inflectional suffix. Some examples follow:

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
der man	'man'	di men̩ər
der p̩ɑd̩ər	'priest'	di p̩ɑd̩əm

der brudər	'brother'	di gəbrüðər
der student	'student'	di studentə
der jüŋ	'boy'	di jüŋə/ di buə
der naxbər	'neighbor'	di naxbərflāt
<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
des kint	'child'	di kintər
des medjə	'girl'	di medjər
des bux	'book'	di biçər
di fru	'woman, wife'	di varpslat
di kats	'cat'	di katsə
di fvestər	'sister'	di fvestəm

N- Class Nouns:

No masculine nouns of this class are marked with inflectional endings for singular oblique forms. Furthermore, the neuter noun *Herz*, which is normally inflected for the dative singular in NHG, does not inflect in Schoenchen German: /fɔn den sat herts/ /fɔn sam herts/ 'from his heart'.

Oblique Noun Inflections:

Although no examples of nouns inflected for dative case have been collected, genitive inflections for indefinite time do occur in the dialect: /samstays/ 'on Saturdays'; /əβonts/ 'in the evening'.

Diminutive Suffix:

The NHG diminutive suffix *-chen* is reflected in the Schoenchen dialect as /-jə/. The suffix often creates an environment for fronting and raising of the stem vowel: /bɪsjə/ 'a little bit'; /feyəljə/ 'little bird'; /kərbjə/ 'little basket'. If the diminutive ends

in a velar consonant, an epenthetic suffix /-əl-/ is inserted: /ʃtɪkəljə/ *Stückchen* 'little story'; /brɪŋəljə/ *Brückchen* 'little bridge'.²¹ The plural of the diminutive suffix is often /-r/: /mɛdʒər/ *Mädchen* 'girls'; /ʃtɪbjər/ *Stuben* 'rooms'.

Adjectives:

The adjective system of the Schoenchen dialect is only systematic and predictable with regard to predicate adjectives, which normally occur with no endings and follow a predicate verb: /ʊn dɛr man vɛr so ʊnbɛndliç tait mit sai gɛlt./ *und der Mann war sehr knausrig mit seinem Geld.* 'and the man was extremely tight with his money.'

Attributive adjectives, which always precede the noun and often follow an article, follow a systematic pattern only in the system of weak endings, but exceptions do occur. Strong and mixed adjective endings collected display no systemized pattern and therefore no attempt has been made to try to graphically display them. Whereas attributive weak adjectives normally always occur with an ending, strong and mixed attributive adjectives often occur with no ending at all.

Weak Adjective Endings:

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Plural
Nominative	-ə	-ə	-ə	-ə (∅)
Accusative	-ə	-ə	-ə	-ə
Dative	-ə (-ən, -or)	-ə (∅)	-ə	-ə

²¹ Post (1990), in describing the Palatinate as a intermediary region between the middle German *-chen* diminutive and the upper German *-lein* diminutive suffix describes this *-elche* construction as an occurrence that "ja so etwas wie eine Doppelung darstellt" (101), i.e., it is perhaps a combination of the two diminutives.

Weak adjective forms occur after definite articles. The predominant adjective ending is /-ə/ with a few exceptions. One comparative adjective was collected without an adjective ending in the plural: /di ɛldər lant/ *die älteren Leute* 'the older people'. The two dative masculine variations were collected while the informant told a joke: /des vɪl ɪç den hailigən pedər pərsənliç gəβə/ *das will ich dem heiligen Peter persönlich geben* 'I want to give that personally to St. Peter'; /dank den alməçtigər gəʊ/ *dank dem allmächtigen Gott* 'thank almighty God'. In fact, all attributive adjectives which occurred with the word God had the strong masculine nominative ending /-ər/.²²

The dative singular feminine variation occurred with all three informants in one situation, perhaps due to apocope and nasal assimilation. This is apparent with the response and correction of informant 3 in one particular situation, Wenker sentence 36: /vas sɔrt ə feçəlʃə sɪts dan dər ʊf der vant, glamə, glə vant?/ *Was sitzen da für Vögelchen oben auf dem Mäuerchen?* 'What kind of little birds are sitting up there on the little wall'. This informant was the only one of the three interviewed in 1991 to have studied German in school. He often used words and grammatical endings more in line with the Standard German he studied.²³

Strong Adjective Endings:

Strong adjective endings occurred mostly in the plural, although an occasional singular form turns up. The plural adjective ending is /-ə/ with all cases: Nom. Pl. /hardə tsaidə/ *harte Zeiten* 'hard times'; Acc. Pl. /tsvelf glənə fɛf/ *zwölf kleine Schafe* 'twelve small sheep'; Dat. Pl. /mit glənə rodə ɛbəl/ *mit kleinen roten Äpfeln*

²² Many Schoenchen German speakers attended German language church services as children. It is possible that liturgical German has influenced the fossilization of the nominative adjective ending with the word 'God' regardless of the function of the word in a sentence.

²³ Informants with a knowledge of Standard German often use the SG form first, then recall the dialect word and correct the error with an accompanying apology.

'with small red apples'; The neuter singular form showed inconsistencies in the nominative and accusative case, perhaps because speakers tended to assign neuter case to many nouns which historically were not.²⁴ The alternation in neuter adjective endings is between /-ə/ and /-əs/: /ɪs ɪn kəldə vʌsəʁ naɪkfalə/ *ist in kaltes Wasser niedergefallen* 'fell into the cold water'; but, /du hɔst gudəs sɑnt/ *du hast guten Sand* 'you have good sand'; /da kɔmt so fənəs kɪləs lɪft hɪr dɔrauf/ *so schöne kühle Luft kommt hier herauf* 'such nice cool air is coming out here'. One accusative masculine singular form was also collected with the ending /-ə/ : /ʊn nekstə mɔʁgə/ *und nächsten Morgen* 'and the next morning'.

Mixed Adjective Endings:

The mixed adjective endings occur after the possessive pronouns, the negative pronoun *kein*, realized as /kū/, or the indefinite article *ein*, which is realized as /ain/ only with masculine nouns, with an occasional reduction to /ə/. All other forms of the indefinite article were realized as /ə/. The adjective endings alternate mainly between /-Ø/ and /-ə/, with /-ə/ occurring mainly in masculine forms: Nom. Sg. Masc. /ain fənə blatz/ *ein schöner Platz* 'a nice place'; Acc. Sg. Masc. /ain grɔzə gɑrdə/ *einen großen Garten* 'a big garden'; Dat. Sg. Masc. /ain əldə man/ *einem alten Mann* 'an old man'; Fem. Acc. Sg. /ə tsɪmlɪç lɑŋ nosə/ *eine ziemlich lange Nase* 'a rather long nose'; Acc. Sg. Neut. /so glū brɪçəlçə/ *so (ein) kleines Brückchen* 'such a small little bridge'; Dat. Pl. /kū ʃtū pɔstə/ *keinen steinernen Pfahlen* 'no stone posts'. The nominative neuter singular ending /-əs/ occurs in the phrase: /maɪn gudəs kɪnt/ *mein*

²⁴ Schirmunski (1962, 443) states that the tendency of the dialects in the western part of the Middle German dialect region is to favor the masculine over the neutral, where there are deviations from the literary language.

gutes Kind 'my dear child'. The nominative masculine singular ending /-ər/ occurs in the phrase: /ɪç var ɔ̃ juŋər kerl/ *ich war ein junger Kerl* 'I was a young boy'.

Comparative and Superlative Adjectives:

The Schoenchen dialect forms the comparative of the adjective with the expected German *-er* ending and the superlative of the adjective with the ending *-est*. This suffix creates an environment for the fronting and raising of back stem vowels: /gros/ 'big'; /grɛ:ər/ 'bigger'; /grɛ:stə/ 'biggest'; /ald/ 'old'; /ɛldər/ 'older'; /ɛldst/ 'oldest'.²⁵

Verbal Morphology

Verbs in the Schoenchen dialect are conjugated for the first, second and third person, singular and plural. There is no distinct future tense. Verbs are conjugated for indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods. There are specific indicative verb conjugations for present, present perfect, past perfect and simple past tense. There only appears to be an active voice. No passive voice verb constructions have been collected from any Schoenchen German speaker who participated in this study.²⁶

Present Tense:

The endings for most present tense indicative verbs show deviation from NHG forms. The 1st person singular *-e* is often lost: /ɪç ʃlaç dɪç/ *Ich schlage dich* 'I'm going to hit you'; /ɪç dɛŋk/ *Ich denke* 'I think'; /ɪç fɔ̃rʃtɛ aɪç nɛt al/ *Ich verstehe*

²⁵ The Schoenchen dialect adds the superlative ending to the comparative /mɛr/ 'more' to construct the superlative adjective /mɛrʃt/ 'most'.

²⁶ No passive sentences have occurred in free conversation. Attempts to elicit a passive sentence in a translation environment were not successful. For example the English sentence 'The farmwork is done by the men' provoked the following response: /di mɛnər dun al di farmarbait/. Similarly Informant 1 provided the response to the sentence 'The housework is done by the women' /di hausarbait is ala gɔ̃dər bɛr di vaɪpslɔ̃t/, not an example of a true passive.

euch nicht 'I don't understand you (all).' The 2nd person singular *-st* is retained: /du glaikest/ *du magst* 'you like', as is the 3rd person singular and 2nd person plural *-t* : /di hīgəlt/ *sie bügelt* 'she is ironing'; /ɪr braxt net/ *ihr braucht nicht* 'you (all) don't have to'. The 1st person plural forms show frequent loss of the final *-(e)n* : /mɪr ʃafə hart/ *Wir arbeiten schwer* 'We are working hard.' The 3rd person plural form also drops the final *-n* occasionally: /di sitsə/ *sie sitzen* 'they are sitting'. The following principal auxiliary verbs are conjugated for the present tense:

	sam 'to be'	hon 'to have'	dun 'to do'
ɪç du	sam bɪst	hon hɔst	du dust
der di des } mɪr	is	hɔt	dut
ɪr	sam	hon	dað/dun
di	sart	hɔt	dut
	sam	hon	dun

/dun/ 'to do' often appears in the dialect as an auxiliary verb with a dependent infinitive, indicating perhaps an iterative or emphatic aspect. The informants' use of this auxiliary is unpredictable (see also informants' renditions of Wenker sentence 7 in Appendix II):

/der dut imər sat aɪər esə/ *Er ißt seine Eier immer* 'he always eats his eggs...'

/ɪç du des nɪ mɛr vɪdər dað/ *Ich will es nicht mehr wieder tun.* 'I don't want to do that ever again.'

/...und dun ʃnaɪdɔ/ *...und mähen* '... and (do) (are) mowing.'

NHG strong verb vowel mutation in the present tense does not occur in the dialect. Instead, singular forms are leveled to match the plural vowel:

	esən 'to eat'	furən 'to drive'
ic	es	fur
du	est	farft
der di } des }	est	farf
mir	esən	furən
ir	est	farft
di	esən	furən

The preterite-present vowel gradation is retained, however, in the present tense of the verb /vɪzən/ 'to know' as well as in the present tense plural forms of the modal auxiliaries /kenən/ 'to be able' and /mɪzən/ 'to have to' with unrounding of the stem vowel :

	vɪzən 'to know'	kenən 'to be able'	mɪzən 'to have to'
ic	vas	kan	mus
du	vast	kanst	most
der di } des }	vast	kan	mus
mir	vɪzən	kenən	mɪzən
ir	vɪst	kent	mɪst
di	vɪzən	kenən	mɪzən

Some forms have also been collected for the modal verbs meaning 'shall, to be supposed to' and 'to be permitted'. The Schoenchen dialect reflects unrounding and lowering of the stem vowel of MHG *süln* and *dürfen* in present tense plural forms.

/...di səl di sak nə.../ ...*sie sollte die Kleider fertig nähen...* '... she should finish sewing the clothes...'

/səl mir mit dir gē/ *Sollen wir mit dir gehen?* 'Shall we go with you?'

/des geld derf mir net juzən/ *Wir dürfen das Geld nicht benutzen.*
'We cannot (are not permitted to) use the money.'

Subjunctive:

Only the three major auxiliary verbs have present time subjunctive forms. With other verbs, the subjunctive mood is expressed periphrastically, using /dun/ or its variant /daŋ/ as the auxiliary: /iç ded des net daŋ/ 'I wouldn't do that.'

	sam	hun	dun			
iç	ver	hed	ded			
du	verft	hets	dets			
der	}	}	}			
di				ver	het	ded
des						
mir	verā	hedā	dedā			
ir	verŋ	hedā	ded			
di	verā	hedā	dedā			

Imperatives:

2nd person singular imperatives are created by use of the present tense verb stem without ending: /guk māl in den noʃnik/ *Guck mal in den Abort!* 'Look in the outhouse!'; /ʃteks ʃair ɔn/ *Mach das Feuer an!* 'Start the fire!'; /max di dir tsu/ *Mach die Tür zu!* 'Close the door!'; /aɪl dɪç/ *Eil dich!* 'Hurry up!'

The 2nd person plural imperative is created by use of the 2nd person plural verb conjugation: /sant ruç/ *Seid ruhig!* 'Be still!'. No data were collected which suggest the existence of a formal imperative in the Schoenchen dialect.

Special Note on Present Tense Verb Usage:

/geβā/ *gehen* 'to give' can occur with a secondary meaning 'to become': /iç geh krank/ *Ich werde krank.* 'I'm getting sick.' /du must grezər geβā/ *Du mußt größer werden.* 'You must get older.'

Past Tense:

Only principal and modal auxiliaries regularly occur with simple past tense forms:

	sam	hon	mizə
ıç	var	hət	most
du	varft	həst	most
der	var	hət	most
di			
des			
mir	varən	hədə	mostə
ır	varət	hət	most
di	varən	hədə	mostə

Also collected were the modal auxiliaries: /vəldə/ *wollte* 'he wanted, intended to'; /kəndə/ *konnte* 'they could'. One informant used the form /kəm/ *came* 'came'. All other expressions of past time used present perfect (*haben/sein* + past participle).

The auxiliary verb /sam/ occurs with intransitive verbs of motion or with statal intransitive verbs:

/ıç sam mit di lat kfam/ *Ich bin mit den Leuten gefahren* 'I went with the people'

/das bin ıç ankʃlənə/ *daß ich eingeschlafen bin* 'that I fell asleep'

The auxiliary verb /hon/ occurs much more frequently in the dialect. It is used with transitive verbs:

/nun hon zi den ʃnaps gədrunkə/ *Nun haben sie den Schnaps getrunken*. 'Then they drank the whisky.'

The past tense subjunctive of statal and intransitive verbs is formed periphrastically using the subjunctive form of /sam/, while a subjunctive form of /hon/ occurs in combination with transitive verbs. Both cases are observed in the following example:

/ven iç den blos gəkent het verən dıŋər fil anʃtər gəvɛrə/ Hättest du ihn gekannt! Dann wäre es anders gekommen 'If only you had known him. Things would have been different'

Weak verb past-participles are formed with a *ge-* prefix, sometimes realized as /k-/ or /gə-/, depending on the initial consonant of the stem. If the stem begins with a voiced consonant, the voiceless velar stop /k/ or a vowel, the /gə-/ prefix appears. With stems beginning with voiceless consonants the /k-/ form is preferred. The weak verb participle also has a -t suffix: /ksat/ *gesagt* 'said'; /gələmt/ *gelernt* 'learned'; /gəmaxt/ *gemacht* 'made'.²⁷

The strong verb past-participles also have a *ge-* prefix, which exhibits the same variations in form as with the weak participles, depending on the initial consonant of the stem. The suffix for strong verb participles is, however, *-en*. This suffix shows similar weakening as found in the present tense plural endings, often losing the final *-n*, with occasional nasalization of the vowel: /gəbrɔxə/ *gebrochen* 'broken'; /kʃtɔrβə/ *gestorben* 'died'; /gədən/ *getan* 'done.' Two participles occur with no prefix at all: /kəmə/ *gekommen* 'come'; /vɔrən/ *geworden* 'become'. Another has lost or assimilated the entire participle ending completely: /kfən/ *gefunden* 'found' Another has lost the suffix vowel, but has retained the nasal consonant: /kfəm/ *gefahren* 'traveled'.

Although the NHG simple past tense does not exist in the Schoenchen dialect for the most part, NHG ablaut classes can still be recognized from vowel gradation exhibited in the present tense and past participle forms of strong verbs:

²⁷ See Keel 1981a for a more detailed analysis of these phenomena.

<u>Class</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Present Tense</u>	<u>Present Perfect</u>
1	<i>bleiben</i> 'to remain' <i>pfeifen</i> 'to whistle'	der blaipt di paift	der is g�bli�a di h�t kpi�a
2	<i>l�gen</i> 'to lie' <i>schie�en</i> 'to shoot'	der li�t der fist	der h�t g�l��a der h�t kf�a
3	<i>singen</i> 'to sing' <i>helfen</i> 'to help'	der singt der helft	der h�t ks��a der h�t kh�l�a
4	<i>stehlen</i> 'to steal'	der stelt	der h�t kf�l�a
5	<i>geben</i> 'to give' <i>lesen</i> 'to read'	di gept i� les	di h�t ge�a i� hun g�le�a
6	<i>tragen</i> 'to carry'	i� trak	i� hun ktray�a
7	<i>schlafen</i> 'to sleep'	di flaft	di hun kf�l�a

The irregular weak verbs collected do not exhibit NHG *R ckumlaut*, or reversal of the vowel mutation, in the participle forms: /g kent/ *gekannt* 'known'; /f rbrent/ *verbrannt* 'burnt'.

There were discrepancies in the participle forms of two verbs. Informants produced both weak and strong participle forms for the same verb, perhaps due to the influence of the standard language heard in church or school:

/der farm r h t f nf  ks  g br  t/
/der bau r h t f nf  ks ...g braxt.../
Der Bauer hat f nf Ochsen gebracht...
'The farmer brought five oxen...'

/ver n di r fil anst r g ve a.../
/di r, di ver n fil anst r g vest.../
dann w re es anders gekommen...
'things would have been different...'

Syntax

Although the possibility exists that Wenker sentence translation exercises could be inadequate for the analysis of word order, some sentences were selected as part of

this analysis. Perhaps due to the influence of the word order of the English version of the Wenker sentences used in the interviews, the informants tended to translate some sentences word for word according to the English models. Adverbial phrases in many sentences tended to fall outside the NHG verb auxiliary/ verb complement frame, generally referred to in German as either *Ausklammerung* or *Ausrahmung* or in English as *leaving*. However, *leaving* did also occur in sentences gathered from free conversation. The following model sentences of the Schoenchen dialect are mostly gleaned from various anecdotes, except for Wenker sentences 10, 12, 18, 19, 22, 24 and 27.²⁸

Main clause word order:

The Schoenchen dialect shows little deviation from NHG word order patterns in main clause constructions. Statements generally are constructed with the finite verb in second position:

/di stɛən an di ɛkə./ Sie stehen an der Ecke. 'They are standing on the corner.'

/maɪn ɡrɔsfətər ɪst fɔn rʊslənd kɔmə/ Mein Großvater ist aus Rußland gekommen. 'My grandfather came from Russia.'

/draʊs ɪn di kʊndri hʊn tsvai laɪt ɡəvont./ Auf dem Land haben zwei Leute gewohnt. 'Two people lived out in the country.'

/ɪç dʊn hɑrdə ɑrbəɪt./ Ich arbeite schwer. 'I am working hard.'

/dɛs vɪl ɪç nɪmər vɪdər dɑð./ Ich will es nicht mehr wieder tun. 'I will never do that again.'

/dʊ muːst laʊtər ɡrɑtʃə./ Du mußt ein bißchen lauter sprechen. 'You must shout louder.'

²⁸ For a complete list of the Wenker sentences see Mitzka (1952, 13-14) or Appendix 1

The next sentence shows an occurrence of leaking, with the prepositional phrase coming after the past participle:

/di sɔɪn nɔx heɪs kɔmɔ ɔx di junjən pəʃɪfɪk reɪləʊd./ *Sie sind mit dem Union Pacific Railroad nach Hays gekommen.* 'They came to Hays on the Union Pacific Railroad.'

The finite verb is also in second position in general questions:

/vɛr hət dən maɪn kɔrb mɪt flɑɪʃ kʃtɔlə?/ *Wer hat meinen Korb mit Fleisch gestohlen?* 'Who stole my basket of meat?'

The finite verb is in initial position in yes/no questions and commands:

/kɛnt ɪr net ələ ɡrɔd ɔ mɪnʊt lɔkən?/ *Können ihr nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten?* 'Can't you (all) wait a minute?'

/kɪnt, blaɪp dæð!/(*Mein gutes*) *Kind, bleib hier unten stehen!* '(My dear) child, stay down here!'

In careful speech, the placement of the finite verb in second position in statements was observed by the dialect informants. The next sentence, however, provides an example of the occasional tendency of Informant 1 to reverse verb and subject placement in longer discourse, such as when describing pictures or relating an anecdote:

/sɔɪn ɡrɪnɔ bɛmɔ rʊm./ *Es gibt grüne Bäume ringsherum.* 'There are green trees around.'

/ʊn ɪs maɪn ɡrɔsfatɔr mɪt saɪ famɪliə...nɔrt ɡaŋə/ *Und mein Großvater und seine Familie sind nordwärts gegangen.* 'And my grandfather and his family went north.'

Although the possibility exists that a dummy subject *es* 'it' may have been assimilated into the verb /sɔɪn/ or lost, there are many instances of this tendency to place the finite verb immediately after the conjunction /ʊn/ in a narrative also with the verb /hət/, as the next section will show.

Coordinate clause word order:

In extended discourse, the principal informant sometimes placed the subject following the finite auxiliary verb *haben* in clauses beginning with the coordinating conjunction *und*. These three sentences from a single narrative provide some examples of this tendency:

/ʊn hət der gædenkt, himəl dənərvetər! / und er hat gedacht, Himmel Donnerwetter! 'and he thought, thunderations!'

/ʊn hət der das iβər gøkt ʊn hət kraits gəmaxt./ und der Das (Anastas) hat hinüber geguckt und hat sich bekreuzigt. 'and Das (Anastas) looked over the bridge and crossed himself (made a cross).'

/ʊn hət der anksang ləvə iβər den briçəlçə/ und er begann über das Brückchen zu laufen 'and he began to cross over the little bridge'

Once again, it is possible a connective adverb *dann* might have been assimilated into the coordinating conjunction *und*, but no trace of a dental stop is apparent, making this possibility unlikely.

The next two sentences show, however, that Informant 1 follows NHG word order placement in similar environments as those described above:

/ʊn es is bilyçər tsə leβə in Jençə als vi si is in hers, di gros stat is./ und es ist billiger, in Schöenchen zu leben, als wie es in Hays ist, die eine große Stadt ist 'and it is cheaper to live in Schoenchen than in Hays, which is a large city.'

/ʊn der man var so ʊnbendliç tait mit sai gelt./ und der Mann war sehr knausrig mit seinem Geld. 'and the man was extremely tight with his money.'

There is not enough evidence to show that the tendency of Informant 1 to vary his sentence structure in extended conversation is symptomatic of a breakdown in the sentence structure system of Schoenchen German, especially since the other informants regularly place the finite verb in second position in a carefully expressed statement. There may, rather, be an acceptable sentence

structure for extended, less carefully thought-out narratives which allow the verb in first position.²⁹

Subordinate clause verbal placement:

Wenker sentence number 24 has been analyzed in dialect studies in Germany with regard to word order in the first subordinate clause.³⁰ This sentence is therefore a convenient starting point for a discussion of word order in subordinate clauses:

*/vi iç ham sain koma gestara evant voran di andara Jon in bet un di hon sond kflovə/ Als ich gestern Abend zurückkam, da lagen di anderen schon zu Bett und waren fest am schlafen.*³¹ 'When I got home last night, the others were already lying in bed and were fast asleep.'

A similar sentence construction was collected while Informant 1 related an anecdote:

/vi iç in di ful sam gaŋə/ Als ich in die Schule gegangen bin... 'When I went to school...'

The placement of the auxiliary before the participle in the subordinate clause goes contrary to the next sentence, in which the finite auxiliary verb follows the infinitive:

/vo er imər gearbeit hat/ wo er immer gearbeitet hat 'where he always worked'

The finite auxiliary modal verb usually follows the dependent infinitive in a subordinate clause:

/un jedəs mal, ven di fru ə bißjə gelt hun volta,/ und jedes Mal wenn die Frau ein bißchen Geld haben wollte, 'and each time when the woman wanted a little money,'

²⁹ Informant 4 has also produced a similar sentence in a narrative, where the finite verb immediately follows the conjunction: */un is main brudər hingelovə/ und mein Bruder ist hingelaufen 'and my brother went over.'*

³⁰ See König (1978,163) for a discussion of the use of this specific clause in German dialect geography.

³¹ Informant 1 incorrectly translated the 1st person plural pronoun found in Wenker sentence 24 as the 1st person singular pronoun.

/iç vas net, vas des sain sol./ *Ich weiß nicht, was das sein soll.* 'I don't know what that is supposed to be.'

/vi ver es ven mir jetst ge dedə?/ *Wie wäre es, wenn wir jetzt gingen?* 'How would it be if we left now?'

However, like Wenker sentence 24 above, the following sentence was collected with the auxiliary modal occurring before the dependent infinitive in a subordinate clause:

/on di lißəndulər sain si ʊnainiçt vərən vo si di kirç vɔldə daß/ *und die Liebenthaler sind uneinigt geworden, wo sie die Kirche tun (errichten) wollten* 'and the Liebenthaler were not united as to where to put (build) the church'

Similar inconsistencies occur in a variety of subordinate clause constructions.

The next two sentences show variation of finite verb placement in a subordinate *weil* clause:

/vail der vərən lait/ *weil es Leute gab* 'because there were people'
/vail di glənə ʃtetçə ələ əpʃtərbə/ *weil alle die kleinen Städtchen absterben* 'because the small towns are all dying out'

The next two sentences also show some inconsistencies in the placement of the finite auxiliary verb in perfect tense subordinate clauses, with the second example also showing more leaking:

/on graut hadə mir so gros, das es hot tsvai menç gənəmə, das graut uf ən vaçə tso ladə./ *und wir hatten soviel Kraut, daß es zwei Männer genommen hat, das Kraut auf einen Wagen zu laden.* 'and we had so many cabbages, that it took two men to load the cabbages on a wagon.'

/par vɔxə danəçə hot der ənkfəŋç fərtselə, vi grozə brɪçə ʊn hɑ:zə, das er gəhəut hot in ruʃlant./ *Ein paar Wochen danach begann er zu erzählen, wie groß die Brücken und Häuser (waren), die er in Rußland gebaut hat.* 'A couple of weeks later he began to tell about what big bridges and houses he built in Russia.'

This next example shows the placement of the finite verb *helfen* in a subordinate clause, functioning as a modal preceding a double infinitive

construction and located in the clause according to the prescribed NHG manner:³²

*/abɔr dɛs grɛsdə dɪŋ vi ɪç hɛlfə bau hɔn var aɪn grɔzə hɔlzənə kɛzəl/
Aber das größte Ding, was ich habe bauen helfen, war ein großer
hölzener Kessel.
'But the biggest thing, that I helped build, was a big wooden trough.'*

It is important to remember with regard to the information provided in this 'Ortsgrammatik' for Schoenchen German that all informants for this study had both a careful style of speaking, as well as a casual style, depending on whether they were doing translation exercises or just conversing. The tendencies shown toward deviation from NHG word order rules generally occurred during extended casual speech. These deviations included unusual word order placement and extreme reductions of endings, particularly with pronouns and articles.

The fact that there are so few speakers of Schoenchen German left, plus the fact that many speak the dialect only from memory, makes it unlikely that an exact determination of the morphological and syntactic structure of the dialect will ever be possible. It is unfortunate that the dialect was not studied immediately after the settlers founded the town of Schoenchen and that the analysis of the modern data cannot lead to anything more than a picture of how things 'likely' were during the years when the use of the Schoenchen dialect was at its peak, but one can only work with the material which is available.

The grammatical analysis presented in this chapter represents what remains today of a dialect which has not been actively used by a large number of speakers for many

³² The double infinitive construction involving the verb *helfen* looks similar in a main clause, as expressed in this example from Informant 9: */ɪç hɔn ʃtū hɛlfə brɛçə/* 'I helped break stone.'

years.³³ It reflects the speech habits of the few speakers left who identify themselves as Schoenchen German speakers, distinct from German speakers in the other nearby Volga German communities. How the speech of Schoenchen German differs from that of these other towns will be discussed in Chapter 6.

³³ Although some informants claim to speak the dialect at home, most probably only use very standard phrases like: /maxs gut/ 'Take care of yourself!' or /vi gets/ 'How's it going?' or other expressions of the like. They probably do not carry on much extended discourse in the dialect at home.

Chapter 5

Lexical Borrowing in the Schoenchen Dialect ¹

The first generation of settlers in Russia endured many hardships establishing a presence on the Russian steppes. Many of the original immigrants to Russia had come from areas in central Germany which were nothing like the Russian plains. Many had no agricultural background and had to learn farming through trial and error. ² These people were unprepared and ill-equipped for the harsh life of dryland farmers. They had to learn to tolerate extremes in heat and cold, as well as periods of drought and flooding. Their housing was primitive and settlers were first forced to live in earthen dugouts or crude wood-framed structures. Harvests were small while the settlers learned how and what to raise in the newly plowed-under grasslands. The settlers were always under the threat of attack from nomadic Kirghiz horsemen, who roamed the grasslands with their herds of grazing cattle.

Living conditions improved, however, for following generations as farming techniques were perfected. The Volga German communities survived and expanded in the century following the original settlement.

During this century, several dozen Russian words were adopted into the German language of these communities, as speakers were introduced to new types of food, clothing, and technology. Although the Volga Germans purposely lived in closed

¹ This chapter discusses Russian and English loanwords borrowed into the dialect after the original settlers in Russia left their German homeland. One very common loanword /marɔdiç/ "tired", of French origin, was probably borrowed before the speakers left the German homeland. Laing (1910, 522) also tells of the possible influx of French words into the Volga German area due to the presence of French prisoners of war during the time of Napoleon and the Crimean War. He gives ten French words in the dialect as examples.

² Laing (1910, 523) writes: "Tradition states that most of those who settled on the Wolga [sic] were artisans (weavers, cobblers, tailors, etc.) and but few farmers."

communities separate from the Russian peasantry, the influence of their Slavic neighbors nevertheless had some impact on the vocabulary. ³

Since only a few of these Russian words are still in use today in Ellis County, Kansas, evidence for the existence of many of the Russian words in Kansas Volga German comes from the work of Rev. Francis S. Laing and Judge J. C. Ruppenthal. Between 1909 and 1913 both men compiled lists of Russian words in the German language of the Russian immigrants in and around Ellis County. ⁴

Based on the evidence supplied by these lists, the words borrowed from Russian by the Volga Germans up until the end of the nineteenth century fall to a large extent into three groups, with a number of miscellaneous borrowings. These main classes and the words in each class are: ⁵

³ Kloberdanz (1975, 212) states that although the Volga Germans "maintained many eighteenth-century German customs and practices, they were nevertheless subjected to the physical and social influences of their new environment. The agricultural methods, architecture, and dress of the Volga Germans were noticeably influenced by Russian peasant culture and their daily vocabulary was sprinkled with Russian words."

⁴ See Laing (1910, 522-23) and Ruppenthal (1915, 524-25). Other researchers of the Volga Germans in Kansas have also provided examples of Russian loanwords in the dialects, with most words found in the lists of Laing and Ruppenthal. See Denning (1977, 175-77), Werth (1979, 68), Pfeifer (1983, 40), and Keel (1989, 395). Kloberdanz (1975, 212) mentions a common Russian greeting *zdavstvuite* [sic]. This greeting was not collected by Ruppenthal or Laing, nor did any informant in Kansas use the word. Werth (1979, 23) mentions the word *Babushka*, meaning a dark shawl, a term also absent from the Ruppenthal and Laing lists. This word can also mean 'grandmother.'

Toepfer and Dreiling's tale of the migration of the Volga Germans to Kansas occasionally contains a Russian word. For example, they write about the Volga Germans' first experiences with Russian food: "Their food consisted of cabbage soup and millet porridge, with a drink called *Kwass*, which is a sort of beer made from fermented rye or barley over which warm water has been poured" (1982,12). Later they write of a typical village house: "The house was built with the back to the street. It had one door in the rear which entered into the *Krilič*, a small vestibule or foyer, where the heavy outer garments were removed and hung on pegs in winter" (1982,46). When describing women's sewing skills, they write: "Another woman sewed on a *Kaftan*, a dress coat for her husband made of dark felt" (1982,50).

Similarly, Dreiling (1976, 35), mentions that the settlers had to dig "*Semlyanka*, i.e., caves," in order to survive that first winter after immigration to Russia. He also states that many of the Volga German men in Kansas wore a "cap called a *carduse*" (1976, 47).

⁵ The spellings of the Russian loanwords come from Ruppenthal (1915, 524-25).

1) Farm housing and technology:

ambar	'granary'
brosch	'fallow land'
grulitz	'a small closed porch'
messit	'bran and straw mash for feed'
pachshu	'garden'
sarai	'outbuilding'
sedilka	'harness bridge for horses'
simlinka	'dugout'
steppe	'field, prairie'

2) Clothing:

boltschupke ⁶	'short overcoat'
gofta ⁷	'short jacket for women'
kardus	'cap'
manishka	'starched man's dress shirt'
nubi	'dress scarf'
paletot, baldo	'cloak, overcoat'
tulup	- 'great coat'
tupke	'leggings'

3) Food:

bierok	'stuffed pastry'
erbus, arbus	'watermelon'
kalatsch	'loaf of white bread'

⁶ Laing (1910, 523) spells this as *polschupka* and translates it as 'large overcoat'.

⁷ Laing (1910, 522) spells this as *kaftan* and translates it as 'coat'.

4) Miscellaneous:

bantke	'glass jar'
betta!	'awful'
blotnik, plodnik	'carpenter'
gumja	'friend'
jemtschick	'vehicle driver'
kaback	'wages'
kaluntsch	'swing'
klapot	'lawsuit'
knout	'whip'
natschelnik	'court official'
papyrus	'cigarette'
parschol!	'go away!'
plet	'wide whip'
prostoi	'common'
radnik	'recruit'
samovar	'tea steeper'
sotnik	'constable'
stuft	'quart measure'

It is unfortunate that the published lists of Laing and Ruppenthal do not cite the names of places or full names of informants used in compiling their lists. It is also not clear when the informants came to Kansas. They could have come with the original settlers, or may have come anytime as late as 1909.⁸ It is also not clear whether first or second generation German speakers provided the words for the lists.

Reverend Laing was based in Victoria, Kansas. It is reasonable to assume that his contacts were mostly with the Catholic Volga Germans. Judge Ruppenthal may have

⁸ Although he mentions no dates, Ruppenthal (1915, 524) writes: "Among the first colonists in Kansas but very few were familiar with the Russian language, and fewer still could read or write it. The later comers, however, have shown constantly increasing familiarity with Russian, ..."

had more contact with the Lutheran Volga Germans, since he lived in Russell, Kansas, although he held court in six counties populated with both Lutheran and Catholic Volga Germans.

Based on the evidence provided by their descendants, it can be claimed with reasonable certainty, however, that many German immigrants into the southern Volga region in the 1760s did not have sufficient background to have a strong German vocabulary in agricultural technology, thus explaining the need to borrow terms for a granary, *ambar*, which served an entirely different purpose than a barn, a more common farm building in Germany, for which the Volga Germans already had an adequate German word, *Stall*. Although the German language has a vocabulary term for fallow land, *Brachfeld* or *-land*, this word was perhaps unknown to the Volga Germans or maybe forgotten after a century in Russia, since it was replaced in some speakers' vocabulary by the Russian borrowing *brosch*. There is still competition today between two words in the Schoenchen German dialect to express the English word 'pasture', the German word *Feld* and the Russian borrowing *steppe*.

The settlers also were probably not experienced with severe continental winters and the need for a large, heavy overcoat, or *tulup*, and felt leggings or *tupke*⁹ in order to survive outdoors on the steppes. The dress of their acclimated Slavic neighbors proved more practical. Thus the Volga Germans borrowed the names of the clothing items as they began to wear them habitually.

As a result of their early encounters with their Slavic neighbors, the Volga Germans were introduced to new types of food. For example, they came to rely heavily on one particular fruit, *erbus*, or 'watermelon', which not only was a treat in the summertime, but also could be cooked down to a syrup to serve as a sweetener for

⁹ Since this word is no longer used by any informant who has been interviewed to date, it is not clear whether the Russian borrowing is singular or plural.

baked goods.¹⁰ In addition, a food item widely associated today with the Russian German settlers on the Great Plains is the *hierok*, a pastry stuffed with meat and cabbage.

Very few Russian words were produced in free conversation or translation exercises with third generation speakers in the Ellis County, Kansas, Volga German communities of Schoenchen, Munjor and Catherine. Therefore the lists of Russian words in Kansas Volga German published by Laing and Ruppenthal as well as additional selected words from lists of Russian loans in Canadian Mennonite German by John Thiessen and Gerhard Wiens¹¹ were incorporated into a questionnaire and presented to informants in Schoenchen, Munjor and Catherine. The additional words from Thiessen and Wiens are:

<u>Russian</u>	<u>English</u>
baklazhan	'tomato'
baschtan	'vegetable plot outside of town'
bulka	'white bread'
chabar	'bribe'
chutor	'property'
dulja	'insulting gesture'
gorjko	'crowd yells after kiss'
kipjatok	'boiling water'
kwas	'malted drink, schwarzbrot'
retschka	'creek'
sutki	'24 hours, day and night'
tabun	'herd of horses'
tschesnok	'garlic'
tschetwertj	'grain measure (2099 hl)'

¹⁰ See Toepfer and Dreiling (1982, 56).

¹¹ See Wiens (1957) and Thiessen (1963). These selected Russian loanwords from their articles were incorporated into the questionnaire to see if any of the loanwords borrowed by Germans in the Ukraine might be recognized by Volga Germans.

One other word was added to the questionnaire. The word is *nushnik*, meaning 'outhouse'. This is arguably the most recognizable Russian borrowing in the Volga German dialects of Ellis County and the mention of the word is sure to bring a smile to any dialect informant. The word was certainly used early in the century when Ruppenthal and Laing were compiling their lists of Russian borrowings in the German dialects. Perhaps they felt it was in bad taste to include the word on their lists.

Dialect informants were asked if they recognized the Russian words on the questionnaire, and if so, if they still actively used them. By comparing the 1909-13 evidence collected by Laing and Ruppenthal with 1992-94 Ellis County Volga German evidence based on the questionnaire, it is apparent that many Russian terms must have been falling out of use by the time the second generation immigrants in Kansas reached adulthood. The third generation Schoenchen speakers who were presented the list recognized 17 of the 51 solicited Russian forms ¹² or 33% and in free conversation or translations produced only 6 words or 12%. The fact that the informants recognize more words than they actually use probably indicates that their parents or grandparents rarely used the Russian loanwords. The informants never have felt the need to retain the words in their own active vocabulary.

One clue to this is the fact that one Schoenchen speaker used the English word 'dugout' when describing the crude housing of the early settlers. Even though the Russian borrowing *simlinka* was still common earlier in the century, and appears in the literature about the Volga Germans in Kansas,¹³ it was apparently not used enough in his family for him to remember the word.

¹² Of the lists from Ruppenthal and Laing, the questionnaire omits the words *boltschupke*, *kaback* and *kaluntsch*. It may be that the Canadian Mennonite word *baschtan* is the same word as the Volga German *pachshu*. It may also be that what Laing calls *Kaftan* is what Ruppenthal calls *gofta*.

¹³ See Dreiling (1976, 35).

Although not every informant recalled the same set of words, the words still generally recognized today by Schoenchen, Munjor and Catherine informants are listed below: (The forms with * were also collected during other dialect interview exercises without prompting from the questionnaire):

* ambar	'granary'
hankə	'glass jar'
hirək	'stuffed pastry'
blef	'riding whip'
blotnik	'carpenter'
* erbos	'watermelon'
gəftjə	'short jacket for women'
* grilts	'a small closed porch'
* gəmje	'friend'
kaftan	'coat'
kalotf	'a loaf of white bread'
kvas	'malted drink'
* nofnik	'outhouse'
bröstə	'arrogant'
radnik	'recruit, soldier'
* fep	'meadow, prairie'
topkə	'leggings'

The Russian words used in the free conversation, picture description exercises and Wenker translation exercises all exhibit adaptation to the phonological and morphological system of the dialect:

/gok məl in den nofnik, iç denk der is in den nofnik/
Guck mal in den Nuschnik (Abort). Ich denk, der ist in dem Nuschnik.
 'Look in the outhouse. I think he is in the outhouse'.

/grəsə erbuzə hən mir gəvaksə/
Große Erbuse (Wassermelone) haben wir wachsen lassen.
 'We grew large watermelons'.

/ɪç sai mit di lait tsɔrk ɪβɔr di ʃtɛp ins vatsɔfɛld kfarən/
Ich bin mit den Leuten über die Steppe (Wiese) ins Korn gefahren.
'I drove with the people back there over the meadow into the grain field'.

/dɛs haus nɛbɔ drɔn hɪr hət sɔ ə grɪlɪtsjə/
Das Haus neben dran hier hat so ein Grilitschen (ein kleines Nebengebäude).
'The house has a little outbuilding next to it here'.

The first example sentence collected from from a Schoenchen speaker relating an anecdote shows the use of a Russian masculine loan in the Schoenchen dialect. The collapse of the accusative and dative case in the definite article system of the dialect is suggested with the use of the loanword in this sentence.

The second example, collected from another Schoenchen speaker telling a joke, shows a regular German plural adaptation using the suffix *-e* with the singular Russian loanword, pronounced in isolation as /dɛs ɛrbʊs/.

The third sample sentence was produced by a Munjor speaker and contains a Russian feminine borrowing, while the fourth sentence, collected during a picture description exercise by the same Munjor informant, displays the tendency of the Ellis County German dialects to frequently add diminutive suffixes to nouns, even when the noun itself already implies smallness, as in the case of this loanword.

Borrowings from the Russian language ceased with the emigration of the Schoenchen speakers to Kansas. The predominant type of Russian borrowings up to that point had been nouns, based on the word lists of Laing and Ruppenthal. The lists show only two Russian expressions that might be considered as drawing from the colloquial vocabulary of their Slavic neighbors, those being the expressions for *go away* and *awful*.

The paucity of Russian borrowings by the immigrants is a reflection of the fact that, for the most part, the Volga Germans in Russia lived apart from their Slavic

neighbors. By 1909, the total number of commonly used Russian words in Ellis County Volga German was probably around forty words, taking into account that some words might have been missed in the studies of Ruppenthal and Laing. It took the dialect over a century to acquire this small vocabulary of loanwords. This is an interesting fact when compared with the claim by Georg Dinges (1923, 68) that he had collected a list of 800 Russian words in the Volga German dialects spoken by those who remained in Russia!¹⁴ Thus, in the nearly fifty years following the beginning of the exodus of Volga Germans to the western hemisphere, the remaining Volga Germans began to deal much more closely with the majority Russian speakers.¹⁵

During World War II, the Volga Germans in Russia suffered extreme persecution and were forcibly removed from the Volga region and were resettled in Siberia and other remote areas of the Soviet Union. As a result of this treatment, most chose to abandon the German language in favor of Russian. Thus today, many descendants in Russia of the Volga Germans speak little or no German, according to published magazine and newspaper accounts in Germany.¹⁶

¹⁴ Dinges deplors the large influx of Russian words into the Volga German dialects by the 1920s. He writes: "Bewunderlich ist (aber selbstverständlich nicht zu sehr), daß russische Wörter auch dann entlehnt werden, wenn eine Sache von jeher bei den Deutschen bekannt war und ein gutes deutsches Wort zu ihrer Benennung vorhanden war, und dann dennoch ein russisches Wort anstatt eines deutschen gebraucht wird" (1923, 68). [It is remarkable, (but really not too remarkable), that Russian words are then borrowed, when a thing all along had been known to the Germans and a good German word had been available for naming it, and yet a Russian word instead of a German is used.] He states a little further on: "Ich glaube, es ist ganz unschön, wenn man russische Wörter in die deutsche Sprache ohne Not hineinmischt." (1923, 68) [I believe it is not very nice when one mixes Russian words into the German language unnecessarily.]

Ruppenthal (1915, 524) notes that the latecomers to Kansas were much more familiar with Russian than the earlier settlers, a sign that the Russian authorities were increasing efforts to teach Russian to the Volga Germans in much the same way that they were being encouraged to learn English in Kansas.

¹⁵ For information on the reign of Alexander III and his policies promoting russification see Giesinger (1974, 230-31). By 1892, Russian was the required language for school instruction.

¹⁶ See Der Spiegel 43 (Oct. 1991, 202-10) and Die Zeit (Oct. 25, 1991, 5-6).

A similar situation occurred in Ellis County, Kansas, during the years between the two world wars. The United States battled Germany in both wars and there was much discrimination against Volga Germans in Kansas.¹⁷ The use of German in the schools was forbidden by Kansas law in 1919.¹⁸ Most Volga German children starting school between the wars had to start school without any English training. They felt ashamed after suffering the ridicule of their English speaking schoolmates. By the time these children became adults after World War II, they decided also to abandon their German dialect in favor of English as the primary language of the home.

These facts affect the way the German speakers in Schoenchen adopted English loanwords into their language. The Volga Germans did not just borrow English terms for new and unknown items encountered in America. A look at the complete list of English words found in the recorded samples of Schoenchen German shows a much broader incursion into the language than does the Russian list. The categories are not as easily broken down, since the types of words borrowed go beyond just noun borrowings.

1) Nouns:

pastor
farmer
neighbor
bootlegger
prisoner
architect
engineer

¹⁷ The Volga Germans were not only persecuted because of their German language, but also because of their Russian heritage. They were often called 'Rooshuns' or even 'Communists' by outsiders, especially around the time of World War I. See Kloberdanz (1975, 217-18). See also Saul (1974, 54) for an excerpt on how the Hays Sentinel newspaper viewed the new Volga German immigrants, setting the stage for the two generations of discrimination to follow.

¹⁸ See 1919 State of Kansas Session Laws (352).

dad
salesman

farm
mountains
water
pasture
dam
sand
mile
north
south
county
country

car
radiator
cement
pipes

seminary
tomato
monkey
stories
basket
brush
pint
draft
army
business
mash
mouth
basement
store

2) Verbs:

to move
to act
to use
to talk
to argue
to behave
to hire
to blacktop
to worry
to irrigate

3) Discourse markers:

you know
well

4) Miscellaneous:

go ahead!
about
always
forwards
broke
awful
better
finally
into
anyway
soundly

Haugen (1953, 93) writes about the areas in which Norwegian American immigrants were most likely to borrow words from English. He writes: "The chief foci of influence were the store, the government, and the American neighbor. But in home and family life, in church and religion, the English expressions penetrated more slowly." A look at the above list seems to suggest that this was largely true of the Volga German immigrants to Schoenchen, Kansas. With the exception of the words *pastor* and *dad*, English borrowings tend to fall outside the realm of home and church. The borrowing of two such words, however, in addition to the word *mouth*, suggest a potential loss of core vocabulary in those areas which are most resistant to borrowings, such as kinship terms and body parts.¹⁹

These English words were produced during interviews in which the informants were questioned in English and they responded in German.²⁰ A few of the words were produced during Wenker sentence translation exercises. From the miscellaneous group, *go ahead*, *about*, *always*, *better*, *into*, *awful*, and *soundly* were produced translating Wenker sentences, along with the verbs *to act*, *to behave*, *to hire*. Other nouns from Wenker translations were *basket*, *farmer*, *monkey*, *mountains*, *pasture*, *brush*.

Seventeen of the 61 English words, or 28% were thus possibly the product of suggestion based on the English contained in the Wenker sentences. The other 44 words, or 72%, were produced in free conversation, with the informant responding to English questions.

¹⁹ See Haugen (1953, 94) for a table showing the percentage of English loanwords in various fields of activity. Some examples: autos and bicycles (100%); government and politics (55.6%); business and trade (50.3%); schooling and books (43.8%); home and family (4.9%); parts of the body (0%).

²⁰ Unlike Haugen (1953) no attempt was made to produce a list of English words to see which ones were actively used in the dialect due to the fact that the speakers have been using English as the primary language for so long. Such a list might have been a very useful tool for studying English influence on the Schoenchen Dialect had it been presented in the 1950s, when there were many more speakers of German as a first language with English as their second language. See Haugen (1953, 556-608) for his list of English words used by the Norwegian speakers he studied.

An effort was made to have the informants talk about events which occurred fifty years ago or earlier. This was done to try to limit the need to speak of modern technology, which is often a triggering device into English discourse with some informants.

A determination also had to be made as to whether an English word in the dialect is an actual loanword or if it is simply used because the informant can no longer recall the German word and instead substitutes the English word. An important clue to the level of acceptance of a loan is whether it is adapted to the phonological and morphological system of the dialect by several speakers.²¹ Many, but not all, of the English words collected in Schoenchen German have been adapted to the pronunciation and grammatical rules of the dialect. Recent noun borrowings such as *car* or *salesman* do not show this morphological adaptation. Thus the dialect shows both resistance and submission to influences of the majority English language. No loanblends involving the combination of German and English lexemes have been collected for Schoenchen German ²², although one loan translation based on an English model has been collected: /besər ap/ 'better off'. One idiomatic loan has also been collected: /mit aus/ 'without'.²³

²¹ Bender (1980, 79) writes that the degree of adaptation of a loanword into the phonological and morphological system also provides clues to how old the borrowed term is.

²² The Schoenchen dialect uses /glaɪçə/ to express fondness or liking: /ɪç glaɪç ʃvama flaiʃ/ 'I like pork.' This is what Bloomfield (1933, 462) terms a loan-translation, a process where the English verb 'to like' is the model from which the German adjective *gleich*, meaning 'equal, resemblant' derives a new meaning. The verb *gelingen* is attested, however, in Middle High German with the meaning 'to like someone (with a dative personal object).' The Old Saxon verb *likon* (with a dative impersonal object) also had the meaning 'to like.' This suggests /glaɪçə/ may have been a part of the German dialect vocabulary of the founders of Schoenchen, Russia and Schoenchen, Kansas and not a loanblend based on the English verb 'to like.'

²³ The term comes from Bender (1980, 81) and is described as the imitation of a foreign expression which may or may not contain English morphemes. An example cited from East Frisian Low German is [den ve], meaning 'that way', an expression unheard of in Germany.

The pattern of borrowing involving English loanwords can be broken down into several categories. The first type of pattern involves words borrowed into the dialect with virtually no adaptation to the phonology of the dialect:

/di sam nɔx heis kɔmə ʊx di junjən pəsifik reilrowd ʊn di sam ɛrft nɔx ɪn rʊʃ
kaunti ɡəmuvt/

*Sie sind nach Hays mit der Union Pacific Railroad (Bahn) gekommen und sie sind
erst (nach) in Rush County (Landkreis) gezogen.*

'They came to Hays on the Union Pacific Railroad and they first moved to Rush
County'.

It seems likely that the words *railroad* and *county* were among the first to be borrowed in the Volga German dialects. The principal means of transportation to and from Ellis County was the train. When making land purchases, it would be necessary to know terminology for the political subdivision of land, such as county.

Another loanword which may have been an early borrowing does however exhibit the phonological characteristic of consonant lenition in a voiced environment of the dialect, with the /t/ in the loanword *country* being lenited to /d/:

/draʊs ɪn di kʊndri hʊn tsvai laɪt ɡəvont/
Drauß' auf dem Land haben zwei Leute gewohnt.
'Out in the country lived two people'.

When the Volga Germans first moved to Russia, they had to live in temporary underground shelters until they could acquire the materials to build a home. The dialect borrowed the Russian word for this type of temporary dwelling, *simlinka*. It is a word which was collected in the Ruppenthal list of 1915. The word was not listed in the Laing list. The third generation informants today do not recognize the Russian word. Instead, Informant 1 used an English term to refer to the underground dwellings built by the early immigrants on the plains of Kansas:

/ʊn dər dɔ hʊn sɪç dʊɡaʊts ɡəmaxt/

Und da haben sie sich Dugouts (Unterstände) gemacht.
'And there they made themselves dugouts'.

Some nouns may appear to be English loanwords in the dialect, but in fact exist as well in Standard German. The problem is therefore one of subconsciously incorporating English pronunciation. The following sample illustrates this phenomenon:

/ʊn hʊn den sænd aus den ʃmʊɣə ɡəholt fɔr den siment dərɪn/
Und sie haben den Sand aus dem Smoky Hill geholt für den Zement darin.
'And they got sand from the Smoky Hill for the cement it contained'.

This same informant later pronounces the word *sand* with the German pronunciation:

/ʊn dɔrt da aus hʊn mɪr ʔnkfəŋə sant fɔn di drʊkən ert ɡɔjst/
Und von da an haben wir angefangen, Sand von der trockenen Erde zu benutzen.
'And from then on we began to use sand from the dry earth'.

This sample also illustrates well the next category of English borrowing into Schoenchen German. Several common functional verbs have been borrowed into the dialect, where they have been adapted to the German verb morphology.

In the above example, the English verb *to use* appears in a past participle form. The verb also appears in recordings in the infinitive as well:

/na ana, des gelt derf mɪr net juzə/
Na, Anna, das Geld dürfen wir nicht benutzen.
'No, Anna, we cannot use the money'.

The next two examples illustrate the English verb *to call* occurring conjugated for the first person plural, as well as in the infinitive:

/ɪn ɛŋlɪʃ ðe sa ʃmʊwki hɪl, mɪr kalə ʃmʊgə/
Auf englisch sagen sie Smoky Hill. Wir nennen es Schmugge.
'In English they say Smoky Hill. We call it Shmugge'.

/di andərə wɔldə es sənkt antoniəs kalə, di ʃtat/
Die Andersons würden es St. Antonius callen, die Stadt

Die anderen wollten es Sankt Antonius nennen, die Stadt.
'The others wanted to call it Saint Antonius, the city'.

The other items in the verb list are also incorporated into the morphological system of the dialect. Verbs showed this tendency in all cases, which was not the case with nouns. Even a more modern technological verb was altered to fit the verb morphology: ²⁴

/mir hun di stroʒə gəblæktɔpt/
Wir haben die Straßen geteert.
'We blacktopped the streets'.

The fact that verbs undergo this transformation is important because the evidence shows that the type of loanword most likely to be fully morphologically adapted in this way into the Schoenchen dialect is the verb. Speakers produce the English verb loanwords without hesitation in some cases, meaning they do not struggle with searching for a German alternative before using the English, although there may a corresponding German verb in the dialect.

Another important clue to the intrusion of the English language into the subconscious mind of the Schoenchen speaker is the frequent use of the discourse marker *you know*. The following samples illustrate the use of this discourse marker, used when the speaker wants confirmation from the listener, or when he is delaying while thinking of what to say next:

/ʃenjə blaipt simliç, ju now, gradə noχ so gros vi si varən/
Schoenchen blaipt ziemlich, weißt du, gerade noch so groß, wie es war.
'Schoenchen remains pretty much, you know, just as big as it was'.

/da var fərbədi, ju now, ʃnaps/
Das war verboten, weißt du, Schnaps.
'That was forbidden, you know, whisky'.

²⁴ Johannes (1946, 101) provides two other examples of contemporary (for that time) technological borrowings in Ellis County Volga German: *getelephoned*; *Ich han' die Car gecrankt*.

Informant 1 was able to converse in German with a minimal amount of English interference, less than 2%, which was far and away the smallest amount of English interference of all the informants for this study. He tended to use English only when speaking of modern technology or when he had no German equivalent for an occupational title. He also used English discourse markers when pausing in his speech, although he would swear in German, especially when he could not remember a particular German word he needed to complete a thought or render a translation.

The impending death of the Schoenchen language is not due to speakers desiring to acquire a prestige language; rather it is the result of persecution of three generations of speakers, followed by two generations raised in the English language, mostly indifferent to the idea of preserving the German dialect. There is no long transition period to discuss, during which English loanwords and syntax begin to affect the structure of the German dialect.²⁵

The number of English loanwords in the dialect will probably never be satisfactorily determined. Whenever the topic of conversation involves modern technology, it is certain that a speaker will use English expressions. More often than not, the speaker will just switch to English.

²⁵ The decline and impending death of the dialect is the subject of Chapter 8.

Chapter 6
A Comparison of the Schoenchen Dialect with Its
Neighboring Volga German Dialects

One of the most interesting aspects of the immigration of the Volga Germans to Ellis County is the fact that many settlers from a particular community in Russia traveled together to Kansas and founded new communities together, eventually naming their communities after the towns left behind in Russia. There are several different factors which are responsible for bonding these settlers together through this major upheaval and resettlement.

The Volga German villages in Russia were founded on the sparsely populated Russian steppes. The villages were located several miles from one another, separated by farmland, rivers and hills. It became necessary for the residents to cooperate in order to survive. Large families were needed to ensure the necessary number of laborers to work the fields. These factors were responsible for the development of a strong sense of kinship loyalty, independence, community pride and self-reliance within individual towns. The strong presence of usually just one church per village, for the most part either Catholic or Lutheran, also strengthened this sense of community. These independent Volga German towns grew to be very competitive with other Volga German communities, with the residents of one village often creating unflattering nicknames for the residents of another.¹

But there were also factors which connected the independent villages closer together. Many towns shared the same church affiliation. Catholic communities tended to be clustered near one another and the same was true for Lutheran villages. In

¹ See Kloberdanz (1986, 285, 289).

addition, the villagers were constantly at risk of attack and looting by raiding Khirgiz horsemen and other nomadic groups roaming the steppes. Villages would have to be in communication with one another during periods of attack, in order to protect stockpiles of grain, livestock and other products. Finally, the villagers had to come together to communicate with the Russian authorities for matters dealing with land acquisitions and other Russian government matters pertaining to the Volga Germans in the Saratov and Samara provinces.

The strongest and most important link holding the Volga German communities together was, however, ethnic identity. This identity was based on a shared history of emigration from the German homeland. The immigrants to Russia created a German language speech island surrounded by vast open expanses, thinly populated by nomads and Russian speaking peasants and bureaucrats. These settlers tamed the frontier in a matter of two generations time and became established and successful farmers who outgrew their original homesteads and expanded even further into the open plains of Russia. This success was the object of considerable envy by the Russians living nearby, who began to react with increasing pressure upon Russian authorities to insist that the Volga Germans begin to pay for their success in Russia. The outside pressure of the Russian monarchy upon the Volga Germans to participate in military service for Russia, as well as to share their farm bounty and land with less fortunate Russian peasants,² further strengthened the ethnic ties among the Volga Germans.

The result was that the individual Volga German belonged to a large family unit, an extended family bonded by kinship, a church community, a village and the larger Volga German settlement group.³ The German language was the common thread that bound

² See Saul (1974) and Giesinger (1974) for more on Russian efforts in the nineteenth century to do away with the inducements granted by Catherine the Great a century earlier to entice German settlers to the banks of the southern Volga.

³ See Klobardanz (1986) for more about in-group affiliation among the Volga Germans in Russia and Kansas.

all Volga Germans together, but local variations existed also within the larger German language speech island.

Nineteen towns in Russia provided the original immigrants to Ellis and Rush Counties in Kansas. These towns were Schoenchen, Obermonjou, Zug (Gattung), Solotum (Wittman), Luzern, Pfeifer, Semjonowka, Boregard, Kamenka, Katharinenstadt,⁴ Herzog, Rohleder, Mariental, Rothammel, Lui, Graf, Neu-Obermonjou, Liebental and Marienburg.⁵ The first sixteen towns are categorized as original mother colonies in Russia. The last three towns are categorized as daughter colonies, in that they were established and settled in 1859-60 by Volga Germans from the mother colonies after overpopulation of the original colonies became a problem.

Dinges (1923) developed a linguistic map of the Volga German mother colonies in Russia to accompany his article "Über unsere Mundarten." The colonies are differentiated linguistically based on the pronunciation of twenty-three lexical items. Most of the towns from which the majority of the Volga German settlers to Kansas originated can be found on the map. The following table displays the Standard German name and the dialect equivalents for the twenty-three items common to all the mother colonies which provided immigrants to Ellis and Rush Counties.⁶ The sixteen mother colonies providing immigrants to Ellis and Rush Counties can be categorized in seven

⁴ This town has more recently been called Marxstadt. The settlers of Catherine, Kansas, originated here.

⁵ This list comes from Laing (1910, 490). Although he names Luzern and Rohleder as two of the nineteen villages from which immigrants to Kansas originated, there are no mention of individuals from either of these towns in the roll calls of the founders of the Volga German towns in Kansas published in the article. One of the original scouts from Russia, however, who surveyed the Kansas prairie prior to the mass immigration was a man from Luzern, but no mention is made of his name among those who finally settled in Kansas. See Laing (1910, 492). Dreiting (1976) also fails to mention Luzern or Rohleder probably because he is strongly indebted to Laing for his history of the founding of the Ellis and Rush County Volga German settlements.

Informants 7 and 8 are descended from immigrants who first came to Ellis County from Preuss, Russia, a mother colony, in the 1920s.

⁶ The spellings of the colony names, except for Schoenchen, and the representations of the dialect words come from Dinges.

groups, based on Dinges's system of icons associated with particular dialect features found in each of the towns.⁷

The table on page 96 is designed to show how unique a certain town dialect might be as well as to show how several villages might fit in a common pattern. Based on the highlighted forms in the lists it is easy to categorize the dialect of Marxstadt as unique because it is the only dialect which has word-initial /f/ (<Gmc / p-/) where /p/ is found in the other dialects. It is also the only town where MHG /-ou-/ is realized as /-ou-/.⁸

Many mother colonies share common pronunciation traits as well. Solutum, Schoenchen, Zug, Luzern, Obermonjou, Pfeifer and Semjonowka all share the feature of retention of a word-final *-en* as /-n/ after /t/, where the other dialects lose the final nasal and retain the unstressed vowel /-ɔ/. Herzog, Mariental, Rohleder, Lui and Graf all share the characteristic of the complete loss of the NHG strong past participle suffix *-en*, which is realized in the other dialects as /-ɔ/. Solutum, Luzern, Pfeifer and Semjonowka have one unique highlighted form in that the /-a-/ (<MHG / -a- /) found in the other towns is reflected by /-o-/ in the form *wokse* 'to grow'. Marxstadt, Herzog, Rohleder, Mariental, Rothammel, Lui and Graf all have the vowel /-e-/ (<MHG /-ei- /) where the other town pronounce it as /-a-/. Mariental, Lui and Rothammel palatalize /s/ before /t/ in post-vocalic position. All towns pronounce eight of the 23 words identically. Boregard and Kamenka have no highlighted forms. The towns of Schoenchen, Zug, Obermonjou, Solutum and Luzern were located relatively near one another along the east bank of the Volga, northeast of Marxstadt.

⁷ Like Schoenchen: Obermonjou, Zug
Pfeifer: Semjonowka, Luzern, Solutum
Kamenka: Boregard
Herzog: Rohleder, Graf
Mariental: Lui

⁸ Similarly, the town of Preuss is unique in that MHG /-o-/ which is realized in the other towns as /-e-/ is reflected as /-i-/. Thus *böse* is realized as *biis*, *schön* as *schii*'.

Just to the south of Marxstadt lay Boregard. Mariental, Rohleder, Herzog, Graf and Lui were also located close to one another along the banks of the Greater Karaman River, a tributary of the Volga. All these towns were on the *Wiesenseite* or meadow side of the Volga. The three daughter colonies were also on the meadow side of the Volga, Marienburg situated to the east of the mother colonies and Liebental and Neu-Obermonjou just to the south.

Pfeifer was located farther to the south across the Volga on the *Bergseite* or hilly west side of the river, as was Semjonowka. Also in this western group were the towns of Kamenka and Rothamel.

Regardless of whether the towns were on the *Bergseite* or the *Wiesenseite*, all towns which provided immigrants to Ellis County but one, Katharinenstadt (Marxstadt), were exclusively Catholic villages. Katharinenstadt, which was predominately Lutheran, was a large enough community to also support a Catholic element.⁹

Laing (1910) and Dreiling (1976) provide an approximate number of immigrants from each town in Russia who settled in the six new communities in Ellis and Rush Counties in Kansas for the period 1875-78:

Liebenthal:	Liebental	52
	Neu-Obermonjou	9
	Marienburg	1
	Graf	2
	Schoenchen	19
	Mariental	5
Catharine:	Katharinenstadt	170
	Obermonjou	6
	Lui	20
Herzog:	Herzog	314
	Kamenka	1

⁹ Stumpp (1973, 71) lists the 1912 population of Katharinenstadt at 11,962, of which 2,348 were Catholic.

	Mariental	5
	Boregard	5
	Liebenthal	16
	Obermonjou	39
	Lui	28
	Graf	1
Pfeifer:	Pfeifer	83
	Kamenka	80
	Rothamel	32
	Semjonowka	4
Munjour:	Obermonjou	112
	Soloturn (Wittman)	40
	Mariental	21
	Schoenchen	12
	Zug (Gattung)	12
	Herzog	6
Schoenchen:	Schoenchen	53
	Neu-Obermonjou	80

Based on these data from Liebenthal, Catherine, Herzog, Pfeifer, Munjour and Schoenchen, the settlers from the *Wiesenseite* for the most part tended to settle together again in Kansas. The same holds true for settlers from the *Bergseite*, as can be seen by examining the towns which provided settlers to Pfeifer. Furthermore, a large number of settlers from the daughter colonies in Russia for the most part first settled together in Liebenthal, before many of the people from Neu-Obermonjou moved over to Schoenchen.¹⁰

There have been several attempts at trying to classify the dialects for Schoenchen, Liebenthal, Victoria (Herzog), Catherine, Munjour and Pfeifer, although researchers differ on how to classify the dialects. Pfeifer (1983, 39) classifies Herzog, Pfeifer and Catherine separately, but includes Schoenchen within the Munjour category.¹¹ Toepfer

¹⁰ Schoenchen was founded because of a dispute among the original settlers of Liebenthal. All the settlers counted as founders of Schoenchen originally settled Liebenthal, but their numbers are not included in the Liebenthal count. See Chapter 2 for the history of the founding of Schoenchen.

¹¹ Pfeifer's article only treats Ellis County Volga German dialects. Liebenthal is not treated, as it actually is situated in Rush County. She also discusses how in many cases, a last name may provide a clue to a person's hometown. For example, all Werths and Zimmermans come from Schoenchen

and Dreiling (1966, 162) on the other hand describe the Munjor dialect as being considerably different from the other colonies, largely by virtue of its large body of French loanwords. Keel (1982, 102-3) combines Schoenchen and Liebenthal in his transcriptions of several Wenker sentences and later in the article (108) offers a tripartite grouping of the dialects, with Herzog and Catherine as distinct, but Schoenchen, Liebenthal, Munjor and Pfeifer dialects having enough common characteristics to classify them together as one group when attempting to determine a possible point of origin in Germany. Johannes (1946, 98) would keep Pfeifer separate from Munjor and Schoenchen when she writes:

"A comparison of the various dialects reveals the fact that in Catherine and Victoria the vowel sounds "e" and "i" predominate, in Munjor and Schoenchen the long "a", and in Pfeifer the long "o". The Catherine dialect most nearly approaches the High German." ¹²

Weigel (1989, 38) considers each Ellis County dialect to be unique. He uses the simple expression 'I said' to differentiate the dialects:

Herzog:	"Ich han g'sad"
Katharinenstadt:	"Ich hab g'sacht"
Munjor:	"Ich hun g'sad"
Pfeifer:	"Ich hen g'sood"
Schoenchen:	"Ich hun g'saecht"

Using data published in Pfeifer (1983) and also using some of the lexical criteria used in the Dinges (1923) map from which to select key words for analysis of the most recent recorded data, the following table will show what similarities and differences still

(1983, 39). A look at the list of founders for each town in Dreiling (1976, 52-79) also shows how certain names clearly predominate in certain towns.

¹² Johannes also only treats Ellis County Russian German settlements.

exist among all six original Volga German settlement dialects in Ellis and Rush

Counties:¹³

SG	<u>Schoenchen</u>	<u>Pfeifer</u>	<u>Catherine</u>	<u>Herzog</u>	<u>Munjor</u>	<u>Liebenthal</u>
Pfund	punt	punt	funt	punt	punt	punt
Seife	saf	saf	sevə	sef	saf	sef
heim	ham	ham	tsu haus	hem	ham	hem
geschlafen	kʃlɔvə	kʃlɔvə	kʃlavə	kʃlɔf	gəʃlɔvə	kʃlɔvə
gestohlen	kʃtolə	kʃtolə	kʃtolə	kʃtol	kʃtolən	kʃtolə
gefahren	kʃam	kʃam	kʃarə	kʃar	kʃarən	kʃarən
Pferd	gaul	gaul	fert	gaul	gaul	gaul
sind ¹⁴	sam	sam	sɪn	sɪn	sam	sɪn
haben ¹⁵	hun	hun	habə	han	hun	han

The table shows that Catherine clearly stands out in that it is the only community with the characteristically East Middle German realization of /f/ for the shifted word-initial Germanic /p/. The town also uses a word for 'horse' which is unique among the Volga German towns.¹⁶ Herzog dialect is also unique in that it is the only dialect which drops completely the past participle suffix from the verb.

The speech habits of these two towns correspond with those of their Russian namesakes. These two Kansas communities were settled by large majorities from their namesake towns in Russia. Based on the data found in Laing (1910) 317 of the 409 original settlers to Herzog, Kansas, (77%) came from Herzog, Russia. Laing also reports that 170 of the 196 original settlers to Catherine, Kansas, (87%) came from Katharinenstadt, Russia.

It is also apparent that the 112 of the 203 settlers of Munjor, Kansas, (55%), from Obermonjou, Russia, were able to maintain the same speech habits, as did the 80

¹³ The data for Pfeifer, Catherine, Herzog, Munjor and Liebenthal were recorded by Ilse Shire in 1979-1980.

¹⁴ From Wenker sentence 29: yours *are* much bigger.

¹⁵ From Wenker sentence 24: and they *were* fast asleep.

¹⁶ The use of the word *Pferd* for 'horse' is widely attested in the East Middle German dialect subdivision in Germany. See König (1978, 210). Pfeifer (1983, 39) states that Catherine has unique forms for 'pig' and 'rooster', those being *Schweine* and *Hahn*, as opposed to *Sei* and *Gigkel* in the other towns.

settlers of the 133 founders of Schoenchen, Kansas, (60%), from its daughter colony Neu-Obermonjou. The fact that Obermonjou, Neu-Obermonjou and Schoenchen settlers came together in such large numbers attests not only to the proximity of the towns in Russia, but also to the similarity in the dialects. Munjor also was settled by a combined total of 64 settlers from Schoenchen, Soloturn, and Zug (32%). These towns were all classified by Dinges (1923) as having the same dialect characteristics. This means that the other 27 settlers from Mariental and Herzog (13%) had little influence in the shaping of the modern Munjor dialect in Kansas.

In the nearly fifty years following the research by Johannes (1946) Ellis County Pfeifer German seems to have lost the one distinguishing characteristic found in its Russian counterpart, as well as the feature common to most of the settlers from the other towns in Russia which participated in the founding of Pfeifer, that being the realization of MHG /a/ as /ɑ/, rather than the /a/ found in the other dialects. The reason for this leveling with the other towns is unclear. Pfeifer does, however, have unique lexical forms which differentiate it from the other towns.¹⁷

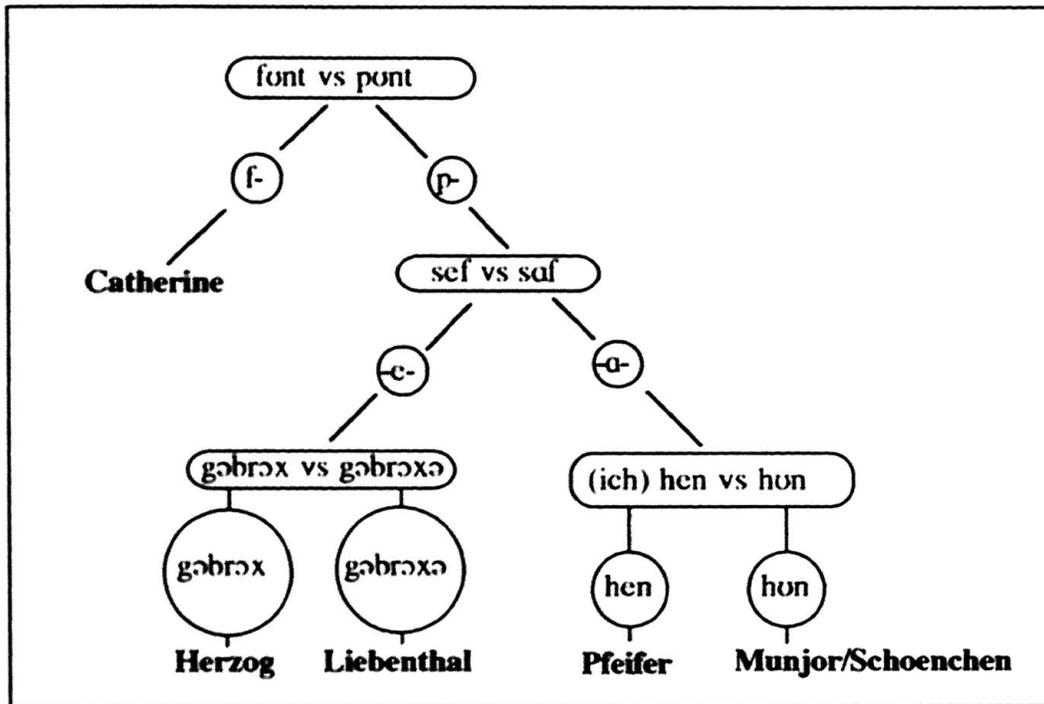
Liebenthal could possibly be classified in the group with Herzog or Catherine because of the realization of the MHG diphthong /ei/ as /e/, but the dialect does not shift the Germanic word-initial /p/, as happens in Catherine, nor does it drop the past-participle ending, as is the case in Herzog.¹⁸ It does, however have the same realizations for the auxiliary verbs as does Herzog. Based on the limited data available for Liebenthal, it does not seem unreasonable to classify it with the Herzog dialect.¹⁹

¹⁷ According to Pfeifer (1983, 39), the word 'cucumber' is realized in Pfeifer as *Gumnera* and in the other Ellis County Volga German communities as *Gorge*. In Pfeifer dialect, a 'fly' is a *Schnooke*, while in the other towns it's called a *Mika*. She also states that '(I) have' is realized in Pfeifer as *hen*, while Munjor/Schoenchen has *hun*, Herzog has *hann* and Catherine has *hab*.

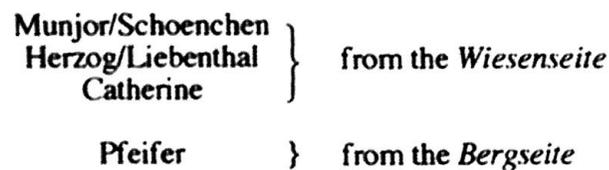
¹⁸ Von Unwerth (1918, 61) provides a transcription of Wenker sentences collected from an informant from Liebenthal, Russia. This informant does drop the past-participle ending.

¹⁹ It is also not unreasonable to speculate the mother colony or colonies which spawned Liebenthal were located farther up the Greater Karaman river to the northwest of the daughter colony. These

In the final analysis, a classification of the Ellis and Rush County Volga German dialects must take into account both the settlement data of the immigrant groups in Kansas as well as the similarities and differences among the dialects. Based on phonological differences, the dialects fall into the following classification scheme:



The relationship of the dialects can also be depicted by the following classification scheme based on immigration and settlement data:



potential mother colonies are Herzog, Graf, Rohleder, or possibly Mariental or Lui. See the map accompanying Dinges (1923).

Based on the recorded dialect data and the settlement data, it is appropriate that the Schoenchen dialect be classified together with the Munjor dialect for three reasons. The research by Dinges (1923) suggests the dialects were very similar in the Russian homeland. The data from the Schoenchen interviews and the 1981 interviews by Shire of Munjor speakers, together with the data provided in the article by Pfeifer (1983) support the assertion that the dialects are essentially the same in Kansas. Finally, the settlement data confirm that dialect speakers from Schoenchen, Russia, and Neu-Obermonjou, Russia (the daughter colony of Obermonjou), joined together in Kansas to found the town of Schoenchen in one of only two cases in Ellis County where large numbers (50+) from different towns in Russia settled together successfully.²⁰ It is also interesting to note that Schoenchen is the only town to be named after the mother colony in Russia of the minority of the founding settlers.

²⁰ A similar success story can be found in Pfeifer, where the mother colonies of Pfeifer and Kamenka each contributed more than 80 immigrants.

Chapter 7

A Linguistic History of the Schoenchen Dialect

Modern descendants of the immigrants to Schoenchen, Kansas, have not yet been able to acquire family records from Russian archives in the Volga region to tie any of their forebears to the names of the original German immigrants to the Russian Volga region listed in Stumpp (1973). Only by knowing from what towns or regions in Germany the immigrants began their journey to Schoenchen, Russia, would an exact determination of the original German homeland of the speakers of Kansas Schoenchen German be possible.¹

It is possible, however, to take the phonological, morphological and lexical data gathered in dialect interviews and compare that to data found in such publications as the Deutscher Sprachatlas (DSA), the Deutscher Wortatlas (DWA), the dtv Atlas zur deutschen Sprache (dtvA), the Lexikon der germanistischen Linguistik (LGL), the Kleiner Deutscher Sprachatlas (KDS), Wiesinger (1970) and Schirmunski (1962) to draw some conclusions on which German areal dialect features predominate in the Schoenchen German dialect.² Even if family records eventually show that the immigrants to Schoenchen, Russia, came from areas outside the particular German

¹ Werth (1979, 68) provides the following information about the German origin of the dialect, based on conversations with native Germans: "The dialect spoken in Schoenchen, Kansas, is much the same as the dialect spoken in Oberndorf, Baden-German [sic], according to Fr. Jordan Hammel, O.F. M. Cap., a native of that area, and it is similar to the dialect spoken in the area around Nuremberg [sic], Bavaria-Germany, according to Fr. Benno Strobach, O.F.M.Cap., superior of the monastery in Altoetting, Germany." Werth continues in his footnotes (157): "Oberndorf is about 35 miles east of the southern end of Hesse, and about 75 miles west of Nuremberg [sic], Germany. Perhaps the people in Schoenchen, Russia were predominately from northern Baden or from the Nuremberg area of Bavaria, Germany. The author was told by his grandfather, Joseph Hertel, that the Hertels came from Bavaria. Many Hertels live in Nuremberg today. Nuremberg has a 'Hertelstrasse'."

² Keel (1981) is the only linguistic study which attempts to determine a possible German homeland for Schoenchen German. He determines the dialect to be West Middle German, Rhine Franconian, Southern Hessian. His conclusion is based on phonological, morphological and lexical evidence. The information provided in this chapter will support his conclusion.

dialect area determined in this chapter, some interesting conclusions could be drawn on how dialect leveling or dialect mixing operates in a speech island. The evidence for the determination of a possible German homeland for the dialect will be examined from three perspectives in this chapter: the phonological, the morphological and the lexical.

The first step in the process of determination is to identify the major German dialect region in which to narrow the search. The traditional dialect isoglosses for determining this region based on consonantal phonology have been determined from research carried out for the DSA.³

The dialect can be classified as Middle German (MG) because it does not participate completely in the second German sound shift, the name given for phonological phenomena which separate the Low German (LG) dialects in the north from the MG and Upper German (UG) dialects in the south.⁴ The northern boundary of the MG area is defined by the *maken/machen* 'to make' isogloss. The Schoenchen dialect has shifted the intervocalic /k/ to the corresponding fricative /x/. Schoenchen German also falls south of the *iklich* 'I (1st. Pers. Nom. Sg. Personal Pronoun)' isogloss, in that the word-final /k/ is shifted to /ç/. These two northern isoglosses run parallel across much of the MG northern boundary, running roughly west to northeast from just north of Cologne passing Wittenberg just to the north and continuing on to just north of Kassel.

³ A graphic representation of the traditional German dialect regions can be found by viewing Map 3 of the DSA, which illustrates consonantal isoglosses. Wrede's dialect divisions are found on DSA map 56. Since this map was intended for training purposes, the regions are not labeled, but the introduction to the DSA gives a breakdown of the regions represented on the map. Map E5 of the KDS places Wrede's labels within the dialect regions. Another view of German dialect areas based on DSA material can be found on pages 230-31 of the divA. Still another map can be found near the front of Volume 20 of the DWA (n.p.). Detailed maps of individual dialect regions are found in the LGL (460, 461, 465, 469, 476, 478, 480, 483, 484, 485, 487, 489, 490). Regional designations used in this chapter for German dialects are based for the most part on all these map sources. For a different view of the High German dialect regions, see Wiesinger (1970, map 1).

⁴ See Schweikle (1990, 125-34) for a good explanation of the second sound shift.

The southern boundary of the MG area, separating MG dialects from UG dialects, is marked by the *Appell/Apfel* 'apple' isogloss and the *Pund/Pfund* 'pound' isogloss. These isoglosses run from west to northeast from south of Karlsruhe through Speyer continuing east of Darmstadt and toward the north up past Fulda to the east. Like all MG dialects, Schoenchen German does not shift the voiceless labial stop /p/ to the corresponding affricate /pf/ in either the intervocalic or the word-initial position. Examples from the Schoenchen dialect are /pɛvər/ 'pepper' and /ɛbəl/ 'apple.'

A further subclassification of the MG dialect area is also possible. The MG dialects are divided into an east and a west variety by the *Pund/Fund* 'pound' isogloss, which runs roughly north to south from Kassel to Sontra east of the Fulda River. Schoenchen German falls within the West Middle German (WMG) group, with the word initial /p/ remaining unshifted.⁵

Within the WMG dialect area, Schoenchen German can be further classified as Rhine Franconian. The Rhine Franconian region lies south and east of the Middle Franconian dialect region and is separated from it by the *dat/das* 'the (3rd person sg. def. art.)' isogloss. The Rhine Franconian dialects shift the word-final /t/ to /s/. In the Schoenchen dialect this word is /dɛs/.

Using yet another isogloss derived from the DSA, the Schoenchen dialect can be further categorized within the Rhine Franconian area as a Hessian dialect. The *fest/fescht* 'firm' isogloss separates the Hessian dialects to the north from the more southern Palatine dialects. Palatine dialects palatalize /s/ before word-final /t/ when preceded by a vowel while the Hessian dialects do not. This traditional dialect

⁵ See also KDS (21-22) for maps of this shift.

isogloss runs in a southeastern direction across the Rhine Franconian region, circling to the north of Mainz and then running south of Darmstadt.

No further subclassification can be made for the Schoenchen dialect using these traditional DSA consonantal isoglosses.⁶

A more precise determination of a potential homeland of Schoenchen German involves the examination of vowel isoglosses within the Hessian region. The Hessian dialects can be subdivided into four main groups within the MG dialect area: Lower Hessian, Eastern Hessian, Middle Hessian and Southern Hessian.⁷

The Schoenchen dialect must be excluded from the Lower and Eastern Hessian dialects since New High German (NHG) diphthongization of Middle High German (MHG) long vowels <î>, <iu> (/y:/) and <û> is attested in the dialect: MHG <mîn> 'my', <niuwes> 'new', and <hûs> 'house' are realized in Schoenchen German respectively as /mat(n)/, /nat:ʁs/ and /haus/. Among Hessian dialects, only Middle

⁶ An interesting map showing the extent that lenition of word initial *t-* in the words *Tisch* and *Tochter* to forms like Schoenchen German /dij/ and /dɔxtɔr/ can be found on pages 37 and 38 of the KDS. These maps show that lenition is widespread in the LG, WMG and UG dialects, with forms in *t-* occurring mainly in the EMG area.

⁷ Using DSA vowel criteria, the LGL divides Hessian into three subgroups; Lower Hessian in the northeast corner of the dialect area including the cities Kassel and Fulda, Central Hessian, with its major cities being Marburg and Frankfurt, and Southern Hessian, with the largest city in this area being Darmstadt. Wiesinger (1970), the most complete analysis of vowel isoglosses in the High German dialect region, draws a completely different picture of the traditional Rhine Franconian region. He refers to the traditional Palatinate dialect region as Rhine Franconian. His Rhine Franconian region also includes the area traditionally referred to as Southern Hessian. According to Wiesinger, Hessian proper is that area traditionally described as Central Hessian. Wiesinger proposes a Northern Hessian Region north of Marburg reaching to Kassel. The traditional Lower Hessian dialect region is renamed the Eastern Hessian area, encompassing the area around Fulda. Wiesinger also proposes a number of transition zones which are not clearly labeled. Frieberthäuser (1987, 45-54) proposes a compromise which recognizes both Wiesinger's classification of Hessian dialects based on vowels and the traditional classification based on consonantal DSA criteria. Excluding the northernmost tip of Hessia, that area to the north and west of Kassel, which falls within the LG dialect region, Frieberthäuser names the Hessian dialects according to accepted terminology for the various geographical regions in Hessia. His terminology is used in this study. Surrounding each major Hessian dialect group are transition or interference zones where features of neighboring dialects are intermixed. In addition, Frieberthäuser (1987, 50-51) mentions that the dialects in the Hessian area south of the Main River are distinguished by Rhine-Franconian features, which are more like Standard German than the other Hessian dialects. See Arend (1991, 9-21) for a summary of the ways dialectologists of the past and present have attempted to classify the dialects of the Hessian region.

and Southern Hessian dialects completely participate in diphthongization of these MHG vowels.

The MHG diphthongs <ei> and <ou> are realized in both Middle and Southern Hessian dialects as /ɛ/: MHG <seife> 'soap' and <boum> 'tree' are realized in these dialects and in Schoenchen German as /sɛf/ and /bɛm/.

Schoenchen German does not exhibit the major Middle Hessian distinguishing characteristic of "toppled diphthongs" (gestürzte Diphthonge), in which MHG diphthongs <uo>, <ie> and <üe> were first monophthongized, but were diphthongized again in apparent opposite manner to the original MHG diphthongs:⁹ MHG <brüoder> 'brother', <brief> 'letter' and <müede> 'tired' are realized in the Middle Hessian region north of Frankfurt as *brouər* (with rhotacism of intervocalic /d/ ¹⁰), *brɛif*, and *mɔid*.¹¹ The speakers of Schoenchen German say /brudər/, /brɛf/ and /mid/ ¹² respectively.

Schoenchen German also does not display the Middle Hessian tendency to raise the MHG long vowels <ô> and <œ>. MHG <grôz> 'big' and <schœn> 'nice' are realized in Middle Hessian dialects respectively as *gruus* and *schii'*,¹³ while Schoenchen German speakers say /gros/ and /ʃen/.

⁸ The picture is not clear with regard to Lower Hessian. Maps 15 and 16 accompanying Wiesinger (1970) show that what he calls East Hessian and undesignated areas to the north of East Hessian are transition zones where diphthongization still is widespread, although he shows occurrences of monophthongs similar to the other Hessian dialects. Friebertshäuser (1987, 50) states these diphthongs remain diphthongs in Lower Hessian, while they are monophthongs in Eastern Hessian.

⁹ See Schirmunski (1962, 231-32) for a discussion of toppled diphthongs.

¹⁰ Schoenchen German does not display any evidence of the Hessian/Palatine tendency toward rhotacism of intervocalic d, as might be expected by looking at the dialect maps (DSA, maps 12/13; divA, (152); KDS, (50)). The consonant does, however, show loss of closure in the dialect. It is realized in Schoenchen German as /ð/.

¹¹ Examples come from Schirmunski (1962, 231), along with an explanation of the phenomena. The spellings of the examples are his.

¹² Informant 3 actually produced the word /midsam/ for 'ured.' Most Schoenchen speakers use the word /marɔdiç/. See footnote 1 of Chapter 5.

¹³ The spelling of these examples comes from the map accompanying Dinges (1923).

The MHG initial long vowel <û> in the preposition <ûf> 'on top of' is shortened and lowered slightly in Schoenchen German, where the word is realized as /uf/.¹⁴ This is the case in much of the German speaking region to the southwest of the Southern Hessian region. To the north of Frankfurt, the vowel is lowered to *o*-, while to the east, the vowel is lowered to *a*-, or is diphthongized to *au*-.

The MHG long vowel <â> in <slâfen> 'to sleep' is raised and backed in the Schoenchen dialect, being realized as /-o/ in the past participle form of the verb /kflovɔ/. Wiesinger (1970, map 10) shows this form to be widespread in the Southern Hessian region as well as in the Palatinate, Swabian and Alemanic dialect regions.¹⁵

Using, therefore, the traditional vowel isogloss criteria, the Schoenchen dialect can be tentatively classified as Southern Hessian based on its lack of vowel features found in the Middle, Eastern and Lower Hessian regions¹⁶ and also based on some vowel features which Southern Hessian shares with Palatine dialects and other dialects to the south and southwest.

This tentative classification means only that the consonantal and vocalic features described above which predominate in the area between Frankfurt in the north and Darmstadt in the south are features which predominate in the Volga German dialect of Schoenchen, Kansas.¹⁷

¹⁴ Some speakers pronounce this as /ux/. See Chapter 4.

¹⁵ In word-initial position, the vowel is not raised as much in Schoenchen German. An example is the realization of MHG <âbent> 'evening', which in Schoenchen German is /ɔβant/.

¹⁶ Based on these exclusionary criteria (including the dialect's exclusion from the Palatine dialects to the south and west, the Schoenchen dialect seems to fall into that category designated by Schirmunski (1962, 597) as *Neuhessisch*, or New Hessian. Schirmunski claims that because the primary characteristics of what he calls Upper Hessian (Central Hessian) are lacking in the New Hessian region, this "Half-dialect" (*Halbmundart*) must have completely repressed these Upper Hessian characteristics. Friebertshäuser, (1987, 50) calls the city dialect of Frankfurt and the regional language of the Rhein-Main area New Hessian.

¹⁷ In the traditional Southern Hessian dialect region, Wiesinger (1970) displays on Map 7 the realization of MHG <ê> as a rising diphthong *ei* and on Map 8 the realization of MHG <ô> as a rising diphthong *ou*. A tendency to diphthongize these vowels in Schoenchen German is also apparent. See Chapter 4. Unfortunately, it may not be possible to determine if the tendency to diphthongize existed in the dialect when the speakers first came to Kansas, or if this tendency is the result of the influence of

The morphological data support this conclusion as well, although morphological features tend to be more widespread. The data shows that morphological features found in the dialect are not inconsistent with the determination of a possible Southern Hessian homeland for Schoenchen German.

Schoenchen German employs the diminutive suffix */-jə/*, the dialectal realization of NHG *-chen*. This suffix is found in the Middle and Lower German dialect regions. An example of this is the name *Schoenchen* realized in the dialect as */ʃenjə/*. Further south, in the Upper German dialect region, a diminutive based on NHG *-lein* predominates.¹⁸

DSA map 54 displays dialect areas in which the NHG infinitive *trinken* 'to drink' loses the final nasal consonant from the infinitive suffix *-en*. The areas where this loss occurs include the Southern Hessian region. This NHG infinitive is realized in Schoenchen German as */driŋə/*.

The first person singular present tense conjugation for NHG *sein* 'to be' is realized in Schoenchen German as */sain/*. DSA map 101 shows that this form occurs in the Southern Hessian region, as well as to the southwest in the Northern Palatinate dialect region.¹⁹ To the north of Frankfurt, in the Middle Hessian region, *sei* is the attested form. To the east, in the East Middle German (EMG) dialect area, the *bin* form occurs.

the English habit of diphthongizing long vowels (See Moore, 1951, 11). It is because of this uncertainty that this possible feature of the dialect is not labeled as uniquely Southern Hessian.

There appears to be one inconsistency in the characterization of Schoenchen German as Southern Hessian, using vowel criteria. DSA map 127 displays the realization of the short MHG vowel <a> in <waz> 'what' as *wos*. Schoenchen German does not exhibit this expected *Verdumpfung*, or raising back of this vowel, as is attested on the map for the entire Central and Southern Hessian region. The word is realized in the dialect as */was/*. This form attested in Schoenchen German is widespread to the south in the Palatinate, in Swabia and in the southwestern Alemannic dialects.

¹⁸ See divA, 157 for a discussion of the emergence of the diminutive suffixes in German, as well as a map showing their distribution.

¹⁹ See Post (1990) for a good overview of the Palatine region and its dialects.

The first person singular present tense for NHG *haben* 'to have' (actually derived from the MHG contracted verb <hân>)²⁰ is realized in Schoenchen German as /hʊn/. Southern Hessian also shares this form with the Northern Palatinate dialect region. The Middle Hessian dialect region uses *han*.

The *ge-* prefix in past-participle forms such as NHG *gebrochen* 'broken' is attested in the Schoenchen German dialect, as it is in the greater MG dialect area. In LG areas to the north and in a substantial part of the UG dialect areas to the south, the prefix is lost. Syncope of the prefix vowel, however, is common in MG dialects, with the NHG past-participle form *gestorben* 'died' pronounced in Schoenchen German as /kʃtɔɪ̯βən/ (with assimilation of the prefix vowel to the first consonant of the verbal stem²¹).

Schoenchen German can also be classified with those MG (including Southern Hessian) and UG dialects which exhibit apocope of NHG word-final *-e*. Examples are the first person present indicative verb conjugation (*ich*) *schlage* 'I'm going to hit (you)', realized in Schoenchen German as /ʃlɑɪ̯ (dɪç)/. Apocope of the word-final NHG noun plural suffix *-e* is also a regular feature of the dialect, with the plural of the NHG noun *Gänse*, pronounced in the dialect as /gɛns/. Another example of this type of apocope is the loss of the NHG final *-e* on a masculine singular nominative adjectival noun: /jʊɪ̯/ 'boy'.

Finally, Schoenchen German, with its apparent collapse of the dative and accusative case into a common objective case, especially with regard to the masculine definite article and the masculine third person singular pronoun, falls right on the eastern side of the isogloss which separates it and the other dialects on the east of the line with a nominative/objective case system from those to the west with a system

²⁰ See Schirmunski (1962, 562-66) for a thorough discussion of this verbal contraction.

²¹ See Keel (1981) for a discussion of apocope and syncope in German dialects.

based on a combined nominative/accusative case with a separate dative case. This isogloss runs from north to south through Frankfurt, reaching some distance from the LG/MG dialect border in the north south to the Alps along the Baden-Württemberg/Bavarian border (dtvA, 154, map 2 and 3).²²

Just as with the morphological data, the lexical data gathered in the Schoenchen interviews provide many dialect words which are supportive of the determination of the Southern Hessian dialect region as a potential homeland for Schoenchen German. Some words are shared with other dialects found nearby in the Hessian, Palatine or East Franconian dialects. Many of the words found in Schoenchen German are shared with dialects found in the LG dialect area, while others are shared with speakers in the UG dialect regions.

At the same time, there are a number of words which are common in the dialect which do not commonly occur in the Southern Hessian area. The question of how the Kansas speakers of Schoenchen German acquired these words may never be satisfactorily explained, given the time elapsed since the speakers left Germany and the uncertainty of the German origins of the original settlers of the Russian town of Schoenchen.

Selected DWA lexical items which support a Southern Hessian location:

Pferd 'horse'

Schoenchen German speakers, along with speakers of the other Rhine Franconian dialects use the word /gaol/, rather than the dominant northern word *Pferd* or the

²² See Shrier (1965, 420-38) for a discussion of case systems in the German dialects.

form *Roß*, found in the far south Alemanic region and Bavaria (dtvA, 210; DSA, map 8).

Frühling 'spring'

The Schoenchen German word for 'spring' /frijɔr/ is attested across most of the LG region and the WMG region (dtvA, 190; DWA vols. 4 and 16).

Peitsche 'whip'

Schoenchen German /bartʃ/ is attested in the eastern half of the LG area, a large portion of the EMG region, and finally in a small portion of the WMG area immediately to the west and south of Frankfurt down to Worms. The word *Gäschel* is attested in much of the Palatinate. In the areas to the north and east of Frankfurt, the word *Gasel* becomes more common (dtvA, 198; DWA, vol. 12).

Sonnabend 'Saturday'

Schoenchen German /samstak/ is not shared with the NG area, which uses *Sonnabend* or *Sater(s)tag*. Instead, this word is shared with the UG dialects (dtvA, 186; DWA, vols. 5 and 16).

Kopfschmerzen 'headache'

Another word Schoenchen German has in common with the UG dialect region is /kɔpvc/. This word is also common in the Palatinate. To the northeast of Frankfurt, *Kopfschmerzen* becomes more widespread. (dtvA, 175; DWA, vol. 4).

Bauchweh 'stomach ache'

Schoenchen German /laipvc/ occurs in the Southern Hessian area and also in a small region to the west of Frankfurt. In much of the Palatinate, the Alemanic region and Bavaria, forms similar to *Bauchweh* occur, while in the Middle Hessian area, many speakers say *Leibschmerzen*. (dtvA, 174; DWA, vol. 4).

Zahnweh 'toothache'

The Schoenchen form /ʌsanvc/, with the retention of the nasal, is common in the Southern Hessian and northern Palatinate regions. Northeast of Frankfurt, forms like *Zahnschmerzen* start to predominate (DWA, vol. 3).

Genick 'neck'

Within the Hessian dialect region, only the Southern Hessian region fails to use the word *Ank(e)n* for 'neck', which is common in the Lower, Middle and Eastern Hessian dialects. Schoenchen German speakers say /gnɪk/, along with most speakers in the other MG dialect regions, as well as in the LG and UG dialect areas (dtvA, 172; DWA, vol. 4).

Laken (für das Bett) 'bedspread'

Schoenchen German /bɛtdʊx/ is attested in the Southern Hessian area and across the EMG dialect area. To the south in the Palatinate and Bavaria, *Leintuch* is more common (DWA, vol. 22).

Eigelb 'egg yolk'

The Schoenchen German form /dɔtɔr/ is common in Southern Hessian, Middle Hessian and Bavarian dialects. In the Palatinate and in the LG area, forms similar to *Eigd(h)l* are more common (DWA, vol. 19).

Großmutter 'grandmother'; Großvater 'grandfather'

The Schoenchen German forms /grɔsmʊðɔr/ and /grɔsfaðɔr/ are commonly found in the Southern Hessian and Palatinate regions. To the north and west of Frankfurt, *Oma* and *Opa*, respectively, begin to predominate (DWA, vol. 21).

Schwiegersohn 'son-in-law'

Schoenchen German speakers say /ʌɔxtɔrman/, a dialect word very common in the greater Hessian area and in the Palatinate and Alemannic dialect areas. Far to the north

in the LG area as well as to the south in the UG area, forms ending in (*Schwieger*)-*sohn* are more common (dtvA, 169; DWA, vol. 6).

Frosch 'frog'

The Schoenchen German form /frɔʃ/ commonly occurs in the MG and UG dialect regions. To the north in the LG region, forms like *Pogg* or *Padd* are more common (DWA, vol. 13).

Mütze 'cap'

Schoenchen German /kap/ (with apocope of final *-e*) is shared with other Rhine Franconian, Alemanic and Bavarian dialects. To the north, forms like *Mütze* occur more frequently (dtvA, 218; DWA, vol. 12).

heute morgen 'this morning'

The Schoenchen German form /hɛit mɔɾjɔ/ is found at the southern extreme of the Southern Hessian area around Darmstadt, in the Palatinate and in the Eastern Franconian region. North of Darmstadt, a slightly different form *morjend* occurs, with the additional final stop consonant *-d* (DWA, vol 16).

dies(es) Jahr 'this year'

The Schoenchen German form /dɪs jɔɾ/ is consistent with the realizations in the Middle and Southern Hessian regions, as well as in the Palatinate. In the OMG region and in the Bavarian dialect region, forms like *heier* or *heuer* are very common (dtvA, 181; DWA, vol. 16).

Sauerkraut 'sauerkraut'

In the LG dialect area, forms ending in *-kohl* are very common. In the Northern Lower Saxon region, forms ending in *-moos* frequently occur, as do forms ending in *-kappes* in the Lower Franconian dialect region. The Schoenchen German realization /sɔʊɐ̯kraʊt/ is very common in the MG and UG dialect areas (dtvA, 208; DWA, vol. 17).

Tasse 'cup'

Although the most common forms found in the Southern and Middle Hessian areas are like *Keppche*, *Kumpe* or *Kumpche*, forms like Schoenchen German /das/ are also found in Southern Hessian, where forms like *Taas* or *Tas(s)* have been collected (without lenition of initial *t*- !²³) (DWA, vol. 18).

(Kartoffeln) ernten 'to pick (potatoes)'

In the greater Hessian dialect region, as well as in the Palatinate, the most common verb for this activity is *ausmachen*. Many speakers in the Southern Hessian and to the immediate east of this area do, however, use a form similar to Schoenchen German /ɛmɔɪ/ (DWA, vol. 14).

Pate 'godfather'

The Schoenchen German form /pɛdɔɪ/ is common in the Hessian region, south in the Palatinate and down along the Rhine Valley in the Alemanic dialect region. Along this entire area to the east, forms based on *Dot* occur most frequently. *Pate* occurs in the EMG area and in the eastern half of the LG region (dtvA, 171; DWA, vol. 4).

Sahne 'cream'

Forms like Schoenchen German /rɔm/ are very common from the Middle Hessian area south through the Southern Hessian area and throughout the UG dialect region. To the northeast of Frankfurt, in the OMG and eastern LG dialect regions, forms like *Sahn(e)* predominate, while to the northwest, in the remaining WMG areas and in a part of the western LG region, forms like *S(ch)mand* are very common (dtvA, 22; DWA, vol. 5).

²³ Lenition of the initial *t*- is attested in Middle Hessian.

sich beeilen 'to hurry up'

The Schoenchen German speaker says /ail diç/ when s/he tells someone to 'hurry up'. This form is common in the Hessian and the Moselle Franconian dialect regions. In the Palatinate, forms similar to *sich dumme* are more common (dtvA, 176; DWA, vol. 2).

Kartoffel 'potato'

The Schoenchen German form /kardɔvəl/ is very common from the Southern Hessian region straight up north and then across the LG area. To the southwest, south, and southeast of the greater Hessian region, forms like *Grumbeere* begin to predominate (dtvA, 206; DWA, vols. I and II).

DWA lexical items which occur outside the Southern Hessian dialect region:**sprechen 'to speak'**

While many speakers in the Palatine regions use /blauðərə/ like Schoenchen German speakers, the word *schwätzen* is more attested in Southern Hessian, as well as in other Hessian dialects to the north and in the Alemanic dialect region to the south (dtvA, 176; DSA, map 55).²⁴

Hügel 'hill'

This word is realized in Schoenchen German as /bɛrtjɔ/. Forms based on *Berg* are widespread in LG dialects as well as in UG and OMG (often with the *-l* diminutive). In the Southern Hessian area and the Palatinate, forms like *Hewwel* or *Hiw(w)el* are more common (DWA, vol. 4).

²⁴ Schoenchen speakers also say //preçə/ 'to speak'. This word is common in the EMG dialect region and the eastern half of the LG area.

Gurke 'cucumber'

The Schoenchen German form /gʊrɣʌ/ is very common in the LG dialect regions. In the Southern Hessian area, forms like *Gummer(e)* are much more common (dtvA, 224; DWA, vol. 17.)

Augenbraue 'eyebrow'

In the Southern Hessian area, forms ending in *-braue* are most common. There are occurrences, however, of forms like Schoenchen German /aʊɣʌhʊm/ to the southeast and east of the greater Hessian area, as well as an area with forms ending in *-hoar* to the southwest in the Palatinate region (DWA, vols. 1 and 20).

Junge 'boy'

Schoenchen German /jʊŋ/ is widespread in the NG dialect region. The expected form in Southern Hessian would be *Bua* (dtvA, 166, DWA, vol. 4).²⁵

Ziege 'goat'

Schoenchen German /tsɪk/ is also widespread in the NG dialect region. The expected form in Southern Hessian would be something like *Gaas*. (dtvA, 210).

Schlachter 'butcher'

The Schoenchen German form /ʃlaxtʊr/ is mainly attested in the LG dialect region, far to the north of the Southern Hessian region. In the greater Hessian, Palatine and UG dialect regions, forms like *Metzger* are the most common (dtvA, 196; DWA, vol 8).

Begräbnis 'burial'

In the Southern Hessian area, the form *Leicht* is the expected dialect equivalent. There are, however, occurrences like Schoenchen German /bœrdigʊn/ in the EMG dialect region as well as a small pocket just to the southeast of Frankfurt and northeast of Darmstadt (DWA, vol. 4).²⁶

²⁵ The plural form of Schoenchen German /jʊŋ/ is, however, /bʊʊ/.

²⁶ Informant 1 also uses the form /bœgrebnʌs/.

Patin 'Godmother'

The Schoenchen word /get/ occurs mainly in areas north of Frankfurt in the Middle Hessian dialect region as well as in the Eastern Hessian region. In the Southern Hessian region, forms similar to *Got* are more common. In the Eastern Franconian area to the east and southeast, as well as in a large part of Bavaria, forms like *Dote* are more common. *Patin* occurs in the EMG dialect region and in the eastern half of the LG dialect region (dtvA, 170; DWA, vol. 4).

Glühwürmchen 'lightning bug'

Schoenchen German /faɪrmɪk/ 'lightning bug' occurs in a small area northwest of Strasbourg, south of the Rhine Franconian area. The word *Glühwürmchen* is very common in the Southern Hessian dialect region, with the form *Johannisfunken* occurring to the south of Darmstadt in the Eastern Franconian area (DWA, vol. 3).

neugierig 'curious'

In the Southern Hessian and Middle Hessian regions, forms similar to *neugierig* are most common. The Schoenchen German word /nʊsəvaɪsɪç/ is common in the Palatinate (DWA, vol. 19).

Euter 'udder'

In the Hessian region, *Memm* is the expected word. To the south of Darmstadt, *Mumbel* is common. The forms *Ditz* or *Detz* are found in the Palatinate. The Schoenchen word /aɪdʊr/ is more common in the Swabian dialect region as well as in the EMG and LG dialect regions (DWA, vol. 19).

Mücke 'mosquito'

The form /laŋbað/ is one of two words for this insect. The DWA places most occurrences of words like *langbeen* far to the northwest in the Lower Franconian dialect region, west of Oldenburg along the coast. Another word is /fnɔʏ/ (with

apocope of word-final *-e*). Forms like *Schnake* are to be expected in the Southern Hessian area (DWA, vol. 1).

Other Lexical Items of Interest:

/fɔn ɔnkfaŋə di hɔn al tsɪmlɪç [ʃarf] haɪsər gəbaʊt aus ʃtū aβər
hɔlts/
'Right from the beginning they built rather quickly houses out
of stone or wood.'

Scharf with the meaning 'quick' is attested in the Deutsches Wörterbuch (DW, 14, 2189) with the citation <scharfe wasser> meaning <schnell fließende>. The word is also associated with the meaning 'quick' in the Pfälzisches Wörterbuch (PW 5, 877). The Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch (WDW, 3203) provides the citation <scharf fahren> meaning *gehen, reiten schnell*.

Aber with the meaning 'or' is described in the PW (1, 23) as being widely attested in the upper German dialects. The WDW (244) combines *oder* and *aber* together to form the phrase *oder aber*, used when talking about alternatives. Perhaps the dialect simplified this expression to the second element.

/du hɔst mam kɔrb flɑɪʃ gərɑtst/
'You stole my basket with meat'

Ratsen with the meaning 'to steal' is attested in the PW (5, 398) for the areas near the border between the Palatine dialects and the Swabian. This word is not found in the WDW.

/dɛr hət ʃɪrak fɔn sam hɛrts gəblaʊdɔrt/
'He spoke straight from his heart.'

Strack with the meaning 'straight' can be found in the DW (19, 595) where the following citation is listed: <hie ist die stracke kurtze antwort.> The DW definition is *als ausdrück geistiger energie 'einfach, ungeschminkt, offen, ehrlich.'* The WDW (3587) lists *strack* as being used in upper German speaking areas.

/aβər ɡəman drən hɔdə as ə glü pər ʃtɪbɪç haɪsər ɪn dərʃ/
'But, in general, there were a couple small solidly built houses in the village.'

Stäbig with the meaning 'solid, firm' has fallen out of use in Modern Standard German. The word is not listed in the WDW, but the use of the word with this meaning is attested in the DW (17, 370) as occurring in the low German speaking areas with the definition *stark, dick, solide*, among other glosses.

/ʊnsər bɛrɪjə sam nɛt arɪç hɔx./
'Our mountains are not very high.'

Arg with the meaning 'very' is attested in the PW (1, 323). The WDW (425) describes the use of the word with this meaning as occurring in upper German speaking areas. The use of this word with this meaning is not attested in the DW.

/ɪr brɑɪçt nɪt so flɪk tsə sam/
'You (all) may not be so silly.'

Flück with the meaning 'silly' probably refers to someone acting childish. The DW (1836) lists a citation from Hans Sachs <du bist so wankel und so flück>. The impression here is one of unpredictability. The word originally was used to describe young birds at the age where they are leaving the nest. The word is not found in the WDW.

di vidɪŋə gens di baɪz dɪç kəbət
'Those mean geese will bite you to death.'

Most speakers use the word /bɛzə/ *böse* to express the meaning 'mean.' The use of the word *wütig* appears to be more specialized, referring to the behavior of a rabid animal. The DW (30, 2538) list the meanings *tollwutkrank*, *wahnsinnig*, *tobsüchtig*, *zornig aufgebracht*, apparently referring to animal behavior. The WDW (4231) describes the word as occurring mainly in compounds such as *tanzwütig* or *zornwütig*, with no specialized connotation associated with the word.

In the final analysis, only just a dozen or so words in my sample from the DWA or DSA cannot be documented in the Southern Hessian area while the vast majority of words are attested in this area. Still, the few inconsistencies illustrate the weakness of lexical criteria alone in determining a dialect homeland. Lexical evidence is useful, however, in combination with other data.

Based then mainly on phonological data, with the corroboration of the morphological data, and the support of some lexical evidence, it is not unreasonable to postulate the area south of Frankfurt around Darmstadt as a possible homeland for the Schoenchen dialect. The dialect features which are described for this area in the major German dialect atlases occur most often in Schoenchen German. The settlers of Schoenchen, Russia, adapted to a way of speaking which conformed in many ways to that way of speaking found in Southern Hessian and they carried this way of speaking with them to Kansas.

Chapter 8

Factors in the Decline of Schoenchen German

On May 29, 1949, J. Neale Carman visited Schoenchen as part of his field research on the persistence of foreign languages spoken in the state of Kansas.¹ He entered a store in Schoenchen immediately following a mass at the town's Catholic church and approached a group of people. He wrote in his field notes: "The group was talking German when I approached it."² Carman interviewed several speakers at the time, including a teacher. In his field notes he wrote about this informant: "In 1927, the teacher had to speak English slowly to make himself understood, and the students talked no English to each other. Social visits of the teacher were carried on in German, and his children learned the Schoenchen dialect. This did not change through 1933." According to Carman, by 1944 students used more English, but still used German to hide information from their teacher,³ who by that point presumably was only able to speak English.

Carman also visited Schoenchen in 1961 and interviewed a 12-year-old child on the street. Carman's field notes state that the child, born in 1949: "is not able to talk German except for a few words. When he started to school all the boys and girls were able to talk English. His father and mother talk German to each other sometimes, but he doesn't know what they're saying."

Finally, in 1964, Carman writes of another interview: "An informant born 1939, said everybody can speak dialect, but a sister born ca. 1952 only understood. He was

¹ This research provided the basis for Carman (1962) and Carman (1974).

² These field notes are archived as the J. Neale Carman collection at the University of Kansas Archives in the Helen F. Spencer Research Library.

³ This is presumably a different teacher than the one Carman interviewed before.

unmarried; out with the girls he used English, and if he were married, he would continue to do so in the home" (Carman 1974, 293).

After his 1949 visit, Carman came to some conclusions about the use of Schoenchen German. He stated that those born before 1940-43 were acquainted with both German and English and used German somewhat, but those born before 1917 or earlier were still using German with each other. After his 1961 visit he concluded that those born 1948 or after said they knew no German, did not even understand it, though their parents sometimes talked together. And just like he observed twelve years earlier, those born before 1917 were still fond of using German.

Based on these conclusions, Carman established the year 1945 as the critical year for Schoenchen German, that is, the year when parents ceased to habitually use German in the home.

The decline in German spoken in the home has not abated in the more than thirty years which have passed since Carman visited Schoenchen. Based on the 1990 census, the only census for which language use in specific Kansas towns has been tabulated, Schoenchen had a population of 128 with 88 of those residents age eighteen or over. Of a sample size of 42 people age eighteen and over, 17 indicated they spoke a language other than English at home. This means that 40% of those over eighteen were bilingual. Four of those 17 bilinguals, or 23.5%, indicated they did not speak English "very well." ⁴

At the same time, only five residents age seventeen and under, or 12% of the sample population, indicated they spoke a language other than English in the home. All of these indicated they spoke English very well. The fact that only a few young

⁴ The questions on language use were asked of those in the sample who were born before April 1, 1985. The respondees were told to mark "yes" if they sometimes or always spoke a language other than English at home and to not mark "yes" if a language was spoken only at school or if speaking was limited to a few expressions of slang (U.S. Census, 1990, B23-B24).

residents speak German in the home confirms Carman's determination that the habitual use of Schoenchen German in the home has declined considerably, with the dialect no longer being passed on from generation to generation as the primary language of Schoenchen residents.⁵

The end result is that the German dialect of Schoenchen, Kansas, is on the verge of extinction. The beginning of the decline in the dialect can be traced back to the days soon after the founding of Schoenchen, when the use of the Schoenchen German dialect was at its peak. Four main factors have combined to deal the fatal blow to the retention of Schoenchen German by fourth generation descendants and beyond:

- 1) Loss of a self-contained community tied together by a local German 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,

This chapter looks at these four factors and their contribution to the imminent death of the dialect.⁶

⁵ A survey conducted by Schmeller and Fundis indicated that familiarity with Volga German dialects was comparatively low in the age group under 30, where less than half could speak or understand one of the dialects (1988, 53).

⁶ See Salmons (1983, 188-90) for a similar discussion on how internal and external forces had created by 1980 what he describes as the final stage of language shift for Texas German: bilingualism without diglossia, meaning many speakers had command of Texas German, but did not use it systematically. Similarly, Born (1994, 13) describes what is left of the East Franconian dialect in Frankenmuth, Michigan, as a linguistic minority. She writes that linguistic minorities: "are characterized by porous or weak cultural boundaries, socio-economic dependence on the mainstream, psychological orientation toward mainstream values and patterns of behavior, and bilingualism without diglossia. In this situation bilingualism is an individual choice, not the result of societal consensus." The internal and external forces which have contributed to the decline of Schoenchen German are similar in many ways to those described in these two studies.

1) Loss of a self-contained community tied together by a local German dialect

The 1990 census does not reflect a very important fact about the Schoenchen population which must be considered when interpreting the numbers regarding German language use. Many of the residents today of Schoenchen, Kansas, are not descended from the original German settlers of the town. Since Schoenchen is located only eleven miles south of Hays, the town has slowly evolved into a bedroom community for people from Hays who want the benefits of living in a small town environment.

At the same time, many of the older residents of Schoenchen have moved to Hays to be closer to medical facilities, elder care facilities and shopping areas. Other former residents have moved to other towns in Kansas or outside the state entirely. Three of the informants for this study actually live in Hays, although they grew up in Schoenchen. Informant 4 served as the county sheriff for Ellis County for ten years, working out of Hays, the county seat. Informants 3 and 7 have moved in recent years to Hays to be closer to hospital facilities. The other informants all still live on farms near Schoenchen. Informant 8, one of those who still lives on a farm immediately outside of Schoenchen, states that only about one-fourth of the population of the town today is of Volga German origin.⁷

This change in demographics is reflected in the number of people who returned questionnaires regarding the use of Schoenchen German. This questionnaire was sent to 276 addresses, including Schoenchen box numbers and farms in neighboring Lookout Township, where other Schoenchen speakers might be found. Addressees were asked to complete the questionnaire if they were descended from the original founders of Schoenchen. Of the 276 sent out, only seventeen questionnaires, or 6% were returned completed. One interpretation of the low number of responses might

⁷ See anecdote 11, pg. 183.

be that many of the people who received the responses are not descended from Schoenchen settlers.⁸

In 1979, two years after the centennial celebration of the 1877 founding of Schoenchen, a book was published commemorating the town's centennial.⁹ A look at this publication's pictorial gallery of Schoenchen residents shows a few family names not found in the genealogies of the founders and early settlers of Schoenchen.¹⁰ In the ensuing years since the centennial, as descendants of the founders have died or moved away, some of their homes have been bought by outsiders attracted to the safety and quiet of a small town. As a result, Schoenchen German has been joined by the English language as one of two languages to be heard on the streets and in the homes of Schoenchen residents. Since most young children now are raised speaking English, Schoenchen German will not be a part of the community much longer.

The first settlers of Schoenchen had a two-dwelling living arrangement. One dwelling would be found out near the farm fields. During growing season, the farmers would live in these dwellings throughout the week, only returning to the village on weekends or other important holidays. Another dwelling was built in the village itself. This provided shelter for the farmers on the weekends and during the winter. Older people who no longer actively farmed would also remain in the village throughout the week.¹¹

This type of living arrangement helped to conserve German language use because several generations of family members were in constant contact with one another.

⁸ While the lack of response made the survey less useful as a tool to measure language use among Schoenchen German speakers, the fact that so few responded could also be interpreted as a gesture of mistrust of a university student by addressees or it could be a barometer of disinterest among Schoenchen German speakers in preserving the dialect.

⁹ On July 26, 1976 Schoenchen celebrated the centennial of the Volga German immigration to Kansas. See Werth (1979, 70-81) for a summary of this celebration. On July 2, 1977, the town celebrated its own centennial. See Werth (1979, 111-12).

¹⁰ See Werth (1979, 128-49).

¹¹ See anecdote a3, pg. 178.

There would be a need for the younger members of the family to communicate with their grandparents in German. At the same time, extended periods of time away from the village made it difficult for young children to attend school regularly.¹² This was a major barrier in young people acquiring second language skills in English, as there was no pressing need to use English for most aspects of daily life.¹³

The two-dwelling system along with the self-contained community relationship lasted a little more than one generation. By the time of World War I, living on the farm replaced the two-dwelling system. Farmers would come into town to do business or go to church, but did not spend extended periods of time there. As automobiles replaced the horse and buggy, farmers had the freedom to travel further from home to do business.¹⁴

In time, intermarriage increased among the Catholic Volga German villages themselves as well as among Volga Germans and other neighboring German speaking neighbors.¹⁵ Eventually, the Volga Germans began to intermarry with their English speaking neighbors. With the loosening of ties to the community through intermarriage came a gradual decline in the ties among the extended family, as family

¹² In Toepfer and Dreiling (1982, vii) Victor C. Leiker writes in the foreword: "The hard economic facts of life and the need for more and more hands on the farms interfered to a great degree in the education of the young. While in all the settlements schools were begun right from the start, for many formal education consisted of only a few years, just enough to learn to read and write."

Carman (1974, 271) also states that the two-home system made it more difficult for Volga Germans to develop neighborly relationships with their English speaking neighbors, making bilingualism less important.

¹³ Carman (1974, 285) writes: "The English language was just 'words' to most of the children so that conversation was ordinarily carried on in German."

¹⁴ Petersen (1968, 56) writes that the two-house system was costly and both houses were usually small and not very well furnished. With the advent of the automobile, the farmstead became the permanent resident since it was now possible to drive to church and to school. At the same time, the family was relieved of the burden of paying taxes on two homes.

¹⁵ Toepfer and Dreiling (1982, 150-51) state that the practice of marrying within the village had the effect of making the village like one big family. Eventually, the church rules prohibiting marriage within a certain degree of relationship forced the villages to bury their rivalries and allow people to seek marriage partners outside their own villages. As another clue to the degree in which residents felt themselves to be part of a large family, Informant 1 relates that children were expected to use the terms */fætər/* and */bəs/* or *Vetter* and *Base* for 'Uncle' and 'Aunt' as polite forms of address with other adults in the community.

members began to move away from the family farm and village.¹⁶ This resulted in the breakup and weakening of the local German dialects.

As they were selecting sites to locate their villages, the Volga German immigrants to Kansas preferred sites along rivers and creeks. Proximity to the railroad was not an important consideration. Ties to Hays, the county seat, were not particularly strong. The small farming communities were very self-reliant and their local German dialects served them adequately in their daily lives.

This changed, however, by the early twentieth century. It became more and more difficult to exist solely in a German speaking speech island surrounded by American English. As the isolated villages began to recognize that they might benefit from participating in regional business and politics, ties to Hays were established. With these ties came the necessity to use English as the language for these aspects of life. Nearly all second and third generation speakers of Schoenchen German became bilingual, using German at home or in the Volga German villages, but switching to English when doing business in Hays or traveling outside of the Volga German settlement area.¹⁷ With the advent of the automobile after World War I, it became even easier to travel from the isolated Volga Communities to the larger English dominated towns and cities. Farmers with cars who lived near Schoenchen, for example, would not necessarily have to go to Schoenchen to conduct business; they also had the option of driving north to Hays.

The result is that Schoenchen, which was founded in isolation and self-sufficiency, has gradually evolved into a rural community which is linked to the nearby city of Hays. The residents of Schoenchen travel to Hays to go shopping, to eat out, to watch or rent a movie, to do their banking, to visit medical facilities, as

¹⁶ See Werth (1979, 63).

¹⁷ Carman (1974, 275) writes about Hays: "It has also from the beginning been the first haven of the ambitious, particularly through courthouse employment, and these people became speedily bilingual."

well as for many other reasons. The German dialect which served it adequately while the community was isolated plays only a very limited role in contemporary life, while the use of English is a necessary part of daily life.

2) Loss of desire to maintain cultural identity through the German language

Although most of the immigrants who founded Schoenchen, Kansas, arrived in Kansas in 1876, other Volga German immigrants continued to arrive and settle in Schoenchen until 1939 (Werth, 1979, 149-52).¹⁸ The continual influx of German speaking immigrants helped to invigorate and sustain Schoenchen German and the other Volga German dialects and thus, provided additional motivation to maintain the ability to speak German. As soon as immigration stopped providing new German speakers, an important factor in the preservation of spoken German language skills was lost.

As the German language has gradually declined as the spoken means of communication among the descendants of the Volga Germans, its importance as a symbol of cultural identity has also declined. This is reflected in the speeches at the Volga German centennial celebrations and at meetings of the local cultural heritage groups. The predominant language at these events is English. The use of German is usually confined to standard greetings such as *Mach's gut!* and *Wie geht's?*¹⁹ or slogans such as *Schoenchen ist ein schönes Städtchen.*²⁰ When people talk about the use of German, they often reminisce about how they used to say things in German as children, or how their parents or grandparents would express a particular thought in German. Only a few talk about the current use of German dialects.

¹⁸ The parents of Informant 7 arrived in Schoenchen, Kansas, in 1915.

¹⁹ Many Volga Germans wear pins with the expression *Wie geht's?* to public events.

²⁰ This slogan was written on a banner used at the centennial celebration of Schoenchen. Note the use of Standard German. In the Schoenchen dialect, this would be realized as /ʃenjə ɪst ə ʃenəs ʃtɛtjə/.

When speakers at these public events tell jokes or anecdotes in a Volga German dialect, they almost always find it necessary to translate what they have just said into English. Usually only a handful of people in the audience can still understand what has just been said in German. This can be very frustrating to those few who try to foster the maintenance or revival of the dialects. These few people are still capable of carrying on extended conversations in a German dialect on a variety of topics and they try to speak as much German as possible at public events. But they often have to switch back to English for the sake of others around them who have forgotten their childhood language or who have never learned German.

At every gathering of Volga Germans, traditional German folk songs play some role in the organized activities. The songs are still regarded by the elders as important reminders of the connection of the Volga Germans in Kansas to their forebears in Russia and Germany. At one time, there were singing groups in each of the villages which would perform these songs at weddings, holiday celebrations and other public events. These groups sang the traditional songs of the Volga Germans, many of which date back to eighteenth-century Germany. The lyrics for these songs were written in Standard German.²¹ Since the end of World War II, membership in these singing groups has declined to the point that they now are composed mainly of elderly, mainly third generation Volga Germans.²² Later generations show very little

²¹ Lawrence A. Weigel published in the late 1970s a collection of 100 of what he considers the most popular German folk songs in Ellis County, Kansas. The title of this collection is "German Folk Songs from the Volga." (nd.) He writes in the foreword: "The songs were composed in the correct German, and therefore served as a means of preserving the purity of the German language, since we all speak a German dialect." (np.) The German lyrics and music are accompanied by English translations. Weigel also quotes the German author Gustav Freytag when he discusses in the foreword the importance of preserving the Volga German cultural heritage in song: "The emigrant may lose everything – love of fatherland and the use of the mother tongue, but the songs of his homeland survive the longest". (np.)

When these songs are performed today at public events, the pronunciation peculiarities of the Volga German dialects can be heard, although the lyrics are Standard German.

²² One of the members of the singing group *The Schoencheneers* was not even from Schoenchen, but rather Victoria, Kansas. This singing group performed at the centennial celebrations of 1976 and 1977.

interest in preserving the singing groups. As the older generation passes on, the traditional German folk songs will decline in importance as a symbol of the Volga German heritage or will simply be a remembrance of how the early pioneers lived.

Since the number of occasions where a sing-along might occur has declined, many of the participants at these events need German lyrics accompanied by English translations in order to sing along.²³ Although many agree that learning the songs is vital to maintaining the Volga German culture, less than 20% of those under thirty years of age are still memorizing the songs.²⁴

3) Lack of formal institutions to support the use of the German language

²³ At the Kansas State Round-Up of Chapters of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, held in Russell, Kansas on October 23, 1993, one of the songs sung during the large common sing-along was called 'O Susanna!'. The humor in the song relies on the play of words using first names. In order for participants to understand the humor, the organizers of the state Round-Up felt it necessary to provide the lyrics in both German and English. Here is the refrain and the first two verses as they appear in the handout provided to participants:

O Susanna! Wunderschöne Anna! Ist das Leben noch so schön. O Susanna! Wunderschöne Anna! Ist das Leben noch so schön.	Oh Susanna! Beautiful Anna! Life is still so wonderful. O Susanna! Beautiful Anna! Life is still so wonderful.
Alle Jahr ein Kind, Alle Jahr ein Kind, Bis es fünfundzwanzig sind! (Repeat) O Susanna...	Every year a child, Every year a child, Until there are twenty-five! O Susanna...
Alle Räder rollen, Alle Räder rollen, Nur der eine Kunrad nicht! (Repeat) O Susanna...	All the wheels are rolling, All the wheels are rolling, All except for Konrad! [Rad="wheel"] O Susanna...

The opening prayers at the event were also given in English and German.

There was also a smaller sing-along held before dinner with mainly older participants. These people were provided German lyrics to songs, but with no English translations. The songs sung were (spellings are as they were printed in the songbook): "Du, Du liegst Mir im Herzen"; "O Mein Jesu, Du Bist's Wert"; "Was kannes Schönres geben"; "Gott ist die Liebe"; "Wie gross bist Du"; "Jesus liebt mich ganz gewise".

²⁴ See Schmeller and Fundis (1988, 53).

Huffines (1985, 241) writes that the school, the church and the press were the main supports for language maintenance among German immigrants. As the use of German in these institutions declined, so also did the use of the German dialects in the home.²⁵ This is true in Schoenchen, as well as the other Volga German towns.

The German press played virtually no role in the lives of the Volga Germans in Schoenchen, Kansas. The bibliography of the Ethnic Collection in Forsyth Library at Fort Hays State University lists no title of a German Language newspaper dating from the early days of the Ellis County settlements (Schmeller, 1980).²⁶ It is possible that many Volga Germans did not find much information of relevance in the German language newspapers which were written more for those German immigrants who came directly from Germany to the United States. In addition, a great number of the Volga Germans were not able to read German. Due to the demands of farming, many did not have the time to attend school as children and sporadic attendance in school was typical of the first two generations of their Kansas-born offspring. Werth (1979, 58) mentions that those early Schoenchen settlers who were able to read German subscribed to Joseph's Blatt, a Catholic magazine, and Amerika.²⁷

The Volga German settlers of Schoenchen, like those of the other Ellis and northern Rush County villages, were Roman Catholic. The settlers were first served by priests who were born in Germany. Since there was no Catholic church in Kansas west of Salina, located near the center of the state, contact with priests was sporadic

²⁵ Similarly, Born (1994, 14) writes: "When the vernacular is no longer protected by a foreign High variety and supported by formal institutions, the dominant language can invade domain after domain until, ultimately, language death occurs."

²⁶ See Schmeller (1980, 31-32). He does list one German language publication in the newspaper category, entitled Volk auf dem Weg, dated 1979 -.

²⁷ Carman (1974, 161) mentions the German American Advocate, another publication circulating in Hays between 1882-86. Petersen (1968, 59) also mentions this publication, describing it as a Democrat-oriented newspaper, founded by Charles Miller, a candidate for sheriff. Miller was originally from Nürnberg. His newspaper was published in German.

until the arrival in Herzog of the Capuchins in May, 1878.²⁸ The Capuchins established a monastery in Herzog and traveled to Schoenchen and the other villages to serve the religious needs of the residents. Residents of Schoenchen and the other communities also occasionally traveled to Herzog or Hays to attend mass before churches were constructed in the individual towns. Eventually, each village built its own church and parochial school. Housing in Schoenchen, like in the other towns, was built for the priests and sisters who ministered to the religious and educational needs of the Volga Germans. Schoenchen ended up being served periodically by Capuchin priests, but diocesan priests have served the town for most of the parish's history.

Schoenchen was served by native German priests until 1932. For many years, the mass was conducted in Latin, but sermons and prayers were conducted in German. Hymns were also sung in Latin or German. Early tombstone inscriptions were predominantly German, but by the early twentieth century, English inscriptions begin to gain a larger share. The last German language tombstone inscription is dated from the year 1920.²⁹

The last of the native German priests, Father Peter Hoeller, who served from 1916 until 1930, is said to have preached the first sermon in English, although the exact

²⁸ See Toepfer and Dreiling (1982, 124). They explain that the Bishop of the Kansas Diocese was searching for priests at the time the settlers arrived in Kansas. Since he knew of the recent arrival of the German speaking Capuchins in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, it was only natural that he would try to appeal to their leader to send some brothers to serve the German speaking immigrants. He negotiated the transfer of Capuchin monks to Kansas for nearly two years from the arrival of the Volga Germans in 1876 to the arrival of Capuchins in 1878.

²⁹ Carman (1974, 281) provides the following breakdown:

	Eng	Germ	%Germ
1880-89	1	1	50%
1890-99	3	6	67%
1900-1909	14	6	30%
1910-1919	20	9	31%
One German 1920			
None in German thereafter			

date of this event is unknown (Werth, 1979, 37).³⁰ From 1932 on, all priests were born in America and English use increased even more in the church.³¹

The first public/parochial school was established in Schoenchen in 1880.³² Prior to that, students attended class in the home of John Dreher, the first "Schulmeister," an educated Schoenchen resident willing to offer his home as a classroom.³³ He taught religion, reading, writing and singing. Since most of the students and teachers were Catholic, religious instruction was given during school hours in the public/parochial school, along with instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic and singing. The next parochial school was built in 1917 (Werth, 1979, 55). The parochial school was converted to a public school in 1940 (Werth, 1979, 56).

Public school instruction was conducted in English in the mornings and in German in the afternoons (Keller, 1956, 83). Early on, English was taught as a foreign language only. The use of German was still attested in the schools in 1911 (Laing, 1910, 522). Soon afterwards, in 1919, the use of German in the public primary schools was prohibited by state law. English became the required language of instruction.³⁴ The teaching of the German language as a subject was abandoned in the parochial schools at about the same time, in response to the anti-German

³⁰ Carman (1974, 279) writes: "In all the older parishes preaching and pastoral work was uniformly German up until the First World War except possibly in the city of Hays. A great deal of pastoral work was still done in German in the 1950's."

He continues on the next page: "Preaching in English resulted almost everywhere from clerical and not popular decisions, and the clergy made up its mind frequently only because of hierarchical pressure or strong though distant public opinion. Once it was established, the people soon accepted it as a matter of course, but without applause" (1974, 280).

³¹ See anecdote d2, p. 182 for Informant 4's description of language use in the Schoenchen church in 1931.

³² A public school district was established by Schoenchen residents in the same year, 1880, because the school could be maintained by tax money. But the Catholic Church determined the curriculum. In the early years of the district, both Sisters from the Sisters of St. Joseph of Concordia and people outside the Catholic ministry served as teachers. Some teachers were paid by the parish, some by the district. See Werth (1979, 55-56).

³³ See Werth (1979, 55).

³⁴ The exact wording of the law, found in the State of Kansas Session Laws 1919, Chapter 257, Section 1: "All elementary schools in this state, whether public, private, or parochial shall use the English language exclusively as the basis of instruction" (State of Kansas 1919, 352).

sentiment which was rampant at the time of World War I (Toepfer and Dreiling, 1982, 124).³⁵ By the 1940s, according to Carman (1974, 160), few Germans in Catholic communities claimed expertness in dealing with written German, though many had learned their catechism in German.

4) Outside pressure to assimilate into the American cultural mainstream

When the Volga German immigrants first arrived in Kansas, they created ethnic enclaves with German dialects and customs carried on since their forebears' arrival in Russia in the 1760s. However, because of their connection to Russia and their different lifestyle from other German immigrants, they were widely known disparagingly as 'Roosians' by their English speaking neighbors as well as by other settlers of German descent who immigrated directly from Germany.³⁶

This was the beginning of an identity crisis for the villagers which persisted through the period of the two World Wars. The newly arrived Volga Germans were considered crude and illiterate outsiders. The settlers of Schoenchen, like all the other newcomers from Russia, were faced with the dilemma of co-existing with neighbors who were openly critical of their language and lifestyle while attempting to hold on to their Volga German dialects and living habits.

In addition, there was rivalry among the Volga German villages themselves, with residents of one village having derogatory nicknames for residents of another.³⁷

³⁵ Carman (1974, 160) writes: "In the schools of Ellis County state laws were heeded, but local demand was such that between schools and clergy instruction in German was maintained, though not all children profited by it."

³⁶ See Saul (1974, 39). The same label was applied to all the Volga German immigrants in Ellis and Rush counties.

³⁷ See Kloberdanz (1986, 289-90) for his view on how the rivalries may have still been alive at the time of the centennial celebration of the immigration of the Volga Germans to Ellis and Rush Counties. He finds it significant that the individual villages tried to outdo each other with regard to holding town centennial celebrations.

Kloberdanz also mentions the nicknames of some of the villagers. Although he does not match the nickname to the town, the people of Schoenchen were *Sandhase* (Sand Rabbits), those from Pfeifer

Inter-village romances were discouraged.³⁸ Residents of each village could be easily identified by their local dialects. Inter-village rivalry even extended to the baseball diamond, with each village fielding a local team to compete against the neighboring villages.³⁹

At first, this animosity, not only from English-speaking neighbors, but also from other Volga German settlers and recent immigrants from Germany, strengthened the sense of community among Schoenchen residents, who were not all originally from the same villages in Russia. Next to a strong reliance on the extended family, the success of the Volga Germans on the steppes of Russia and the high plains of Kansas can be attributed to the strong sense of reliance on the local community.⁴⁰ The local dialect helped tie the various extended families into a community. Although the founders of Schoenchen came from different Russian villages, they spoke dialects so similar that co-existence in a new community was possible.⁴¹

As more and more Volga German children attended school, their exposure to English as a major language in their lives increased. There was extreme peer pressure from English-speaking classmates to acquire English language skills. All the Volga German informants for this study have personal anecdotes relating to the teasing they

were *die Raufjer* (Fighters), and those from Catherine were *Stolze Staedtern* [sic] (Haughty Townspeople). The Schoenchen nickname is very appropriate. The area around Schoenchen is rich in sand, and several farmers have supplemented their income by selling sand.

Another example of animosity worthy of future study is the division between Lutheran Volga Germans in neighboring Russell County and the Catholic Volga Germans in Ellis County.

³⁸ See Toepfer and Dreiling (1982, 150).

³⁹ See Werth (1979, 65). Carman (1974, 263) writes: "The German of each of these Kansas villages had, and still has more or less, its own particular characteristics because each of them drew its population primarily from one or two villages on the Volga and maintained the distinctions between villages that existed there. The dialects were maintained partly because of isolation of the villages from one another, partly because local patriotism was involved."

⁴⁰ Toepfer and Dreiling put it this way: "The segregated life in the new country had many disadvantages but also its good points. Both the villages and the families operated as a unit, not individually. A man's word of honor was accepted in the community as readily as a promissory note of today" (1982, 148).

⁴¹ See Chapter 6 for an overview of the settlement patterns of the Volga Germans in Ellis and Rush counties.

received during their first days of school from English-speaking students. This was obviously a very troubling event for these young Volga-German children.⁴²

Informant 1, the youngest of fourteen children in his family, learned enough English from his older brothers and sisters so that his first days at school were not so traumatic.⁴³ Many people who had to endure this teasing said it was one of the reasons they chose to raise their children speaking English.

In 1920, soon after the use of English was mandated in the schools, the federal census of Ellis County showed 146 of the 992 foreign-born white males over age 20, or 15% were illiterate, as were 192 of the 833 foreign-born white females, or 23%. Presumably these people were by and large German speaking immigrants from Russia or first generation offspring of German speaking immigrants, all of whom spent very little time in schools.

Co-mingling of older children from different Volga German communities in the school systems also began to occur around this time. A public high school was built in Schoenchen in 1926. It was one of only two high schools built in the Volga German villages in Ellis and Rush Counties, the other being in Victoria. Students from the neighboring towns of Liebenthal, Pfeifer, and Munjor also attended the high school in Schoenchen.⁴⁴ This is significant considering the earlier animosity between Schoenchen and Liebenthal, and also between the *Bergseiter* from Pfeifer and the *Wiesenseiter* from Schoenchen and Liebenthal.⁴⁵ The fact that teams from these

⁴² One question on the questionnaire sent out as part of this study asks if the respondent ever faced discrimination for speaking German. Informant 5 answered yes and wrote that when he first began school in 1926, the majority of his schoolmates were English descendants and that such a short time after World War I there was still considerable animosity toward Germans. This type of story was repeated by most informants.

⁴³ See anecdote a6, p. 181.

⁴⁴ Students also came from the nearby Volga German communities of Antonino, in Ellis County, and Loretto, in Rush County.

⁴⁵ This is probably one of the reasons why a sense of solidarity among present Volga Germans has mollified local animosity somewhat. The membership in the Sunflower Chapter of the American

schools competed against teams of English speaking students gave the Volga Germans yet another reason to acquire English. It is also important to remember that the language of baseball, football and basketball terminology was English.

By 1940, the median number of school years completed by males in Ellis County aged 20 or older was 8.5 years and by females 8.4 years. The 1950 census shows the median number of school years completed to be 9.7 years for males and 8.8 years for females. By 1960, the number reached 10.9 median years of schooling for both males and females. The need to use English daily was increasing with each decade.

Attendance in school has progressed to the point that by 1990, 80.6% of all adults in Ellis County had completed high school, with 23.4% of those having a college degree. In Schoenchen, of a sample of 33 residents, 63.6% had a high school diploma and 12.1% had a college degree. As a result, the use of English as the required language of instruction in the schools must be considered as having a major impact on the decline of the use of German among the educated in the home.⁴⁶

Anti-German sentiment was very strong during the periods from World War I until World War II. The Volga Germans were viewed with distrust by Americans of non-German descent. The use of the German dialects was viewed as non-American, a sign of solidarity with the German homeland. In response, the Volga Germans became much more private in the use of their German dialects. In order to show loyalty to America, many of the young men of Schoenchen served in the military. In World War I, nine men served. During World War II, the numbers increased to sixty-five men.⁴⁷ It is important to note that as a result of military service, many young

Historical Society of Germans from Russia, which is the Ellis County chapter, contains residents from all the original Volga German towns in the county.

⁴⁶ Schmeller and Fundis (1988, 52) have determined that the level of education attained by Volga German parents has had a profound effect on their efforts to encourage their children to learn German. They state that parents with college degrees were less emphatic in encouraging their children to study German than were parents with less education.

⁴⁷ See Werth (1979, 125) and Toepfer and Dreiling (1982, 124).

men were exposed to life outside the confines of a fairly isolated settlement area on the Great Plains. Many new opportunities to use English as the language of daily life opened up for these men who served in the military. Some of these men ended up moving away from the area after their tour of duty was over. Others took advantage of the GI bill to help finance a college education, thus accelerating their assimilation into the English-speaking American mainstream.

Although the primary language of business in Hays was and is English, the potential profits from dealing with large numbers of German-speaking immigrants was not overlooked by many merchants, who conducted business in German with the Volga Germans up until the second decade of the twentieth century. The same was true in other larger towns near German-language settlements.

Due to the anti-German sentiment which arose during World War I, however, public use of German in businesses declined, particularly in the larger cities. English by necessity became the primary language of business for the Volga Germans, who were faced with another compelling reason to develop English language skills.⁴⁸ In the smaller isolated Volga German communities, German was probably still used in the local community stores up until the middle of the twentieth century (Carman, 1974, 164).

The introduction of the radio into the homes of the Volga Germans after World War I and then television in the 1950s must also be considered as playing a major role in the acceleration of the eventual death of the dialect. The total domination of English-language programming is just another reason that young people have not felt the need to learn German. All the informants for this study, who were interviewed at their farm home, have a satellite antenna dish installed in the yard for television

⁴⁸ Carman (1974, 164) adds: "On the whole however, German ceased very early to be the language of business, though it might well serve to express the amenities that go with business."

reception. They, like all other Americans, have participated in the technological revolution which has taken place since the end of World War II.

The result is that speakers from the once independent and competing communities now associate much more closely with one another due to the decline in the number of fluent speakers of German dialects and the overpowering pressure of the English language on the dialects. This convergence of dialects may have affected the nature of the dialects as they are spoken today, although it is probably too late to support any claim due to the small number of speakers from which to draw data. But this apparent change has not gone unnoticed by one native speaker of a Volga German dialect. The influx of English words into the dialect prompted Weigel (1989, 44) to write: "People everywhere are now so affected by the English that has crept into our dialects that we now have a mishmash of new dialects."

It is, therefore, not surprising that respondents to the questionnaire sent out as part of the research for this dissertation with one exception stated that they preferred English over German.⁴⁹ They recognize that the use of German has no advantage in daily life other than helping to identify the German speaker as part of the Volga German cultural group. It is likely that for many, the thought of the Volga German dialects they spoke as children probably brings up today just as many negative memories as positive.

The economic prosperity and educational achievements of the Volga Germans in Schoenchen, Kansas, and in the other communities in Ellis and Rush counties have come about because the Volga Germans assimilated into the English-speaking American mainstream, even though it may have happened without the support of all

⁴⁹ Schmeller and Fundis (1988, 52) write of Volga Germans in Ellis County: "Given the relatively high percentage of individuals with some degree of fluency in the dialects—the survey indicated that overall some 70% could speak or understand one of the dialects—it seemed surprising that less than a fourth actually used a dialect more or less regularly when conversing with Volga German friends and neighbors."

involved. While the German dialects can still be heard occasionally and are remembered by many older people, the young descendants of the Volga German immigrants to Kansas will not hear the dialects much longer in the homes or at historical society meetings. The one thing which gave Schoenchen and the other individual villages a unique identity, the local dialect, will eventually fade away.

There is strong evidence to suggest that most other vestiges of the Volga German cultural heritage will also soon be lost.⁵⁰ Within a couple of generations, descendants of the Volga German immigrants to Ellis County and Rush counties in Kansas will have only the pictures and diaries of their ancestors, the written records of historians of the Volga Germans in Kansas, the lyrics and music of the songs their forebears used to love, the recipes of traditional dishes, videotape recordings of weddings, and the family names which can be traced back to Volga German settlements in Russia. And thanks to the participants in studies like this, descendants will be able to listen to archival tapes of their forebears for a taste of what made the Volga German dialects of each village unique, not only among the dialects in the Volga German speech island in Kansas, but among the many German dialects which have been recorded throughout the world.

⁵⁰ Schmeller and Fundis (1988, 57) write about the question of whether the Volga Germans are in the process of losing their cultural identity: "the more highly educated professional groups, which are generally so vital in the leadership and financial sponsorship areas, are the least knowledgeable, practice the fewest number of customs, are not speakers of the local dialects, and tend to believe that the Volga German customs will probably die with the current older generation."

Appendix I
Fieldwork Forms

Questionnaire Cover Letter

February 1, 1992

Dear Schoenchen area resident,

My name is Chris Johnson and I am a doctoral candidate in German at the University of Kansas. Your help is needed to assist me in documenting the current state of the German language, still spoken by many descendants of the original settlers of Schoenchen. This Schoenchen dialect of German is the subject of my doctoral dissertation.

If you are a descendant of these settlers and still speak German, whether occasionally or often, I ask that you please take the time to fill out the enclosed questionnaire and return it to me in the enclosed envelope by March 15, 1992. It should only take a few minutes to answer the questions. By participating in the study, you help document this important aspect of the Volga German culture that is quickly disappearing.

Your help in this matter is greatly appreciated. If you are not a descendant of Schoenchen settlers, but know someone outside the area who is, please pass on the questionnaire to them, or ask them to call or write me at the address below and I will send them a packet. The survey will be all the more accurate, the more responses I receive. Even if you have participated in studies in the past, I would encourage you to participate in this study.

All names will be kept confidential. A copy of my dissertation, as well as other research published as a result of this questionnaire will be sent to the Ethnic Heritage Collection at Fort Hays State University. Thanks in advance for your participation.

Sincerely,

Chris Johnson
German Department
2080 Wescoe Hall
The University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66045
913-864-4803

Dialect Questionnaire ¹

Instructions: Please put a check mark in the questions which contain small circles and fill in the blanks where necessary. Complete as much as you can. If you don't know an answer, leave it blank. Please write clearly. Attach an extra sheet, if necessary, to complete an answer, using the capital letter of each category to separate your answers.

Person completing this questionnaire:

Name _____
Year and place of birth _____
Address _____

A. How strongly do you identify yourself as a Volga German or German American? (Please make a check in the circle.)

Strongly Moderately Never

B. Please fill in the blanks below about the generations of your family:

Father	Name _____ Year of birth _____
Mother	Maiden name _____ Year of birth _____
Paternal Grandfather	Name _____ Year of birth _____
Paternal Grandmother	Maiden name _____ Year of birth _____
Maternal Grandfather	Name _____ Year of birth _____
Maternal Grandmother	Maiden name _____ Year of birth _____
Paternal Great Grandfather 1	Name _____ Year of birth _____
Paternal Great Grandmother 1	Maiden name _____ Year of birth _____
Paternal Great Grandfather 2	Name _____ Year of birth _____
Paternal Great Grandmother 2	Maiden name _____ Year of birth _____
Maternal Great Grandfather 1	Name _____ Year of birth _____
Maternal Great Grandmother 1	Maiden name _____ Year of birth _____
Maternal Great Grandfather 2	Name _____ Year of birth _____
Maternal Great Grandmother 2	Maiden name _____ Year of birth _____

If you know the names and dates of further ancestors (great-great-grandparents), please list separately

¹ Some forms have been reduced in size to fit formatting requirements for the dissertation.

C. Do you know anything about the origin of your ancestors:

	<input type="radio"/> Nothing	<input type="radio"/> Little	<input type="radio"/> Much		
Were they born in		Russia (Town?)	USA (Town?)	Other Place?	Unknown
Father		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mother		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal Grandfather		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal Grandmother		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal Grandfather		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal Grandmother		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal Great Grandfather 1		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal Great Grandmother 1		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal Great Grandfather 2		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal Great Grandmother 2		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal Great Grandfather 1		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal Great Grandmother 1		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal Great Grandfather 2		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal Great Grandmother 2		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

D. Do you know anything about your ancestors from Russia?

Nothing Little Much

When did your ancestor(s) emigrate from Russia? (please write in the name of each person)

Name	1870-1890	1901-1925	1926-1945
_____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
_____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
_____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
_____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
_____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
_____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

E. Do you know what area in Germany your ancestors came from? Yes No
If yes, where? _____

F. How were you informed about the history and tradition of your family?

	<input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> Somewhat	<input type="radio"/> Much
By stories of your parents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
By stories of your grandparents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At school	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
By reading historical accounts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
By _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

G. Did you attend a German school? Yes No

H. Do you attend church services in German? Yes No Occasionally

I. Have you had any formal German language training? Yes No

J. Do the members of your family speak the German language?

		<input type="radio"/> In family	<input type="radio"/> Learning at school	<input type="radio"/> Speaking little	<input type="radio"/> Understanding well	<input type="radio"/> Understanding little	<input type="radio"/> No
Spouse	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
All	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Some	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Brother(s)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sister(s)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mother	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Father	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mother in law	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Father in law	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal grandmother	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal grandfather	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal grandmother	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal grandfather	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

K. Do you prefer English or German? English German

L. What are the advantages of speaking German?

M. What are the disadvantages of speaking German?

N. Did you ever face discrimination for speaking German? Yes No
If yes, please explain

O. Are there any German words you like to use when you speak English? Yes No
If yes, please list (you can approximate the spelling):

P. Do you speak German with members of other Volga German communities? Yes No

If yes, how would you describe the dialect of the following communities?
(Please use an attached sheet, if necessary.)

Victoria

Munjor

Pfeifer

Catharine

Liebenthal

Ellis

Milberger

Other

Q. Do you have any nicknames for people from the following Volga German communities?

Victoria

Munjor

Pfeifer

Catharine

Liebenthal

Other

R. Are there any expressions that you use which are only possible in German? (You can approximate the spelling.)

S. If you consider yourself a good speaker of Schoenchen German, would you be willing to participate in a two hour recorded interview session? Yes No

T. Would any other family member or friend be interested in being interviewed?

Yes No

If yes, please write in the name and address of the interested person(s)

Name _____
Address _____

Name _____
Address _____

U. Are there any of your family or friends who would be interested in receiving this questionnaire?

Yes No

If yes, please write their names and addresses so I can contact them right away.

Name _____
Address _____

Name _____
Address _____

Name _____
Address _____

Thank you very much! I appreciate your help!

Informed Consent Statement

The Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Kansas supports the practice of protection for human subjects participating in research. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in a linguistic study of the Volga-German dialects of Kansas. You should be aware that even if you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

The purpose of this study is to record and analyze the vestiges of the Volga-German dialects of Ellis County, Kansas, concentrating particularly on that dialect spoken by the descendants of the settlers of Schoenchen, Kansas.

You will participate in an interview lasting about two hours. During the interview you will be asked to translate words and phrases from English into your dialect. The dialect words and phrases will be recorded in writing. With your permission you may also be tape-recorded. Please indicate whether you agree to being taped in the space below. Several interview sessions may be necessary in order to gather sufficient material for a thorough investigation.

By participating in this study you will be playing a part in the preservation of one aspect of the cultural heritage of Kansas: the ethnic dialects of the Volga-German immigrants.

Your participation is solicited although strictly voluntary. Your name will not be associated in any way with the research findings. Your interview will be identified by only a code number.

If you would like additional information concerning this study before or after it is complete, please feel free to contact me by phone or mail. You will be given a copy of this consent form.

Sincerely,

Chris Johnson
Principal Investigator
Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures
2080 Wescoe Hall
University of Kansas
Lawrence, KS 66045
913-864-4803

Signature of Person agreeing to participate.
By signing, you certify that you are at least 18 years of age.

Date
My dialect interview may be tape-recorded: YES NO

Wenker Sentences - German/English

1. Im Winter fliegen die trockenen Blätter in der Luft herum.
In the winter the dry leaves fly around in the air.
2. Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.
It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will get better again.
3. Tu Kohlen in den Ofen, daß die Milch bald an zu kochen fängt.
Put coals into the stove, so that the milk will start to boil soon.
4. Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durchs Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.
The good old man broke through the ice with his horse and fell into the cold water.
5. Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.
He died four or six weeks ago.
6. Das Feuer war zu stark. Die Kuchen sind ja unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.
The fire was too hot. The cakes are burned black on the bottom.
7. Er ißt die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer.
He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.
8. Die Füße tun mir sehr weh. Ich glaube, ich habe sie durchgelaufen.
My feet hurt so much. I believe, I have walked them off.
9. Ich bin bei der Frau gewesen und habe es ihr gesagt, und sie sagte, sie wollte es auch ihrer Tochter sagen.
I was at the woman's and told it to her, and she said, she wanted to tell it to her daughter too.
10. Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder tun.
I also don't want to do it ever again.
11. Ich schlage dich gleich mit dem Kochlöffel um die Ohren, du Affe!
I am going to hit you around the ears with a wooden spoon, you monkey!
12. Wo gehst du hin? Sollen wir mit dir gehen?
Where are you going? Shall we go with you?
13. Es sind schlechte Zeiten.
The times are bad.
14. Mein liebes Kind, bleib hier unten stehen, die bösen Gänse beißen dich tot.
My dear child, stay down here. Those mean geese will bite you to death.

15. Du hast heute am meisten gelernt und bist artig gewesen. Du darfst früher nach Hause gehen als die anderen.
You learned the most today and were well-behaved. You may go home earlier than the others.
16. Du bist noch nicht groß genug, um eine Flasche Wein auszutrinken. Du mußt erst noch etwas wachsen und größer werden.
You aren't big enough to drink a whole bottle of wine. You have to grow some more first and get bigger.
17. Geh, sei so gut und sag deiner Schwester, sie sollte die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Bürste rein machen.
Go, be so good and tell your sister she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother and clean them with a brush.
18. Hättest du ihn gekannt! Dann wäre es anders gekommen, und es täte besser um ihn stehen.
If only you had known him! Things would have turned out differently and he would be better off.
19. Wer hat mir meinen Korb mit Fleisch gestohlen?
Who stole my basket of meat?
20. Er tat so, als hätten sie ihn zum Dreschen bestellt. Sie haben es aber selbst getan.
He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing; but they did it themselves.
21. Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt?
Who did he tell the new story to?
22. Man muß laut schreien, sonst versteht er uns nicht.
One must shout loudly, otherwise he doesn't understand us.
23. Wir sind müde und haben Durst.
We are tired and thirsty.
24. Als wir gestern abend zurückkamen, da lagen die anderen schon zu Bett und waren fest am schlafen.
When we got home last night, the others were already lying in bed and were fast asleep.
25. Der Schnee ist diese Nacht bei uns liegen geblieben, aber heute morgen ist er geschmolzen.
The snow at our place stayed on the ground last night, but it melted this morning.
26. Hinter unserem Haus stehen drei schöne Apfelbäumchen mit roten Äpfelchen.
Behind our house stand three beautiful little apple trees with little red apples.
27. Könnt ihr nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten? Dann gehen wir mit euch.
Couldn't you (all) wait a moment for us? Then we will go with you.

28. Ihr dürft nicht solche Kindereien treiben.
You (all) may not be so silly.
29. Unsere Berge sind nicht sehr hoch. Die euren sind viel höher.
Our mountains aren't very high. Yours are much higher.
30. Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wieviel Brot wollt ihr haben?
How many pounds of sausage and how much bread did you all want?
31. Ich verstehe euch nicht. Ihr müßt ein bißchen lauter sprechen.
I don't understand you (all). You must speak a little louder.
32. Habt ihr kein Stückchen weiße Seife für mich auf meinem Tische gefunden?
Didn't you (all) find a piece of soap for me on my table?
33. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen.
His brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses in your garden.
34. Das Wort kam ihm vom Herzen!
That word came straight from his heart!
35. Das war recht von ihnen!
They did the right thing!
36. Was sitzen da für Vögelchen oben auf dem Mäuerchen?
What kind of little birds are sitting up there on the little wall?
37. Die Bauern hatten fünf Ochsen und neun Kühe und zwölf Schäfchen vor das Dorf gebracht. Die wollten sie verkaufen.
The farmers had brought five oxen and nine cows and twelve little sheep before the village. They wanted to sell them.
38. Die Leute sind heute alle draußen auf dem Felde und mähen.
All the people are outside today in the field and mowing.
39. Geh nur, der braune Hund tut dir nichts.
Go on, the brown dog won't hurt you.
40. Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren.
I drove with the people back there over the meadow into the grain field.

DWA Questionnaire

	<u>Dialect Form</u>	<u>Standard German</u>	<u>English</u>
1.		Ahorn	maple (tree)
2.		Ameise	ant
3.		Anemone	windflower
4.		Augenbraue	eyebrow
5.		Augenlid	eyelid
6.		auswringen	to wring out
7.		Backenzahn	molar
8.		Backtrog	kneading trough
9.		barfuß	barefoot
10.		Bauchweh	stomach ache
11.		sich beeilen	to hurry up
12.		Begräbnis	funeral / burial
13.		Beule (durch Schlag)	bump on the head
14.		es blitzt	it's lightning
15.		Brennessel	stinging nettle
16.		Brombeere	blackberry
17.		Brotscheibe	slice of bread
18.		bügeln	to iron
19.		Deichsel	thill (wagon shaft)
20.		Distel	thistle
21.		Docht	candle wick
22.		Eichelhäher	jaybird
23.		Eigelb	egg yolk
24.		Elster	magpie
25.		Enterich	drake
26.		Erdbeere	strawberry
27.		sich erkälten	to catch a cold
28.		ernten	to harvest
29.		Euter (der Kuh)	udder (cow)
30.		Euter (allgemein)	udder (other animals)
31.		fegen	to sweep the floor
32.		Ferkel	baby pig
33.		Fledermaus	bat (mammal)
34.		Fliege	housefly
35.		Frosch	frog
36.		Frühling	spring
37.		Gabeldeichsel	forked thill
38.		gackern	to cackle
39.		gähnen	to yawn
40.		Gans (männlich)	gander
41.		Gans (junge)	gosling
42.		Genick	neck
43.		Gießkanne	watering can
44.		Glühwürmchen	lightning bug
45.		Grasschwade	swath of cut grass
46.		Großmutter	grandmother

47.	Großvater	grandfather
48.	Grummet (2. Grasschnitt)	second cut of grass
49.	Gurke	cucumber
50.	häufeln (die Kartoffeln)	to hill up (potatoes)
51.	Hagebutte	rose hip
52a.	Hahn	rooster
52b.	Henne	hen
53.	Böttcher	barrel maker
54.	Klempner	tinsmith
55.	Stellmacher/Wagenmacher	wainwright
56.	Tischler	cabinetmaker
57.	Töpfer	potter
58.	Schlächter	butcher (preparer)
59.	Fleischer	butcher (slaughterer)
60.	Hebamme	midwife
61.	Heckenrose	rose hip
62.	heiser	hoarse
63.	Glucke	sitting hen
64.	Heuschrecke	locust
65.	Himbeere	raspberry
66.	Holunder	elder (plant)
67.	Hügel	hill
68.	Hühnerauge	corn (on toe)
69.	Hühnerhaus	chicken house
70.	Hummel	bumble bee
71.	Igel	hedgehog
72.	Iltis	polecat/skunk
73.	Käfer	beetle
74.	kämmen	to comb one's hair
75.	Kätzchen (am Haselstrauch)	pussy willow
76.	Kalb (weiblich)	female calf
77.	Kamille	chamomile
78.	Kaninchen	rabbit
79.	Kartoffel	potato
80.	Kater	tomcat
81.	Kaulquappe	tadpole
82.	Kleiderhaken	clothes hanger
83.	Kleiderschrank	clothes cabinet
84.	kneifen	to pinch
85.	Knöchel	ankle/knuckle
86.	Knospe	bud of a plant
87.	Kopfweh	headache
88.	Kornblume	cornflower
89.	Kreisel	top (toy)
90.	Kröte	toad
91.	Kruste	crust of bread
92.	Laken	bed sheet
93.	Lamm (weiblich)	female lamb
94.	Lappen	washcloth
95.	leer	empty
96.	leihen	to loan money

97.	Lerche	lark
98.	Libelle	dragonfly
99.	Maiglöckchen	lily of the valley
100.	Engerling	cockchafer larva
101.	Margerite	daisy
102.	Maulwurf	mole
103.	Meerrettich	horseradish
104.	Mistkäfer	dung beetle
105.	Mohrrübe	carrot
106.	Motte	moth
107.	Mücke	mosquito
108.	Mütze	cap
109.	Mutterschwein	sow
110.	nachharken	to rake hay
111.	Nachharke	hay rake
112.	Nachmittag	afternoon
113.	Narbe	scar
114.	neugierig	curious
115.	nicht wahr?	isn't it so?
116.	Ohrwurm	earwig
117.	Ostern	Easter
118.	Pate	Godfather
119.	Patin	Godmother
120.	Peitsche	whip
121.	pfeifen	to whistle
122.	Pflaume	plum
123.	pflügen	to plow
124.	Pflugwende	plow turn
125.	Pfropfen/Korken	cork
126.	Pilz	mushroom
127.	Platzregen	downpour
128.	Preißelbeere	cranberry
129.	Pulswärmer	hand muff
130.	jäten	to weed by hand
131.	Pfriem	awl
132.	die Sense schärfen	to sharpen a scythe
133.	Sonnabend	Saturday
134.	Quecke	witch grass (weed)
135.	Rasen	lawn
136.	rauchen	to smoke tobacco
137.	Rauhreif	hoar frost
138.	Regenwurm	earthworm
139.	Reifen (am Faß)	barrel hoop
140.	Rinde (des Nadelbaums)	bark (evergreen)
141.	Rinde (des Laubbaumes)	bark (deciduous)
142.	Roggen	rye
143.	Rotkraut	red cabbage
144.	Sahne (süße)	sweet cream
145.	Sauerklee	wood sorrel (clover)
146.	Sauerkraut	sauerkraut
147.	schelten	to scold

148.	Schaufel	shovel
149.	Schlüsselblume	primrose
150.	Schneeglöckchen	snowdrop
151.	Schnittlauch	chives
152.	Schnürband	shoestring
153.	Schnupfen	cold (illness)
154.	Schornsteinfeger	chimney sweep
155.	Schwalbe	swallow (bird)
156a.	Schwengel	pump handle
156b.	Zweispännerwaage	bell clapper
157.	Schwiegermutter	mother-in-law
158.	Schwiegersohn	son-in-law
159.	Schwiegertochter	daughter-in-law
160.	Schwiegervater	father-in-law
161.	Seil (aus Hanf)	rope (hemp)
162.	Sperling	sparrow
163.	Spinnewebe	cobweb
164.	Stachelbeere	gooseberry
165.	Star (Vogel)	starling
166.	Stecknadel	stick pin
167.	Streichholz	matches
168.	stricken	to knit
169.	Stricknadel	knitting needle
170.	Tasse	coffee cup
171.	Taube (männlich)	dove/pigeon (masc.)
172.	Tomate	tomato
173.	Topf (irdener)	earthenware pot
174.	unfruchtbar (von der Kuh)	infertile (cow)
175.	Veilchen	violet (flower)
176.	veredeln (Obstbäume)	to graft a fruit tree
177.	Viehbremse	horsefly
178.	Wacholder	juniper bush
179.	Wanze	cockroach / bug
180.	Warze	wart
181.	wenden (Heu)	to turn hay to dry
182.	Werktag	workday
183.	wiederkäuen	to chew cud
184.	wiehern	to whinny
185.	Wimper (Augen-)	eyelash
186.	Zahnschmerzen	toothache
187.	Zaunkönig	wren
188.	Ziege	goat
189.	er hat den Brief zerrissen	torn up (a letter)
190a.	voriges Jahr hat es -	last year
190b.	-viel Obst gegeben-	fruit
190c.	-dies Jahr wenig	this year
191.	vorgestern	day before yesterday
192.	er soll den Wagen ziehen	to pull a wagon
193.	da war niemand zu sehen	no one
194a.	erst gab es Tränen-	tears
194b.	-dann weinte-	cried (tears)

194c.	-das Mädchen nicht mehr	girl
195a.	Junge, halt den-	boy
195b.	-Mund, gehorche lieber	mouth
196a.	das Kind-	child
196b.	-ist so klein-	little
196c.	-es braucht einen Sauger	nipple/pacifier
197.	den Schornstein fegen	to clean a chimney
198a.	Im Nebel-	fog
198b.	-war keiner zu sehen	nobody
199a.	Wir haben oft-	often
199b.	-gewartet	I have waited
200.	zeig mir doch den Weg-	between
	zwischen den Häusern	

Russian Loan Word Questionnaire

Russian Loan Words

Name _____
 Town _____
 Date _____

<u>Russian</u>	<u>English</u>	(Recognize?)	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Use</u>
ambar	granary		_____	_____	_____
erbus	watermelon		_____	_____	_____
bakiashan	tomato		_____	_____	_____
baldo	overcoat		_____	_____	_____
bantke	glass jar		_____	_____	_____
baschtan	vegetable plot outside of town		_____	_____	_____
betta	awful		_____	_____	_____
bierok	stuffed pastry		_____	_____	_____
biotnik	carpenter		_____	_____	_____
brosch	cultivated land returned to grass		_____	_____	_____
bulka	white bread		_____	_____	_____
chabar	bribe		_____	_____	_____
chutor	property		_____	_____	_____
duija	insulting gesture		_____	_____	_____
gofta	short jacket for women		_____	_____	_____
gorjko	crowd yells after kiss		_____	_____	_____
grulitz	a small closed porch		_____	_____	_____
gumja	friend		_____	_____	_____
jemtschick	vehicle driver		_____	_____	_____
kaftan	coat		_____	_____	_____
kalotsch	a loaf of white bread		_____	_____	_____
kardus	cap		_____	_____	_____
kipjatok	boiling water		_____	_____	_____
kiapot	trouble, difficulty, lawsuit		_____	_____	_____
knout(whip		_____	_____	_____
kwas	malted drink, schwarzbrot		_____	_____	_____
manischka	a starched men's dress shirt		_____	_____	_____
messit	bran and straw mash for feed		_____	_____	_____

natschelnik	a court official	_____	_____	_____
nubi	a dress scarf	_____	_____	_____
nuschnik	outhouse	_____	_____	_____
pachshu	a garden plot	_____	_____	_____
papyrus	cigarette	_____	_____	_____
parshol	go away!	_____	_____	_____
plet	riding whip	_____	_____	_____
prostol	common	_____	_____	_____
radnik	recruit	_____	_____	_____
retchka	creek	_____	_____	_____
samovar	tea-steeper	_____	_____	_____
sarai	outbuilding for a house	_____	_____	_____
sedlika	harness bridge for horses	_____	_____	_____
simlinka	cave/dugout	_____	_____	_____
sofnik	constable	_____	_____	_____
steppe	prairie	_____	_____	_____
stuf	quart measure	_____	_____	_____
sutki	24 hours, day and night	_____	_____	_____
tabun	herd of horses	_____	_____	_____
tulup	great coat	_____	_____	_____
techesnok	garlic	_____	_____	_____
techetwertj	grain measure (2099 hl)	_____	_____	_____
tuppke	leggings, felt shoes	_____	_____	_____

Noun Questionnaire

Noun Plurals

the man / the men
the woman / the women
the boy / the boys
the girl / the girls
the child / the children
the pupil / the pupils (m. f.)
the priest / the priests
the nun / the nuns
the daughter / the daughters
the son / the sons
the sister / the sisters
the brother / the brothers
the mother / the mothers
the father / the fathers
the farmer / the farmers
the God/ the gods
the bride / the brides
the neighbor / the neighbors
the cat / the cats
the dog / the dogs
the day / the days
the book / the books
the apple / the apples
the knife / the knives
the bird / the birds
the cow / the cows
the year / the years

Noun Cases

I give the man the dog.
I give a man a dog.
I give the woman the cat.
I give a woman a cat.
I give the girl the book.
I give a girl a book.

Verb Questionnaire

Present Tense: sein haben tun

I/You/He/She/(It)/We/You (Pl.)/They

Sentences: I am a farmer/ housewife.
 I have a headache.
 I do the housework.

Simple Past Tense: sein haben tun

I/You/He/She/(It)/We/You (Pl.)/They

Sentences: I was a farmer/ housewife last year.
 I had a headache yesterday.
 I did the housework yesterday.

Present Perfect: sein haben tun

I/You/He/She/(It)/We/You (Pl.)/They

Sentences: I have been a farmer/ housewife all my life.
 I have had a headache for a week.
 I have done all the housework.

Past Perfect: sein haben tun

I/You/He/She/(It)/We/You (Pl.)/They

Sentences: I had been a farmer / housewife before I moved to Hays.
 I had had a headache before I took the medicine.
 I had done all the housework before I went to church.

Subjunctive Present: sein haben tun

I/You/He/She/(It)/We/You (Pl.)/They

Sentences: I would be rich if I had more money.
 I would not do that if I were you.

Subjunctive Past: sein haben tun

I/You/He/She/(It)/We/You (Pl.)/They

Sentences: I would have been rich if I had had more money.
 I would not have done that if I knew better.

Strong Verbs

Class I

He/She is writing a letter. (schreiben)
He/She wrote a letter yesterday.

He/She is staying here. (bleiben)
He/She stayed here for a week.

He/She is riding the wagon. (reiten)
He/She rode the wagon.

He/She is whistling a pretty song. (pfeifen)
He/She whistled a pretty song.

Class II

He/She is lying (= not telling the truth). (lügen)
He/She lied yesterday.

He/She is shooting a gun. (schießen)
He/She shot a gun.

He/She is bending the pipe. (biegen)
He/She bent the pipe.

Class III

He/She is finding the child. (finden)
He/She found the child.

He/She is singing old songs. (singen)
He/She sang old songs.

I/He/She is helping the child. (helfen)
He/She helped the child.

Class IV

I/He/She is stealing the basket. (stehlen)
He/She stole the basket.

I/He/She is breaking the stick. (brechen)
He/She broke the stick.

He/She is threshing the wheat. (dreschen)
He/She threshed the wheat.

Class V

I/He/She is giving money to the church. (geben)
He/She gave money to the church.

I/He/She sees the child. (sehen)
He/She saw the child.

I/He/She is reading the Bible. (lesen)
He/She read the bible.

I/He/She is eating dinner. (essen)
He/She ate dinner.

Class VI

I/He/She is travelling to Hays. (fahren)
He/She travelled to Hays.

I/He/She is wearing nice clothes today. (tragen)
He/She wore nice clothes yesterday.

Class VII

I/He/She is sleeping now. (schlafen)
He/She slept the whole evening.

I/He/She is running to the house. (laufen)
He/She ran to the house.

I/He/She lets the child play outside every day. (lassen)
I/He/She let the child play outside yesterday.

Weak Verbs

He/She is playing with the cat. (spielen)
He/She played with the cat.

He/She says that he/she is sick. (sagen)
He/She said that he/she was sick.

He/She is building a house. (bauen)
He/She built a house.

Preterite-Present Verbs, etc.

He/She is bringing the cake.
He/She brought the cake.

He/She knows the answer.
He/She knew the answer.

He/She wants to go.
He/She wanted to go.

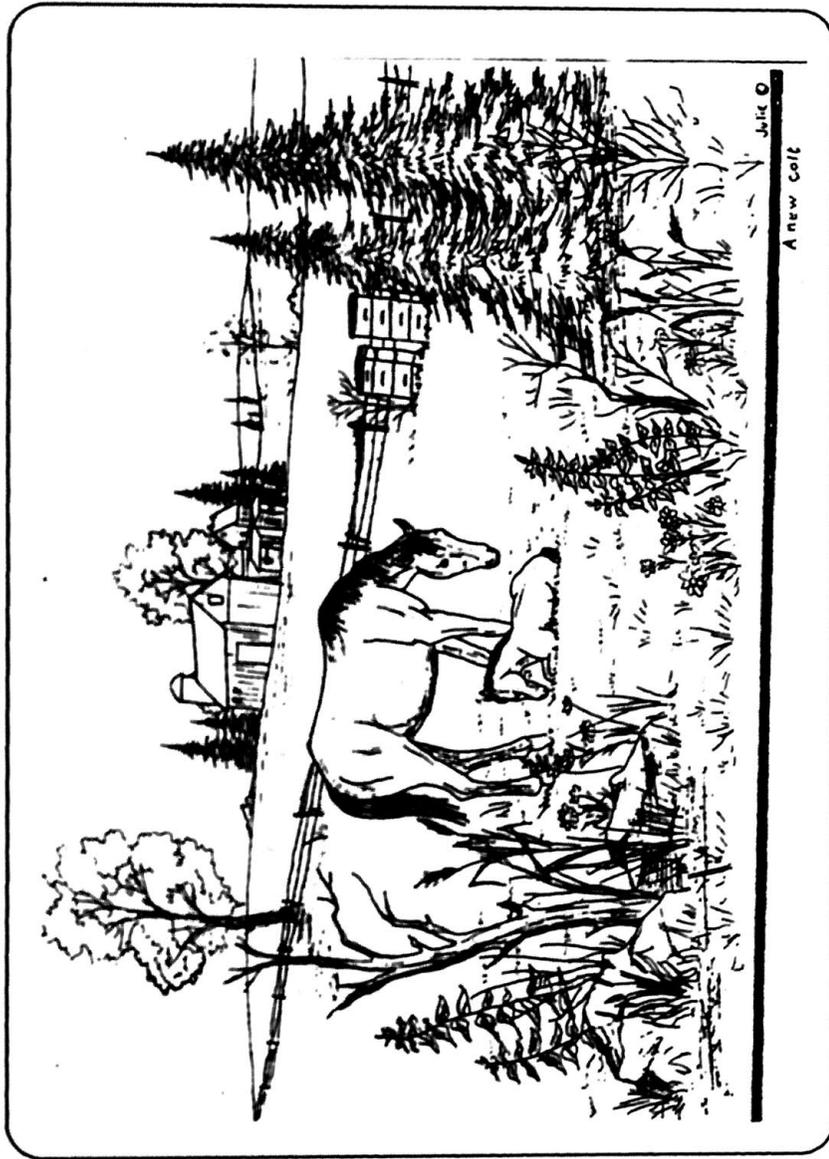
He/She can go.
He/She could go.

He/She has to go.
He/She had to go.

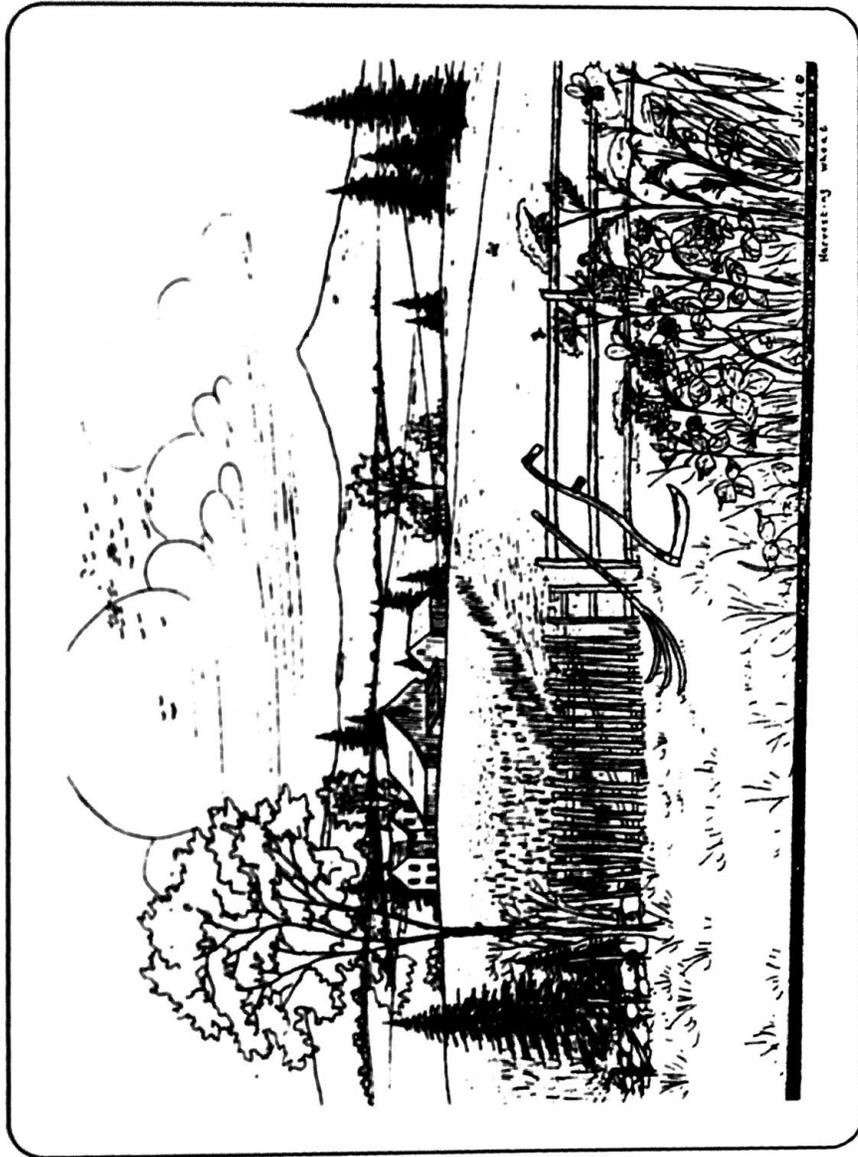
He/She is supposed to go.
He/She was supposed to go.

He/She likes cake.
He/She liked cake.
He/She likes to eat cake.

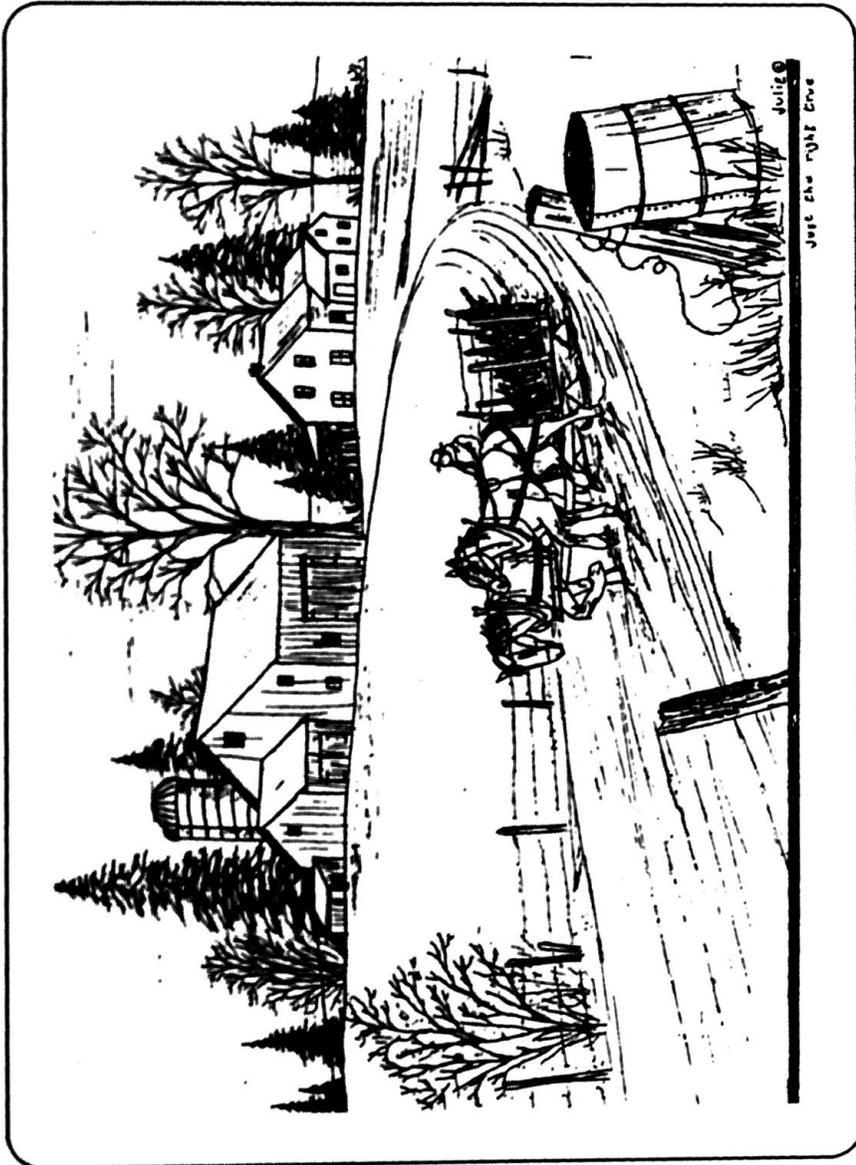
He/She is allowed to go.
He/She was allowed to go.



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3

Appendix II

Schoenchen German Fieldwork Transcriptions - A Selection

Informants:

	<u>Informant #</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Interview Dates</u>
a.	1	Born 1927	Male	1981; 2/17/91; 8/18/91; 4/9/92
b.	2	Born 1914	Female	1981
c.	3	Born 1912	Male	1981
d.	4	Born 1919	Male	1981; 7/17/93
e.	5	Born 1932	Female	8/18/91
f.	6	Born 1909	Male	8/18/91
g.	7	Born 1921	Male	1/24/93
h.	8	Born 1926	Male	7/17/93
i.	9	Born 1926	Male	7/17/93

Wenker Sentences:

1.
 - a. in wintertsait un di bloz di drugona bleda rum.
 - b. uncollected
 - c. in vintar fliya di bledar in di luft.
 - d. in vintar der fliya di bledar ram in di luft.
 - e. in den wintertsait fliga di drugona bledar iboral rum in di luft.
 - f. in vintar fliya di bledar in di luft.
 - g. in vintar fliya di drugona bledar ram in di luft.
 - h. in vintar fliya di drugona bledar in di luft dran.
 - i. in den vintar der fliya di drugona bledar in di luft darum.

2.
 - a. es hert herijar uffnea un er gipt es vedar vidar jen.
 - b. des hert uf tsu fnea und es gept balt frijar.
 - c. es haert herijar uf tsu fnea un var des vetar besar.
 - d. van tsu fertic tsu fnean dan vert das vedar vidar besar.
 - e. na gans horic stap fnea un dan gif mir vidar gudax vedar.
 - f. vens not mer fne dan gepts vedar vidar besar.
 - g. des not net mer laj un det hert ufs fnea nan gepts vedar vidar besar.
 - h. des hert gans horic uf tsu fnea den gips ax des vedar vidar besar.
 - i. des dut herta uf am fnea un es gip das vedar vidar besar.

- 3.
- tu kolə in ovə das di milç anfejt koxə.
 - du kolə in den ovə dað das das flaij kəxt, milk kəxt.
 - tu kolə in di ovə so das di milç anfaht tsu koxə.
 - du mer kol in den ovə da, na faht di milç an tsu koxə.
 - nə du məl di kolə ux den ovə so das mir di milç gans horiç, ja, koxə kenə.
 - mir dun kolə in ovə so das di milç koxə.
 - du məl kol in dem ovə nai das di milç selβər koxt.
 - tu kol in den ovə das di milç ənfaht tsu koxə.
 - du kol in der ovə so das di milç vidər iβər kəxt.
- 4.
- der aldə gudə man ist dert in ais gəbroxə mit sam gaul on is naikfalə in wasər.
 - də aldə man ist dorç den ais gəbrəçə ond falt in den kaldə vasər mit den gaul.
 - ə aldər man ist duri in aix gəbrəçə mit sən gaul on is in kaldəs watər kfalə.
 - der gude alde man is dorç den ais gəbrəxə mit sam gaul on is in den kaldə vasər kfalə.
 - da aldə man der is iβər den ais mit sam gaul on is naikfalə in den kaldə vasər.
 - der aldə man is in ais gəbrəçə, des var ariç kalt, mit sam gaul.
 - der gud aldə man is duriç den ais gəbrəçə mit sam gaul on is in den kaldə vasər kfalə.
 - der gudə aldə man breçt dorç den ais mit sam gaul on fel in də kaldə vasər.
 - der gudə aldə man is duri on ais gəbrəxə mit samə gail on is naikfalə in kaldə vasər.
- 5.
- der ist siks əβər seβə vəxə tsunik kftərβə.
 - hi, der ist gəstərβə fimf ər zeks vəxə tsunik.
 - er ist kftərβə əbauł fimf əf seks vəxə tsunik.
 - der is so fir əβər seks vəxə tsunik kftərβə.
 - der ist kftərβə fir ər siks vəxə tsunik.
 - der is fir ər seks vəxə tsunik gəstərβə.
 - der is fir əβər seks vəçə tsunik kftərβə.
 - der is fir əβər seks vəxə tsunik kftərβə.
 - der is kftərβə fir ər seks vəxə tsunik.
- 6.
- des fairə war tsu ariç on hət den kek fərbrent ən bətəm, hət onəfərbrent.
 - des fair var tsu has on der kek ist fərbrent.
 - des fair var tsu has ənd di keks sam alə fərbrent onə.
 - des fair des var ja so has on iç denç di ganzə keks sam al fvars gəbrent onə, onə gants fvars gəbrent.
 - des fair is tsu stark on di kuxə di sam di gans fərbrent onə.
 - des fair war tsu stark on dan is da der kuxən gans fvars gəbrent.
 - des fair var tsu has. di koxə sam onə fvarz gəbrent.

- h. des fair var tso has on di kuxə sam onə fvars gəbrent.
i. əs fair var tso hais on has den kek onə fərbrent, onə fvars gəbrent on on der bodən.
7. a. der est imər atər onə salz on pefər.
b. der ist di atər mit kə salz on pevər.
c. der est sai atər alweis mit, oni salz on pevər.
d. der hət imər air gesə mit, onə salz on pevər.
e. der dut imər sai atər ezə mit aus salz on pevər.
f. der est imər sam atər oni salz on pefər.
g. der est imər sai atəm mit aus salz on pevər.
h. der est imər sam air mit aus salz on pevər.
i. der est sai atər imər mit aus salz on pevər.
8. a. mai fis dun so ve. iç denk iç hon zi apgəlovə.
b. iç var ox der frau irə blats, hunsə ir ksat, iç hon ksat iç hon ax irə dəxtər des ksat.
c. mai fis dun ve. iç denk iç lauvə tsufil.
d. mai fis di dun miç so ve, iç denk iç huns apgəlovə.
e. mai fis di dun so ve. iç denk iç sam tsufil gəlovə hart.
f. mai fis dun ve. iç glaup iç vil si aplovən.
g. ma fis du so ve. iç denk iç hon sən apgəlovə.
h. mai fis dən so ve iç glaupə, iç denk iç hon di apgəlovə.
i. mai fis dun mir so ve, iç glap iç hon si apgəlovə.
9. a. iç war bai der fra ir haus on hunsə ir ksat, on di hət ksat, di völd əs ax tso ir dəxtər fərtselə.
b. uncollected
c. iç var bai di frau on hon sər ksat, si sat si du tso ir dəxtər fpreyə.
d. iç var bai der frau, on iç hab des ir ksat, on des sat si, ja, des vil iç ax mamə dəxtər sayə.
e. iç var da druβə bai der fra on iç huns der ksat on di vəl sayə irə dəxtər say.
f. iç war bai di frau in haus gəvesə on di hət ksat si wils ir, vil sayə irə dəxtər fertselən.
g. iç var bai di fra on huns ir ksat on di hat ksat di vəls ax ir medjə sayə.
h. iç var bai der fra on hon der ksat on di hət ksat di vil es ax tso ir medjə sayə.
i. iç var bai der fra on hon iβər ksat on di hət ksat di völd ir, ax tso ir dəxtər sayə.
10. a. des wil iç nımər vidər dað.
b. iç du des ni mer vidər dað.
c. des dun ik ni mer vidər.
d. iç vil des ni mals vidər dað.
e. des vil iç nımər vidər dað.
f. iç vil es ax net mer vidər dun.

- g. ič vil des ax net mer vidør duə.
 h. ič vil des ax net mer vidør dəð.
 i. ič vils net mer vidør dun.
11. a. dič flay ič ɔn, iβər di ɔrən mit den hɔlzənə levəl, du af.
 b. ič flak dič iβərən kəp mit ɔn hɔlzənə levəl, du muŋki.
 c. ič flak drɔbn n kəp mit den hɔlzənə levəl, du muŋki.
 d. ič flay dır iβər di ɔrən mit den hɔlzənə levəl du af.
 e. ič flax dič vidør di ɔrən mit den hɔlzənə levəl du əf.
 f. ič vil dır mal an di ɔrən flayə mit ə stik hɔlts, du af.
 g. ič flax dič ɔn di ɔr rum mit ə hɔlzənə levəl du af.
 h. ič flay dır ɔn di ɔrən dran mit ə hɔlzənə levəl du af.
 i. ič flak dır ɔn di ɔrən drum mit ə hɔlzənər levəl du af.
12. a. vo gest du hin? mir selə məl mit dır gē?
 b. vo gest du hī? selən mir mit dır gē?
 c. vo gest du hin? kan ič mit gē?
 d. vo gē mir hin? sel mir mal mit aič gē?
 e. vo gest du dan hī? ič sel mit dır ge.
 f. vo vilst du hī? sel mir mit dır gē?
 g. vo gest du dan hī? selə mir vəl mit dır geə.
 h. vo gest du hī? sel mir mit dır gē?
 i. vo gest du hī? selə mir mit dır gē?
13. a. di tsaidə sam hart.
 b. aləs ɪst arič bæd.
 c. di tsaidə sam fleçt.
 d. di tsaidə sam fleçt.
 e. di tsaidə for sam net gud.
 f. di tsaidə sam arič fleçt.
 g. di tsait sam fleçt.
 h. di tsaidə sam fleçt.
 i. di tsaidə sam fleçt.
14. a. mai gudəs kint blarp dahonə aβər di beza gens barza dič dot.
 b. mai kint blarp dəv ɔr di gens barza dič.
 c. kind blatb dahırə ɔnə or di beza gens bars dič dot.
 d. mai lipjə blarp də hənə bə miç. di beza gens di barza dič dot.
 e. kint blarp dəð. di gens di sam so vidič di barza dič, di barza dič tsu
 din gəpət.
 f. du lips kint, blarp nə dəð, di beza gens di barza dič tsu dot.
 g. mai libə kint blarp dahonə. di beza gens barza dič dot.
 h. mai libəs kint blarp dahonə. di beza gens barza dič kəbət.
 i. mai libəs kint blarp dahonə. di vidiçə gens di barz dič kəbət.
15. a. di hun di mærfst gələmt hart ɔn hun siç gut bəhovə. du kanst er ham
 gē vi di andərə.

- b. du hast dō merft gōlernt hart. du varft ò gudōs kint. du kanst erō ham geō vi di andōrō.
- c. du hōst des merftō gōlernt hart. du hōst diç gut bōhev. du kanst glaiç erō ham geō als vi di andōrō.
- d. du hōst diç so gut bōheft hart un hōst gut gōlernt. du kanst ham gē frijōr als vi di andōrō.
- e. nō hart hōst du fil gōlernt un varst ax rili gut. so du kanst jetst ham gē frijōr als vi di andōrō.
- f. du hōst hart fil gōlernt un varft anç gut. du kanst jetst frijōr ham gē.
- g. du hast hart dō mērft gōlent un hast diç gut bōhovō. du kanst jetst frijōr ham geō als vi di andōrō.
- h. du hōst gut gōlernt hart un hōst ja gut bōhovō. so du kanst er ham ge vi di andōrō.
- i. du hōst hart di mērft gōlernt un varft ja der best bōhovō. du kanst er ham gē obōn vi di andōrō.
16. a. du bist net gros gōnōj fōr ò gans bōtōl wain driņō. du must erft vaksō un most grezōr geβō.
- b. du bist nit alt gōnōjk fōr vain tsō driņō. du must imōr nōx grezō vēm.
- c. du bist net alt gōnōg fir ò gans bōtōl vain tsō driņō. du must nōx grezōr vērō.
- d. du bist nōx net gros gōnōj fōr ò bōtōl vain tsō drinkō. du must nōx vaksō un grezōr geβō.
- e. du kanst net ò gans bōtōl mit wain driņō. du must erft uf vaksō bis du eltōr berft un grezōr.
- f. du bist jetst gros net fir ò bōtōl wain tsō driņō un du must grezōr gehō.
- g. du bist ja net gros gōnōj das du gōnz bōtōl vain kanst driņō. du must mer vaksō un grezōr geβō.
- h. du bist nōx net gros gōnōj fōr di gans bōtōl vain tsō driņō. du must nōx bisjō vaksō un grezōr geβō.
- i. du bist net grosō fōr ò gans bōtōl vain driņō. du must erft grezōr vaksō un grezōr gehō.
17. a. ge un sai so gut und fertselt sōr fvestōr di sōl des sax alōs neō fōr dāl mōdōr un dan max si saubōr midō bērfst.
- b. sai gut und saks der fvestōr si sōl fertiç sai des sak neō fōr dō mōdōr und maxs saubōr mit di berft.
- c. ge un sak dāl fvestōr si sōl di wef neō fōr dō mōdōr un max si saubōr mit ò bruf.
- d. ge. sai so gut un sax dainō fvestōr di sōl des sax fliyō fōr dai mōdōr un sōl sō ax bisjō apberftō.
- e. ge un sak dai fvestōr di sōl des sax neō fir di mōdōr un dan sōl das saubōr maxō mit ò bērfst.
- f. ge un sax da fvestōr si sōl irō glaidōr fertiç neō und di mōdōr sōl si mit irō bērfst saibōrn.

- g. ge un sai so gut un soꝝ da fvestor si sol sax fertiꝝ mayo for ira
mama un saufor mayo mit o bærft.
- h. ge. sai so gut un sak dainor fvestor di sol des fertiꝝ nea for ira
mama un dan saufor maxo mit der bærft.
- i. ge un sai gut tso dai fvestor un sax di sol des nea fertiꝝ maxo un sol
des glino mit der bærft.
18. a. ven iꝝ den blos gøkent het veron dino fil anftor gøvezo un ver der
fil besor ap.
- b. venst du na den gøkent hest, alaṣ ver gøbasirt dan andors, anors
saito.
- c. ven du den blos gøkent hest den ver ebo alaṣ betor gøvest.
- d. van iꝝ ir besor gøvost het, den kent ir bisjo anftor auskoma un vair
ir besor ap.
- e. vens du den blos gøkent hest, dino, di veron fil anftor gøvest, un du
verost fil besor apgøvest.
- f. ven iꝝ den blos gøkent het, weron dino fil besor gøveso.
- g. vans du na blos gekent hest dan ver des ganz anftor gøvest un der
ver der besor ap.
- h. vens du den besor gøkent hest veron dino anftor auskoma un du
verft besor ap.
- i. ven si den gøkent hest den ver nax dino anftor geba un ver der ala
tsvai besor ap.
19. a. ver hot dan main korþ mit flaij kftolo?
- b. ver hat main korþ flaij kftolo?
- c. ver hot mai bæskot fon flaij kftolo?
- d. ver hot den main korþ mit flaij kftolo?
- e. ver hot dan main korþ mit flaij kftolo?
- f. du host mai kerbjø mit flaij kftolo?
- g. ver hat dan main korþ flaij kftolo?
- h. ver hot main korþ fol flaij kftolo?
- i. du host main korþ flaij gøratst.
20. a. der hot so gømaxt als ven son gødint heda for drezo. aþor di hun
selborj gødað.
- b. der hat gømaxt als ven di den gøhairt heda for tso drezo, but di han
des selpst gødað.
- c. der hot gøækt als ven sin khairt heda for tso drezo, but di hun siꝝ
selborj gødað.
- d. der hots ja o gneꝝt gødint for den drezo aþor der hots jo selborj
gødað.
- e. di hun grad so gømaxt als ven di den gehairt, gødint heda fir drezo.
di hun siꝝ selbors gødað.
- f. der hot so gødint das er des drezo sol, aþor di hun ain andoro
gødint.
- g. der hat so gømaxt als vi der het den gødint for drezo aþor di huna
selvs gøduo.

- h. der hót so gómáxt als ven mir den gódmíkt heda fór dreʒa aþer hún si alás selpst gáðú.
- i. der hót so gómáxt als ven mir gódmíkt heda fór tsu dreʒa bot mir hada des selþorf gáðú.
- 21.
- ven hót dan der des naia rezalja fertselt?
 - tsu ven hast du des nai storis fertselt?
 - tsu ven host du des fertselt, des stori?
 - ver hót dan der des redalja fertselt?
 - tsu ven hót der dan das naia stori, redalja fertselt?
 - ven host du des naia stori, naia redalja fertselt?
 - tsu ven hót der di naia redalja fertselt?
 - tsu ven hót der des naia rezalja fertselt?
 - ven hót der des naia redalja fertselt?
- 22.
- du must laut grarʒa tsu den, sonst der ferstet der diç net.
 - du must laut blaodorn sonst ferste der diç nit.
 - ala must laut grarʒa sonst ferste es di andara net.
 - der musta laut spreça. vans net laut spreçt mir ferste diç a niks.
 - tsu den must ir al grarʒa, sonsta ferstet der ons net.
 - du must lautar spreça, sonst ferste der aiç net.
 - der mos mir laodar grarʒa sonst herd er ons net.
 - ona must laut talka andarveks kan der ons net herð.
 - ona mos laut grarʒa sonst duts net understeð, ferstest du net so vas.
- 23.
- mir sam maradiç on hun dorft.
 - mir sam maradiç on han dorft.
 - mir sam maradiç on dorftiç.
 - mir sam so maradiç on dorftiç.
 - mir sam maradiç on mir hun dorft.
 - mir sam midsam on dorftiç.
 - mir sam marada on dorftiç.
 - mir sam maradiç on dorftiç.
 - mir sam maradiç on dorftriç.
- 24.
- vi iç ham sam koma gestara aþant varan di andara son in bet on di hun sond kflava.
 - ven mir tsorik sam koma di andara han kflaft in bet saundli.
 - ven mir tsorik sam koma gestara aþand di andara hun in bet galeyva on hun kflava.
 - vi mir ham koma di lets next di andara hun sa al in bet galeyva on hun kflava.
 - vi mir ham sam koma gestar next non hun di andara son al galeyva in bet on hun si aux gflava.
 - ven mir ham sal koma di letst next, da waran di andaran son in bet on hun kflava.
 - letsta next vi mir ham sam koma vara fon di andara in bet on fon got kflava.

- h. vi mir gestara ðfund hóm sam koma hun si al galeyva un fest kflava.
i. vi mir gestara ðfund ham sam, da hun di andara son al in bet galeyva un fest kflava.
25. a. des hot kfnet gestara ðfont un der fne ist laugabliða aþar hart morn is der fargana.
b. hart next blarp der fne ofam grund but hart moryon is ar fargana.
c. hart ðfund ist der fne of di ert gabliða aþar hart morya ist er fargana.
d. der fne hot galeyva di ganzo day, ganz next, aþar hart morn is der fargana.
e. der fne in onsam blats is als tsom gront gabliða durc di next aþar hart morya is als fargana.
f. der fne var letst next falu, der ist hart moryon fardaut.
g. letst next hai uns is der fne auf di ert gabliða aþar hart morn is der fargana.
h. der fne is of di ert gabliða gestara ðfund aþar hart morn is der al fargana.
i. der fne on onsam blats is of der grund gabliða di ganz next aþar hart morn is der fargana.
26. a. hindar onsar haus sam drai fena ebolbem mit glana roða ebol.
b. hinor onsar haus sam drai ebolbem wita roða ebol.
c. hini onsar haus sam drai fena apolbem mit roða ebol, glana apols.
d. hinor onsar haus ften drai fena glana ebolbem mit glana roða eboljar.
e. hindar onsar haus ften drai fena ebolbem mit glana roða ebol.
f. hindar den haus sam drai fena ebolbem. di hun glana roða ebol.
g. hini onsar haus stea drai fena glana ebolbem mit glana roða ebol.
h. hini onsar haus ften drai fena ebolbem mit glana roða eboljar.
i. hindar onsar haus ften drai glana ebolbem mit fena glana roða eboljar.
27. a. kent ir net ala groða minut lom? dan gea mir mit aic.
b. kent ir net a bisca varda? dan geon mir mit aic.
c. kent ir a bisca varta? den gen mir mit aic.
d. kent ir mal al a minut varda? den derfa mir mit aic ge.
e. mir kent mal a minut loran a hunsana mir ge mit aic?
f. kenst net a par minuta varda, so das mir mit aic ge kena?
g. ir kent vol net par minuda varda for uns? dan gea mir mit aic.
h. ven ir nur fir os vartan, dan gen mir mit aic.
i. ir kont net a minut varda for uns? dan veran mir mit aic gana.
28. a. ir bract nit al so kinif sam, forikt sam.
b. du most net so domo dirjo dað.
c. du most net...
d. on sarr dex net al so forikt.
e. ir braict nit so flik tso sam.

- f. ir söl net al so kinnj sam.
g. ir braiçt net al so neriç sam.
h. sait net al so neriç.
i. ir braiçt net al so jpasic tso sam.
29. a. onsərə berijə sam net so hox. airə sam fil hejər.
b. di berijə sam hox. jors sam fil hejər.
c. onsərə maontəns sam ariç hox. atər sam fil hejər.
d. onsər berijə sam net ariç hox, aβər air berijə sam fil hejər.
e. onsər berijə di sam ariç hox, aβər airə sam fil grezər.
f. onsərə berijən sam hox, aβər atər sam nax hejər.
g. onsər berijə sam net ariç hox. atər sam fil hejər.
h. onsər berijə sam net ariç hox. atər sam fil hejər.
i. onsər berijə sam net ariç hox, aβər atər sam nax vil hejər.
30. a. vivil punt vorjt und vivil brot völd dan ir al hun?
b. vivil brot glaikest du?
c. vivil vorjt det ir laiçə on brot det ir laiçə?
d. vivil punt vorjt on vivil brot völt dan ir al hun?
e. vivil punt ov uh vorjt on vivil brot vil dan ir?
f. vivil punt vorjt und fil brot wölt ir haβə?
g. vivil punt vorst on vivil brot volt ir dan hun?
h. vivil punt vorjt on vivil brot vil ir al hun?
i. vivil punt vorjt on vivil punt brot vold den ir hun?
31. a. iç ferste aiç net al. ir mist al ə bisjə laudər spreçə.
b. iç kan diç net fərste. du must lautər blaudərə.
c. iç kan aiç net ferste. ir mist lautər spreçə.
d. iç kan ja aiç net al fərste. ir mist laudər spreçə.
e. iç fersten aiç gar net. ir mist ə bisjə laudər blaudərə.
f. iç kan aiç net fersteən. ir mist al lautər spreçə.
g. iç ferste aiç net al. ir mist lautər spreçə.
h. iç kan ə net fərsten. ir mist ə bisjə lautər blaudərə.
i. iç undərsteə aiç net alə. ir mist ə bisçə laudər blaudərm.
32. a. ir hun nit al ə stik saf kfunə fər mir əvən diç?
b. həst du nit ə glö stik saf əf ən diç kfunə?
c. hət ir net ə bisçə saf kfun of mai diç?
d. ir hət məl al ə stikəlçə saf ox ən diç kfunə fər miç?
e. du həst məl stik saf ox mamə diç sə laiç?
f. hət ir al ə stik saf of ən diç kfunə?
g. ir het vəl əux kə stik saf kfunə fən miç əuf mam diç?
h. hət ir net alə ə stik saf of den diç kfunə fər miç?
i. ir hət mə net ə stik savə kfunə fər undər mam diç?
33. a. mam brudər det gern tsvai jenə haizər bauə in dam gardə.
b. mam brudər vil tsvai naiə haisər bauə.
c. den sam brudər vil siç tsvai jenə haizər bauə.

- d. main brudor der vil ja tsvai haisor, jeno haisor bauo in air gardo.
 e. main brudor der vil tsvai nairo haisor bauo, jeno haisor in dam gardon.
 f. main brudor der vil sic tsvai haisor in aior gardo bauo.
 g. sam brudor vil tsvai jeno nairo haisor for sic bauo in aior gardo.
 h. sam brudor vil sic tsvai nairo haisor, tsvai jeno nairo haisor bauo in dam gardo.
 i. sam brudor der vil sic o jenos nairo haus bauo in dam gardo, jeno tsvai haisor bauo in dam gardo.
34. a. des wort kom strak fon so herts.
 b. er hot strak fon sal herts kjsproya.
 c. der hot strak fon sam herts gablaudort.
 d. ax, des wort kom strak fon herts.
 e. des wort is strak fon den sam herts komo.
 f. des word is strak fon sam herts gekomu.
 g. des wort kam strak fon sam herts.
 h. des wort komt strak fon herts.
 i. des wort komt strak fon sam herts.
35. a. di hun so repta din gadao.
 b. di hun des repta din gadao.
 c. di hun des repta din gadao.
 d. di hun des repta din gadao.
 e. di hun des repta din gadao.
 f. di hun so repta din gadao.
 g. di huno des repta din gadao.
 h. di hun des repta din gadao.
 i. di hot des repta din gadao.
36. a. vas fir glano feyaljo sirs da ox der gla vant?
 b. vas fir fogaljo is des of di vant? fil fegal.
 c. vas fir o jeno feyaljo sam des dut o ova sirs an di vant?
 d. vas fir glano feyal sam des vas sirs dra ox der glano vant?
 e. vas fir glano feyaljo sirs dort ox der gla vant?
 f. vas sirt o fegaljo sirs dan der of der want, glamu, gla vant?
 g. vas fir glano feyaljo sirs dan dort ova auf der glano vant?
 h. vas fir glano feyaljo sirs da deruf af der glan vant?
 i. vas for jeno glano feyaljo sira da deruf af der glan vant?
37. a. der farmar hot fimif oksu gabrujo un nam ki un tsvelif glano lamir for di lait in den dort. di voldu zi ferkava.
 b. der farmar hat fir oksu, nam ki, un tsvelif jefjer. di volu di ferkava. di hun si hin in di stat gabraxt.
 c. der farmar hot fir oksu un nam ki un tsvelif jef. di vold er ferkava. si hun si nok gabraxt nox stat.
 d. der farmar der hot ja fimif oksu, nam ki, un tsvelif glano jefjer in dort gabraxt. un der vol so ferkava.

- e. der farmør der hót finif óksó un nam ki un tsvelf jef dørt in di glaná dorf un di völdó sá ferkavó.
- f. der bauør hót finif óksó, nam ki un tsvelf jef naxs dorf gæbraxt. da völd der ferkavó.
- g. di farmør hadó finif óksó nam ki un tsvelf glaná jof tsu dís dorf gæbraxt. di völdó di ferkavó.
- h. der farmør hót finif óksó gókaft, nam ki un tsvelf glaná jefjær bifør des dorf di ferkavó vólt.
- i. di farmør hodó finif boló gókaft un nam ki un tvelóf jef un hót der si tsu der vilóðz gæbraxt un di völdó den si ferkavó.
38. a. di lait sam al draos in felt ond fnaidó.
- b. di lait sam al draos in felt ond dun fnaidó.
- c. di lait sam al draos in felt...fnaidó gras.
- d. di lait sam al draos in felt. di fnaidó.
- e. di lait sam al hait draos in felt ond fnaidó.
- f. di lait sam ala hat draos in felt ond fnaid des gras.
- g. di lait sam al hait draos in felt fnaidó.
- h. al di lait sam hait dóraos in felt un fnaidó.
- i. al di lait aot draos, sam draos in felt un me, un mow ir, mæjin ir gras.
39. a. go, ge tsu. der braonó hunt du diç niks.
- b. go. der hunt du diç niks dað.
- c. ge nai. der braonó hunt du dir niks.
- d. ge. der braonó hunt der dut niks.
- e. ge. der braonó hunt der du diç net ve.
- f. ge. ðæt braonó hunt vil diç net, der baist diç net.
- g. ge no. ðæt braone hunt dut aiç net ve.
- h. ge. ðæt braonó hunt du diç net ve.
- i. ge. der glaná braonó hunt der du diç net ve.
40. a. iç sam mit di lait kfarin hindør in di valt, iþør den pæstør tsurik in, óxs vatsland.
- b. mir sain dorç den pæstør kfarin in tsu den grinó fudør.
- c. iç sam mit denó lait himaus kfarin in des felt, mtu dá vatsfelt.
- d. iç sam mit denó lait tsurik kfarin iþør den pæstør naus in den ketfelt aþør in baoland.
- e. iç sam mit denó lait kfarin niðør in felt, vo der vats in den felt ist.
- f. iç hon di lait ins felt, in tal, kfarin un dan in den vatsfelt.
- g. iç sam mit di lait dørtó hinør kfarin iþør di jtep nai ins vatsfelt.
- h. iç sam mit denó lait tsurik iþør den pæstør kfarin in den vatsfelt.
- i. iç sam mit der lait hindør kfarin in der pæstør dun, un sam mir nun ónsør vats bódraxt.

Excerpts from Anecdotes:¹

a1

mam grosfater ist fön ruslant kōmō. di sam nōx heis kōmō ox di junjōn pōsifik
reilrowd un di sam erft nōx in rof kaunti gōmuvt un hōn ə ftejtō ɔŋkfōŋə bāt di
nōmō libōndal. di sarōn unamiçt vōrōn vail der voron lat vōl di fstat hatli josōp
hōsə und di andərə vōldə libōndal hōn. un di andərə vōl des di kirič seint
ænthōni, seŋkt antoniəs hōsə. un di sam unviliçt vōrōn un is mam grosfater mit
sar familiə un əbaot seks ɔr sifə andərə familiə sam fir mail vaidōr nōrt garç
ɔn der fmoğə, vas in englif ðe sa fmoŋki hīl, mir kalə fmoğə, un hōn dərft vi
der ɔŋkfōŋə. un glarj had əs a bişçə unamiçkart dert hir vail di andərə vōldə
es sarçkt antoniəs kalə, di fstat, un endlīç hōnsə, vōrōn si amiç vōrōn und hōn di
fstat fenjə gəhas so vi in ruslant un di kirič sarçkt antoniəs so vi di kirič in
ruslant var. un, wel, iç dərŋk fōr di letst hundōrt jōr vōrōn imər əbaot tsvat
hundōrt lat in fenjə. des hōt net fil gəveksəlt, svansiç mer, svansiç venijōr,
abər des ist imər simliç vel andōn gəblivə. des ist riçtiç hat tso dəy vail di
glanə ftejtō alə apfterbə. fenjə blarpt simliç, ju now, gradə nōx so gros vi si
vōrōn. di hōn imər ə gəfōl, ə kirič, ə padər und ist diç gənoŋ an heis, un gudə
veç nōx heis und es is biliçər su lebə in fenjə als vi sis in heis, di gros fstat is.
di hōn aləs dōrt vas si hōn velə abər es, vi mir sayç, biliçər tso lebə der. un
fōnjə blats fir kindər ɔxbrīŋə. des ɔn fmoğə. di hōn halt mer gəlegenhart als
vi si in der gros fstat hedə. is mer tso daŋ.

¹ The informants tended to link a lot of sentences with conjunctions. The placement of punctuation is arbitrary and is intended to separate sentences to make the English translations readable.

'My grandfather came from Russia. They came to Hays on the Union Pacific Railroad and they first moved to Rush County and began a little town with the name Liebenthal. They were not in agreement because there were some people who wanted to call the city St. Joseph and the others wanted Liebenthal. And the others wanted to call the church St. Anthony. And they were not in agreement and my grandfather and his family and six or seven other families went north four miles on the Schmuggy, in English they say Smoky Hill, we call it Schmuggy, and they began a town there. And right away there was a little disagreement there while the others wanted to call it St. Anthony, the city. And finally they were in agreement and they called the city Schoenchen like in Russia and the church St. Anthony, like the church in Russia was. And, well, I think for the last hundred years there were always about two hundred people in Schoenchen. That didn't change much, twenty more, twenty less, it has pretty much stayed the same. That is important today because the little towns are all dying out. Shoenchen has remained, you know, pretty much the same as it was. They have (always had) a school, a church, a priest. And it is close to Hays, but (yet) a little removed from Hays and it is cheaper to live in Schoenchen than in Hays, which is a big town. They have everything they need there, but it is, as we say, cheaper to live there. A nice place to bring up kids. It's on the Schmuggy. They have more opportunity than they would have in a big city. There is more to do.'

a2

draus in di kondri hon tsvar lait gævont, man on frau, on der man var so unbendzliç tart mit sai gelt. on jedæs mal ven di fru æ bisjæ gelt hon vøltæ, na sat er, na, na, des gelt vil iç uxheþæ ven iç fterp, des vil iç alæs æn hailigæ pedærsarsenliç geþæ, arsenliç. on es sam al simliç fil jæræn færbærgangæ on des glænæ varp di vil vidær æ bisjæ difdux hun abær æ færræguljæ, færrægulæ fæf r klf. na, sat den, na, na, na, des kæzæ gelt vel mir uxheþæ, varil ven iç fterp, des vil iç æn hailigæ pedærsarsenliç geþæ. na, dær hæt sat so ækftanæ simliç fil jæræn on ist der man kfærþæ. so seks, siþæ monat næx das er dot var, na, di denkt di get da um æ nuk on æbærftæ bodæn, vo er imær gæarbait hæt on sit da vas der imær da ovær gædæð hæt. on hæt di dæ flizæl net on endliç hæt si di dir gæbræxæ, on is nat. on grozæs sek der gehungæ aus betdiçær. var riçtiç grosæ hæt di gædenkt... on is si hingærjæ on grabft den æn betdux und praist ux. on hailigæ sleps, da kum des ganzæ kæzæ gelt raus on felt on hæt di ni dif in gelt kfætanæ. on hædæ si næx gægukt an himæl on sat sæ na, dærk den almæçtigær gæt, der ist jæ der andæræ veç gærjæ.

'Out in the county lived two people, man and wife. And the man was extremely tight with his money. And each time when the wife wanted a little money, the man said, "No, no, I will take the money up with me when I die, I will give it all personally to St. Peter, personally!" And a few years went by and the wife wanted again a little tablecloth or a curtain for her kitchen. "No," he said, "No, no, no! We will take up our cache of money, because when I die, I will give it personally to St. Peter." And it stayed that way for a number of years and the man died. So,

six or seven months after he died, well, she thought she would go take a peek on the top floor where he always worked and see what he always did up there. And she didn't have the key and finally she knocked down the door. A large sack hung there made out of bedsheets. It was really big, she thought. And she went in and grabbed the bedsheet and ripped it, and holy smoke, the whole cache of money came out and fell (down) and she stood knee deep in money. And she looked up to heaven and said, "Thank almighty God, he went the other way!"

■3

der varon di di hun hodə glū haus in di stat un hun ax oxs lant gəvont. fon onkfanə di hun al tsimliç farf haisər gəbaut aus stā aβər hōlts. di hun net lang in dugouts gəvont. aβər gəman dran hodə as ə glū pər stibiç haisər in dərɸ un hodə grezə haus oxs lant... un sam di samstays əvənds nɔx dərɸ kəmə un sam haitə gaŋə aləs un sundays in di kerç un səndays əvənds un montays morns sam si viðər tsurik oxs lant. vel dan əs sam al di aldə lant in dərɸ gəbliβə.

There were those who had a small house in the city and also lived in the country. From the beginning they all built rather quickly houses out of stone or wood. They did not live in dugouts for long. But in general they had a couple of small strong houses in the town and had a large house in the country... and they came Saturday evenings to town and they all went to confession, and on Sunday mornings to church and Sunday evenings. And on Monday mornings they were back in the country. And all the old people stayed in the town.'

24

onsar latt ... di hun an völga gævont. di hun imər des sant aus den völga
gənmə on hun siment gərant. vi di eldər darıfə kəmə den, on hət main fadər,
vo iç jetst nax von, hət den aiskelər gəbaut. on des var on berıç on der varən
blos əbaut tsvar fos grunt on des andərə wəs aləs sant. on hun di den ganzə
sant dərəus kfəft on neβən aus ə gros ləx ausgəhəlıçt. al di sam non kfərən an
fmuçə on hun den sænd aus den fmuçə gəhəlt fər den siment dərın. des ən
padər lenkst kəmə, vo fən dantfand var, on var ə halt gut gəlert, hatə, der var
rılıç, vasə si səçə ded in dantf, arkitekt, endzənır. on er kəmt nidərgələvə, on
gəräd vi main dad on dik ksət hun ən den aiskelər, on satə der, na nık... nık
vas dut? o, mir runə daū siment əfər mir sam aus sænd gərund di sam an
fmuçə fir sant hələ... on sat der, nık, vas vılst du den sant juzə aus fmuçə?
du hət fil besərəs sant daū. a, gen mir los! na, na, sat der padər. du hət
gudəs sant daū, du just den sant daū. des is besər als vi vas du da hət, des
feil darın on matf, des daū guts sant. fən dər da aus hun mir ənkfaņə den
sant fən di drukən ert gəjust, drugənə lant, drugənəs sant gəjust fər siment
runə. befər hun si imər aus den fmuçə on des var unbendlıç hartə arbat fər
den aus den vasər fefə.

'Our people, they lived on the Volga. They always took sand out of the Volga and
extracted their cement. And when the elders came over, my father, where I live
now, built an ice cellar. The was a hill and the dirt was just about two feet deep
and then the rest was sand. And they removed all the sand to the side and dug out
a big hole. Then they went to the Schmuggy (Smoky Hill River) and took sand

out of the Schmuggy for the cement in it. A priest came along later, who was from Germany. He was well educated. He was, as we would say in German, an architect, an engineer. And he came down just as my dad and Dick sat on the ice cellar. And he said, "Nick, Nick, what are you doing?" "Oh, we're extracting cement but we ran out of sand. They've gone down to the Schmuggy to get sand." And he said, "Nick, what do you want to do with sand from the Schmuggy? You have better sand right here." "Oh, go on!" "No, no", said the priest, you have good sand right here. Use the sand right here. It is better than what you have there (in the Schmuggy). It has shale in it and sludge. This is good sand." From then on we began to use the sand from the dry earth, dry land, to use dry sand to extract cement. Before they always (got) it from the Schmuggy and that was extremely hard work to remove sand from the water.'

a5

des var maí grosmóðir í föður. un der kanta, a, der var gælt í di ful in
sradaf in di semæri. un der var en vörfræðir, en obærçtar, un en grozær
obærçtar. der hót ax, a, vats, a, vi vil iç dan sayæ, somævats. der var in di, in
der biznæs der hót somævats færlent tsu di farmær in bøjæl, un van di a ernda
hót dan hót der tsvar bøjæl tsurik grit. hunsæ kã ernda, hãdã halt der gar niks
grit. un di say en gud framt hu main dæd angænoma hót jaræn tsurik, sam
noma var fmit. der hót mir fætselt das der hót ambar ful mit, ambar fól
somævats vi di hóljævik íþærgænoma hun. un es sam di naus koma, un den sam
ganza somævats gænoma un des letst vi mir gæhert fæn der is der færhøjært.

'That was my grandmother's father. And he could, he was educated in the school in Saratov, in the seminary. And he was a notary, a judge, a great judge. He also had wheat, oh, how will I say it, seed wheat. He was in the business that he lent seed wheat to the farmers in bushels and if they had a harvest, he got two bushels. If they had no harvest, he got nothing at all. And a good friend my dad had years ago says this. He told me that he had a barn full of seed wheat which the Bolsheviks overran. And they came up and took all the seed wheat and the last we heard about him, he starved to death.'

26

íç hun vörjainliç gröt ð bısç mer ingliř gøtalkt vi di mærfi kınær hun varl mar elsta gøbrıðær sam in di høxfula garj. un ven di křprøxø hun, hun íç ausvæsiç. di hun miç høvert lernæd ingliř, ju now, vas main nòm is, un main küt, un main juw, un høhev diç un so vaidær.

'I probably spoke a little more English than most children because my oldest siblings went to high school. And when they spoke, I memorized it. They made sure I learned English, you know, what my "name" is, and my "coat", and my "shoe", and "behave yourself" and so on.'

d1

wel, mist íç jetst ð bısç dænka, es var mæ døxtær høxtsart un des var tsart fër ham tsø farøn un kundø mir den aldø fæðær net fındø. so íðæral gægøkt un amøl sat dær di jøn fru, di sat dær, gøk møl in den nøfnik, íç dænka dær is in den

nufnik. un is main brudor hingalofa un ers hot naigagukt un da hot der alda da daruf setsi of den nufnik of den ama lax un hot der kop nidor in den andara lax hot er der kop nidor gahoga. un des sayo, fador, kom des tsait, vas jetst dan hir dau mit den kop dau in den andara lax darin hega? ax, er sat, da komt so jenos kilas lift hir darauf, des bin ic ainkfloba.

'Well, I would have to think a little. It was my daughter's wedding and it was time to go home and we couldn't find the old father. (We) looked everywhere and then the young wife said, she said, "Look in the outhouse. I think he is in the outhouse." And my brother went over and looked inside and saw the old (man) sitting in the outhouse on one hole and he had his head down in the other hole, he had his head hung down there. And he said, "Father, it's time, what are you doing down here with your head hanging down in the other hole?" "Ah," he said, "such nice cool air is coming out of here, that I fell asleep."

d2

in naintsenonondraisic hon mir a nara pristar gagraet, var an padar ridal. der var dattj afor der kont net dattj spreya afor hots galem. un am sonday na hot der gabredict un hot er a halp stund in englij gabredict dan hot der a halp stund andara in dattj gabredict so das di aldara lat farstet konte.

'In 1931 we got a new priest, he was Father Riedel. He was German, but he could not speak German. But he learned. And on Sunday he preached and he preached

a half hour in English and then he preached another half hour in German so that the older people could understand.'

ᄃ

der hət tsaŋve un der sat, es hət miç tsen dälər fər den tsaŋn aus tsu tsion fən den daktər. un der sat, na du dumər esəl, varft du nɔx paifər kəmə, dan het si den draus kflayə fir niks.

'He had a toothache and he said, "It cost me ten dollars for the doctor to pull the tooth." And he said, "Well, you dumb ass, if you had gone to Pfeiffer, then they would have knocked it out for nothing."

ii

well, ðers ə ʃen glanə sauβərəs derfjə. da varən imər ʃrekbar gut aldə lait dərta, di aldə dantʃə lait, varən kə besərə lait gəmaxt, vi in ʃenə varən. aβər jetst is es nit mer vo es var. des sam al alərhan, is aləs do. des is aləs fertiç. iç kans net glaβə, bət it is so. var nɔx ə fertəl derfən, sam dartsch. drai fertəl kan kə dartsch vort blaudərə. di aldə, di sam al nɔxs dorif gəmuvt, nɔx heis...

'Well, there is a nice, small, clean little town. There have always been extremely good old people there, the old German people. There were no better people made than those who were in Schoenchen. But now it's not like it was. They are quite a bit, everything is gone. Everything is finished. I can't believe it, but it is so.

There were only a quarter of them who are German. Three-fourths cannot speak a German word. The old ones, they moved to the city, to Hays.'

12

Íç hun ftá helfa breçá. ðer varón ði ðobóljuw bi ej kerál. ði hun uns vi mír kúdsjá varón, ði hun uns bórón lasá... un hun uns leçær narbórá lasá in ðen ftá nox un hun mír ði glaná vedjá gáncmá nar un na mustá mír imær tsu glóbá glóbá glóbá hís si molón ser ftíbiç gáblatst.

' I helped break stone. There were the men from the WBA [WPA]. When we were kids they let us bore. And they let us bore holes down into the stone. And we took small wedges and we always had to klopp, klopp, klopp until the blocks broke off clean.'

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