# THE CATHOLIC BOHEMIAN GERMAN DIALECT

# OF ELLIS, KANSAS

by

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## ABSTRACT

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Beginning in the 1880s, many German speaking immigrants left the Austrian settlements in Bukovina for the United States. The Bukovina immigrants to the Ellis area in west central Kansas formed two distinct groups in Ellis. The Lutheran "Swabian" Germans, who speak a Palatine type of dialect, came from southwest Germany. The Catholic Bohemian Germans, which represent the focus of my rescarch, found their way to America and Kansas via Bukovina from the Bohemian Forest, today situated in the Czech Republic.

The Catholic Bohemian Germans retained the native dialect for the first two generations following their arrival in Kansas. The pressure of assimilation into the American mainstream society and the subsequent decline of the German dialect grew with increasing anti-German animosity between the two World Wars.

This dissertation provides a written documentation of what is left of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis, Kansas, which, like other remaining German dialects in Kansas, faces its linguistic demise. The linguistic data for this study were gathered by tape recorded interviews with eleven informants. The main source for the recorded interview sessions were a series of forty *Wenker sentences* and a number of isolated vocabulary items used for the compilation of the *Deutscher Wortatlas* (the German word atlas). Recordings of free conversations and picture descriptions of rural scenes in the dialect also provided data for this project. In addition, anecdotes and jokes were obtained from some informants. The interview materials were presented in English with the informants answering in the native dialect.

The language of the Catholic Bohemian Germans has dialect features which are mainly associated with Central Bavarian, but it also shows characteristics of the Central-North Bavarian dialect transition zone.

In addition to the historical background of the Bukovina Germans, the phonology, morphology, and syntactic structure of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect are described in detail. Other linguistic issues dealt with are lexical forms, borrowing, the linguistic history and dialect geographical origin. Finally, implications on language death and the revival of heritage awareness of Bukovina Germans are discussed.

# Dedication

First and foremost this dissertation is dedicated to those speakers of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis, Kansas, who participated in this dialect study and patiently endured the recording of the dialect interviews. Thanks to them, their dialect could be recorded and documented for generations to come. Descendants of the Catholic Bohemian German settlers who came to Ellis will be able to listen to recorded cassette tapes of this unique dialect of their ancestors. These are not only archived for them, but they are also preserved as a part of the rich German-American heritage.

Diese Dissertation ist ebenfalls meinen verstorbenen Eltern Matthias und Maria Lunte gewidmet, die mir die Schönheit und den Reichtum ihres Dialekts, des Plattdeutschen, vermittelt haben.

Außerdem möchte ich diese Dissertation meinem verstorbenen Bruder Clemens widmen, der in mir das Interesse an Fremdsprachen erweckt hat.

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I am very grateful to my friend Tawney Becker for lending me her talent in drawing two pictures for my dialect interviews.

A very special thanks goes out to my friend and colleague Dr. Chris Johnson for repeatedly giving me valuable advice on numerous issues.

I would like to thank Dr. Kurt Rein of the University of Munich for making me aware of this opportunity to study this German dialect in Ellis, Kansas.

I would also give thanks to my advisor Dr. 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 mentoring me in this dissertation.

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### Foreword

People may change their residence from their land of origin to seek a home elsewhere. Rather than succumb to insurmountable difficulties such as economic hardship, political insecurity or religious persecution people may leave their homeland for new territory. In addition, scarcity of land caused by overpopulation and the customary rule of primogeniture may force family descendants to emigrate. In a new location these immigrants often settle together and form communities closely connected through language and customs. They create linguistic enclaves being removed from the cohesive speech habits in their original homeland.

Being isolated from the land of origin and no longer influenced by linguistic processes in its language, the language of the linguistic island may retain dialect features obsolete in the speech of the speakers in the homeland. Various groups of speakers originating in different dialect regions of the homeland many times settle together in a linguistic island, hence often leading to a mixing in the speech of the settlers. Their speech may be subject to interference by the dominant language in the newly settled location. By assimilating into the socio-economic and cultural system of the dominant speech community, people making up the speech island may not be able to resist the intrusion of the language of the surrounding speech community. They may lose their language loyalty and give way to the pressure of assimilation. Thus they do not retain the native dialect which faces its rapid demise and consequently suffers language death.

Linguistic research on language contact, language maintenance, and language death has received increasing interest in recent years as immigrant languages and dialects are in their last stages of decline. In the case of German dialects during the period between the First and Second World Wars research of German settlements and German dialects in Kansas came to a stop due to extreme anti-German sentiments. J. Neale Carman's *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, partially published in 1962, built the groundwork for the current projects of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies under the supervision of Dr. William Keel to document, analyze, and preserve the remaining German dialects in Kansas.

Isolated from the linguistic developments in Germany, the Catholic Bohemian German settlers from German-speaking areas of Bohemia immigrated to Bukovina, then an Austrian province, at the end of the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century. These settlers were mainly working in glass and timber industries. After only a few decades and enduring severe economic hardship they chose to emigrate to the Americas beginning in the 1880s. Destinations included the United States, Canada, and Brazil. In time the descendants of these immigrants to the New World assimilated into the mainstream culture of each of these countries, gradually giving way to the dominant English-speaking or Portuguese-speaking culture respectively.

This dissertation provides a written documentation of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect spoken in Ellis, Kansas, before it is dies out. Based on interviews with dialect speakers, a local grammar is established for the dialect. Thus it can be preserved as a part of the rich German-American heritage, as well as an important aspect of the Catholic Bohemian German culture in Kansas for future generations.

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## Chapter 1

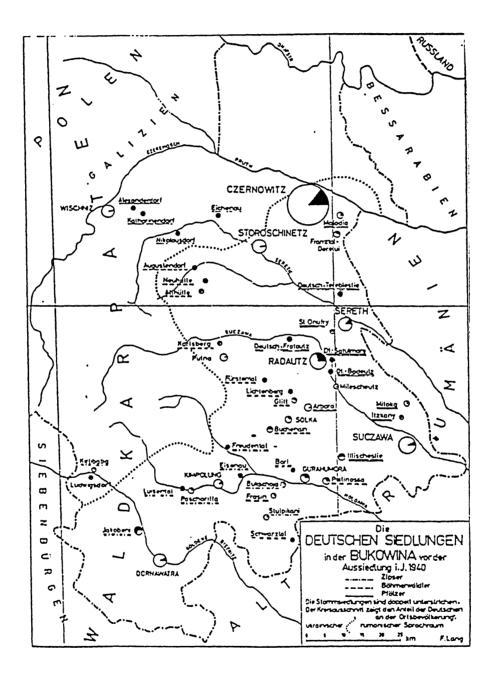
The Bukovina German Dialects of Ellis, Kansas: An Overview

Beginning in the 1880s a number of German-speaking immigrants from the Austrian settlements in Bukovina, on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian mountains, began settling in west central Kansas. There they found a refuge from the population growth and resulting economic hardships facing them in Bukovina. They settled in the counties of Ellis, Trego, and Rooks, with the town of Ellis as the center. The immigrants to west central Kansas have traditionally called themselves "Swabian" or Bohemian Germans, although they were commonly referred to as Austrians. They came from Bukovina, but did not originate there. The Lutheran "Swabians" came from southwest Germany, whereas the Catholic Bohemian Germans came from western Bohemia. The Lutheran "Swabians" settled north of the city of Ellis, whereas the Catholic Bohemian Germans built their homesteads south of Ellis.

Linguistically we have to differentiate two groups of Bukovina Germans: the Lutheran "Swabians," who speak a Palatine type of dialect from southwest Germany, and the Catholic Bohemian Germans, whose dialect derives from the area of the Bohemian Forest in the western part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. This dialect mainly shows features of Central Bavarian with some North Bavarian characteristics.

Although numerous works deal with the political and ethnic history of both peoples there has never been any research on the Catholic Bohemian German dialect in Ellis County, Kansas. Prior linguistic research in general, involving the Lutheran "Swabians," as well as the Catholic Bohemian Germans appears limited to a 1933 study by Franz Lang, a linguist who studied Bukovina dialects, in his article "Bukowina: IV. Werden und Wesen des deutschen Volkstums." This article published by O. Petersen et al. in the *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums* discusses both dialects generally, as well as the Zipser German dialect, whereby the distinctive linguistic elements of all three dialects are based to a large degree on his own findings.

Map 1 German settlements in Bukovina prior to 1940. Reprinted from Franz Lang (1963-64, 49).



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In 1876, the German dialectologist Georg Wenker developed forty test sentences that remain a valuable research tool for German dialect research. These sentences consist of words that have the most useful phonological and morphological features for the differentiation of German dialects. They were a part of an interview questionnnaire that was sent to schoolteachers throughout Germany, asking them to render the written sentences into the dialect spoken in the area where they taught. Wenker used the information as the basis for his "Deutscher Sprachatlas," which is a collection of data on the German dialects at the University of Marburg, Germany. The *Deutscher Sprachatlas (DSA)* served as a basis for a series of published and unpublished dialect area maps of German dialect usage.

Wenker's test sentences were used as a part of Bronislaus Irion's interview technique for his dialect research on the "Swabian" colonies in Bukovina. Irion's dissertation, prompted by Franz Lang and written in 1938, is entitled "Die Mundart der deutschen Sprachinsel Illischestie und Umgebung: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der westmitteldeutschen Mundarten in der Bukowina." It provides a linguistic description of the dialect, as spoken in Illischestie and in its surrounding area. A related article about the dialect in the "Swabian" colonies in Bukovina concentrates only on the phonological description of the eight different "Swabian" colonies there. Published by Irion in 1940, it is entitled *Die Mundart der sogenannten Schwabensiedlungen in der Bukowina. Erster Teil: Lautlehre*, and includes all of the forty Wenker sentences and their renditions.

Rudolf Schwartz's dialect research concentrated on Illischestie, the same "Swabian" colony studied by Irion, and resulted in a book in 1939 under the title *Die pfälzische Mundart der Deutschen in Illischestie: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Sprachinsel-*

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*forschung.* He analyzes the phonology of this Palatine dialect in its historical development from Middle High German (MHG) and its morphology as well.

However, there is apparently no linguistic work dealing with the analysis of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect in the various colonies in Bukovina. As stated above, since the Catholic Bohemian German dialect shows mainly Central Bavarian features, it deems necessary to mention the important contribution to the study of Bavarian dialects by the Bavarian Andreas Schmeller. His work *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, published in 1827, is viewed as the first scientific lexicographic work on German dialects and serves as an important reference in this dissertation. <sup>1</sup>

Some one hundred years later, the affiliation of the Catholic Bohemian German dialects with Bavarian dialects was noted by Rudolf Kubitschek in his book on *Die Mundarten des Böhmerwaldes* (1927). This author was the first one to establish that the dialects of the Bohemian Forest are Bavarian dialects. He states: "Die Mundarten des Böhmerwaldes, ..., gehören dem bairischen Dialekte an" (Kubitschek, 1927, 5). He gives a very detailed phonological description of these dialects. Kubitschek's work appears to be the only publication that provides reference to the linguistic settlement history of the Catholic Bohemian Germans.<sup>2</sup> The significance of this work can be seen by the fact that Franz Lang draws from Kubitschek's research on the Catholic German dialect in his article mentioned above. The resettlement of all Bukovina Germans to Nazi Germany in 1940 during the Second World War brought not only an end to the Lutheran "Swabian" speech islands, but to the Catholic Bohemian German

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Bach (1969, 16-18) for a detailed analysis of Schmeller's contribution to German dialect research.
<sup>2</sup> Kubitschek (1927) studies the individual dialects of that region of the Bohemian Forest from a linguistic perspective and differentiates three major geo-political dialect areas, the lower, central, and upper Bohemian Forest. The author bases his dialect distinctions by comparing the different vowels to Middle High German vowels, and the consonants to those of Germanic. He also enumerates frequently used words that differ in various parts of the Bohemian Forest. He adds a detailed map showing the various lines and isoglosses that divide each area from the other. The border area between the upper and the central Bohemian Forest also separates northern Bavarian from central Bavarian. This area is most likely the region from which the Catholic German Bohemians originated.

speech islands as well (see Map 1). Nowadays the descendants are spread throughout Germany and Austria, with only a few architectural markers remaining of their nearly 160 years in Bukovina.

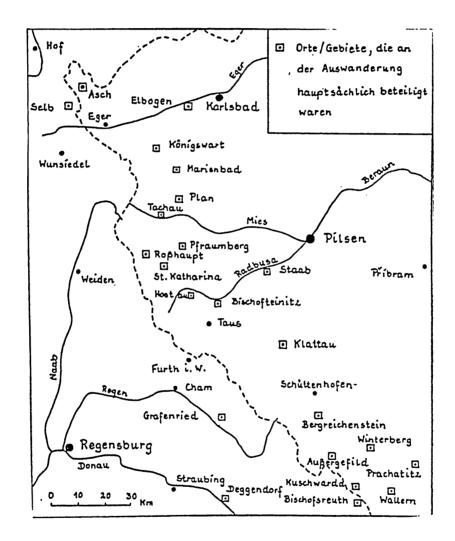
After World War II there have only been a handful of articles written on the Bukovina Germans in Germany or in Bukovina after the resettlement. Most of the publications about the Bukovina Germans deal to a large degree with their culture and history. <sup>3</sup> In the 1980s three works were published focussing on different aspects of the Bukovina Germans.

In 1984, Manfred Klaube contributed to the historical appraisal of the Catholic Bohemian Germans in his book on *Deutschböhmische Siedlungen im Karpartenraum*. He painstakingly treats the socioeconomic development of the new settlements in Bukovina and in other locations in the Carpathian region from the beginning to the present. He cites reasons for emigration from the Bohemian Forest to Bukovina and attempts to provide a detailed map of the main locations in western Bohemia and eastern Bavaria where the Catholic Bohemian Germans originated (see Map 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In 1949, the Bukovina Germans who were resettled in Germany founded a society in Munich, Germany, called *Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen e.V.*, to preserve their interests and their genealogy. Furthermore, the *Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft e.V.*, based in Stuttgart, Germany, and the *Bukowina Institut* in Augsburg, Germany, publish documentaries, as well as historical, cultural, and literary articles on Bukovina Germans in Germany and abroad.

Map 2 Main locations in western Bohemia and eastern Bavaria where Catholic Bohemian Germans originated.

Reprinted from Klaube (1984, 8).



Irma Bornemann in her work *Die Buchenlanddeutschen*, which appeared in 1986, gives a concise overview on topics concerning German settlements in Bukovina after 1775 and their development. This ranges from the geographical location of Bukovina, national politics and education, literary figures and fine arts, to the resettlement of Bukovina Germans during World War II to Nazi Germany, and their founding of heritage societies in Germany after 1945.

In 1989, Siegfried Mirwald published a book entitled *Das Brauchtum von bayrischen, deutsch-böhmischen Buchenländern*. Inspired by his family's genealogy he gives a very detailed cultural account of customs observed by Catholic Bohemian Germans throughout the decades and centuries after their migration from Bavaria and the Bohemian Forest, via Bukovina and back to Bavaria where most of them resettled during the 1940s.

The best known linguistic work is probably the article, "Fratautzerisches," written in 1957 by Kurt Rein and published in *Fratautz und die Fratautzer: Vom Werden und Vergehen einer deutschen Dorfgemeinschaft in der Bukowina* by Kurt Rein, Erwin Massier, and Johann Bessai. Besides focusing on sociocultural aspects, Rein's article provides a concise summary of the main linguistic features of his own Lutheran "Swabian" dialect. He uses the forty Wenker sentences as a linguistic tool and locates his dialect geographically among the German dialects in Central Europe.

Thirty years after the publication of his concise summary on both Bukovina German dialects, the Lutheran "Swabian" dialect inspired Franz Lang again to write a more detailed description of the Lutheran "Swabian" dialect. In his 1963 article, "Mundart und Herkunft der 1787 in der Bukowina angesiedelten sogenannten Schwaben," he attempts to determine the area of origin of the settlers from the dialect spoken in their eight colonies. He also uses the forty sentences proposed by Wenker as the basis for his conclusions.

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Two decades later, an article by Sophie A. Welisch finally drew attention to the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. It is entitled "Das deutschböhmische Dorf Karlsberg," and was published in a book by Rudolf Wagner *Bori, Karlsberg und andere deutschböhmische Siedlungen in der Bukowina* (1982). Even though Welisch mainly explores the historical and cultural background of the people of Karlsberg, the author also includes a section comparing the Karlsberg dialect with the one spoken in their area of origin in the Bohemian Forest. She uses a selection of lexical items from the *Deutscher Wortatlas* collected by W. Mitzka and L. E. Schmitt. <sup>4</sup>

The dialect from another Catholic Bohemian German settlement, Augustendorf, in northern Bukovina became the subject of a book by Siegfried Mirwald in 1988 entitled *Die Sprache von bayrischen, deutsch-böhmischen Buchenländern*. Mirwald gives an excellent insight into a Catholic Bohemian German dialect, that was spoken by his parents. His book concentrates on sayings and proverbs that refer to customs typical for these people, and it includes an extensive glossary of words. <sup>5</sup>

The Bukovina Germans who emigrated to the United States about one hundred years after settling in Bukovina did not immediately catch attention of scholars in Kansas. In fact, they are the least investigated group of immigrants from the German settlements in eastern Europe to the United States according to Kurt Rein. <sup>6</sup> Although the first immigration period of Bukovina Germans to west central Kansas had already

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Welisch bases her conclusion on the Karlsberg dialect on Kubitschek's phonological distinctions for the lower, central, and upper Bohemian Forest (1927). See footnote 2. Welisch also includes an article on the German Bohemian pioneers in American cities, which appears to be the first monograph studying the Bukovina Germans in the United States. See Welisch (1982). The *Deutscher Wortatlas* was created in addition to Wenker's sentences to conduct word geography studies in German dialects.
<sup>5</sup> Mirwald's work on the language of the Catholic Bohemian German settlement in Bukovina, Augustendorf, is followed by a book on customs in Augustendorf published in 1989, under the title *Das Brauchtum von bayrischen, deutsch-böhmischen Buchenländern*. His third book *Die Geschichte von bayrischen, deutsch-böhmischen Buchenländern*, 1992, chronicles the Catholic Bohemian Germans from Bukovina and also illustrates bibliographies of different individuals from Augustendorf.
<sup>6</sup> See the unpublished paper by Kurt Rein, entitled "A Project (of the Bukovina Institute, Augsburg, Germany) on the German Emigration from Bukovina to America," presented at the SGAS Symposium 1991 in Washington D.C.

begun, William H. Carruth in his article on foreign immigrants to Kansas in 1893 entitled "Foreign Settlements in Kansas" does not mention the Bukovina German communities. He only talks about Russian-German "Mennonites" located in Ellis County, Kansas, and other counties in the state. In his revised summary of foreign settlements in Kansas, published under the same title as his earlier essay in 1895, there is also no reference to the Bukovina Germans in the counties of Ellis, Trego, and Rooks. Carruth only mentions small settlements of Germans in Trego and Rooks Counties, Kansas, with church services conducted in German only in the latter.

Prior to World War I only one work was written that confirms the existence of the Bukovina German dialects in that part of Kansas. This study, written by Jacob C. Ruppenthal and entitled "The German Element in Central Kansas," was published in 1913-14. Even though his article focusses on the Russian German settlements in central Kansas, he still gives detailed information on other German settlements and also includes German language newspapers. He notes: "Germans from Austria are not very numerous." He mentions Bukovina as the place of emigration and also lists the names of the villages most settlers came from (Ruppenthal 1913-14, 529).

During the period between World Wars I and II all attention to settlements and German dialects in Kansas came to a stop. Furthermore, because of the extreme anti-German sentiments and even persecution of people of German descent, parents stopped conveying their dialect to the younger generation. Consequently an active command of the dialect declined heavily among their children and their language loyalty began to vanish. It was not until 1961 that the first account of the decline of the use of the German language in Kansas was given by J. Neale Carman in his article on "Germans in Kansas." Carman describes the location of the main German settlements in Kansas noting a correlation between their faith and their use of German dialects. With reference to the Roman Catholic Volgans and the Mennonites he states that these groups have remained faithful to the use of German dialects, whereas the internal religious disunity caused the Protestant Volgans to linguistically assimilate into the dominant English-speaking culture, "and while there are among them some ferocious advocates of the German language, very few of these are young" (Carman 1961,7). Carman had already detected the decline of the German language in and around the city of Ellis, Kansas, when he took field notes on a trip to that area in summer of 1953. He quotes one interviewce who says that none of his grandchildren speak well. He cites someone else who claimed that "none of the grandchildren can speak. They understand, but don't answer." <sup>7</sup> In 1962, Carman published the first volume of a three-volume study on the Foreign Language Units of Kansas in which he documents the extent of use and decline of all foreign languages in the various counties of the state.<sup>8</sup> He assigns a "critical year" to an approximate point in time in which parents ceased to use their native language "habitually in the majority of homes where there were growing children" (Carman 1962, 2). Carman highlights the impending death of the non-English speech islands in Kansas and identifies areas of great potential for foreign language research. From other field notes that Carman took on another field trip to the Ellis area in the summer of 1964, one gathers that the use of the German language had obviously diminished. He quotes someone who said that at Ellis more and more people did not use German in the home anymore, [but ] "some classmates have a brogue which shows they come from a German speaking family", while another person added "those in their 20's speak a little [German], [but] know the words they shouldn't." <sup>9</sup> Although Carman's work has led linguists to study Volga German dialects in Kansas, there has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Carman's field notes on the Ellis Bukovinian Germans of Ellis, Kansas, in the J. Neale Carman papers at the University of Kansas Archives, Helen F. Spencer Research Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Carman's three-volume study on the Foreign Language Units of Kansas , Kansas Collection, Helen F. Spencer Research Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Carman's field notes on the Ellis Bukovinian Germans.

been no linguistically significant study of either of the two Bukovina German dialects in Ellis County, Kansas, prior to this dissertation. <sup>10</sup>

However, an important account of cultural renewal of the Bukovina Germans in Kansas was published by Irmgard Hein Ellingson. In her role as a Lutheran pastor's wife, Hein Ellingson developed an interest in the ethnic and cultural background of the Lutheran "Swabian" parishioners from Bukovina in Ellis County, Kansas. It inspired Hein Ellingson to write a book on *The Bukovina Germans in Kansas: A 200 Year History of the Lutheran Swabians*, published in 1987. In her book she chronicles two hundred years of history of the Lutheran "Swabians" from Bukovina to Kansas, based largely on the compilation of her own data and interviews. Furthermore, she investigates the development of the Lutheran churches in the Ellis County area and describes the events of the twentieth century, such as the two world wars, the Bukovina region and Bukovina-Germans had to face.

The renewed interest in their history led some Bukovina Germans to form the *Bukovina Society of the Americas* in Ellis, Kansas, in 1988, "to promote recognition of the Bukovina German people and encourage historical research of their heritage." <sup>11</sup> One of their former presidents and himself of Catholic Bohemian German descent on his mother's side, Oren Windholz, published in 1991 a chronology of his mother's family entitled *The Erberts*. In his detailed work, Windholz traces his maternal ancestors' journey from Bukovina to Kansas and conveys a specific and easy to follow family history illustrated by many pictures. <sup>12</sup> In another book that followed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Since the early 1980s William Keel at the University of Kansas has been systematically gathering linguistic data on the Volga German dialects in Kansas and has written extensively about them. See Keel, (1981, 1982, 1988, 1989). Chris Johnson wrote a dissertation in 1994 on the Volga German dialect of Schoenchen, Kansas, in which he provides an "Ortsgrammatik" and determines a possible German homeland. See Johnson (1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See official brochure of the Bukovina Society of the Americas, Ellis, Kansas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Windholz's work is the counterpart to Hein-Ellingson's historic overview on the Lutheran Swabians. See Hein Ellingson (1987).

soon after in 1993 called *Bohemian Germans in Kansas: A Catholic Community From Bukovina*, Windholz provides an all encompassing historical overview on the Catholic Bohemian Germans, underscoring it with many helpful pictures and illustrations of documents. He speaks about the homeland of the Catholic Bohemian Germans, the region they originated from in the Bohemian Forest, but mainly dwells on their life in Kansas, their culture, tradition and customs, basing his account largely on interviews with people from the community.

In 1990, the *Bukovina Society of the Americas* had already published a book by Sophie A. Welisch called *Bukovina Villages/Towns/Cities and their Germans*. Welisch gives a concise history of the settlements of Bukovina's Germans and even adds a list of names of pioneering families to the various villages. <sup>13</sup>

Another very valuable and helpful book about the history and genealogy of the Catholic Bohemian Germans in Kansas is *Pioneer Profiles. A Profile of the Catholic Bukowina "Austrians" who settled in Ellis, Ransom and WaKeeney Kansas*, published by Edward Lang, no date. The author profiles the family names of those Catholic Bohemian Germans, who migrated from Bukovina to Kansas, in genealogical succession in order to trace their family origins.

The Bukovina Germans in Colorado also received some attention in the 1987 article by Paul Polansky-Schneller. His essay "Zur Geschichte der Einwanderung von Bukowinadeutschen in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika," examines how a group of settlers from different villages in Bukovina found their way to America with their descendants still remaining a tight-knit group in Yuma, Colorado.

In 1996 William Keel and Kurt Rein edited a book called *German Emigration* from Bukovina to the Americas. This is the most recent and comprehensive work on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Welisch (1990, 9), like Klaube (1984, 8) shows a map of the origin of Bukovina's Bohemian Germans.

German emigration from Bukovina to the Americas. Apart from contributions of various scholars and authors on the immigration and settlement in certain regions of the New World, on traditions and customs of Bukovina Germans, and on Bukovinian genealogical research, maps and copies of personal documents illustrate the experience of immigration. In addition samples of the Lutheran "Swabian" German dialect and the Catholic Bohemian German dialect spoken by the German immigrants from Bukovina are also included.

# Chapter 2

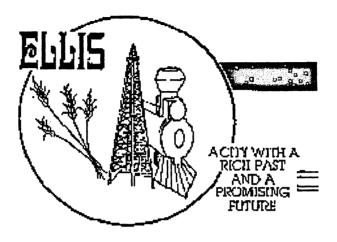
A Brief Historical Account of the Bukovina Germans in Ellis, Kansas, from the Beginnings to the Present

Ellis, Kansas, is located on I-70 near the western boundary of Ellis County and twelve miles west of the county seat of Hays (see Map 1). With the Cedar Bluff Reservoir nearby and rolling hills north of Ellis in the Saline River valley its location is on flat terrain, which is distinctive for the high plains, about twelve miles north of the Smoky Hill River, which stretches across central Kansas. Big Creek runs through the town of Ellis, eventually feeding into the Smoky Hill River. Ellis is surrounded by farms with agriculture as the source of income, producing wheat, milo, winter barley, and other crops. Cattle ranching and oil drilling also provide additional income for some farmers.

Landmark buildings in Ellis, especially churches, are made from limestone, and the "post rock" fence posts in the area are remnants of the type of rock inherent to the area. <sup>1</sup>

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  A citizen of Ellis relates that, because of the lack of lumber, in earlier times people quarried a lot of limestone for the foundation of their houses or for the storefronts in downtown Ellis, e.g., from around Munjor, Kansas.

The city's logo combines the three symbols for which the town is known; agriculture, oil production, and the railroad.





Logo of the city of Ellis, Kansas. Reprinted from the Ellis city map, city clerk Ellis, Kansas (1996).

The town of Ellis lies on the Union Pacific Railway and it once served as a stop where locomotives were repaired.<sup>2</sup> Because of its lower elevation, Ellis was selected by the railroad in the mid 1860s to serve as a division point between Kansas City and Denver (see Map 2). The railroad needed water for the locomotives, and access to water in Ellis was easy, this was the best location the surveyors could find for the railroad. In the late 1860s and early 1870s, the railroad put wells in and a wooden dam to recruit and lure settlers into coming and building a town in the area surrounding the railroad tracks. <sup>3</sup> The reason for Ellis as a major railroad stop can be seen in a

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Formerly Kansas Pacific Railroad. In the *Emigrants' Guide to the Kansas Pacific Railway Lands* the Land Department of the Kansas Pacific Railway Co. (1871, 21) mentions Ellis as a town that "is the end of the third division of the railroad."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Shortridge (1995), chapter 4, for a comprehensive overview on the expansion of the railroad, as well as the settling of Kansas and the Great Plains by immigrants from Europe and the continental United States.

depiction by John H. Freese in his Souvenir of Hays City and Ellis County, some thirty years later, in 1908, when he writes that "beautifully situated in the valley of Big Creek, which is dammed here, making a lake one hundred yards wide and almost a mile long with fine forest trees covering both banks, Ellis, ... is an ideal residence spot" (Freese 1908, n.p.). In an effort to attract foreign immigrants to settle the land, land agents from the United States distributed flyers overseas promoting the opportunities for those who would come to America. The possibility of employment by the Union Pacific Railroad, as well as word from friends and relatives who had emigrated many years before, contributed heavily to the decision of Bukovina Germans to seek a new life on the Great Plains and in Ellis County. Most people who came initially engaged in farming. Single people, who did not have land, worked for the Union Pacific Railroad to get money to buy crops and/or land via the Homestead Act of 1862. <sup>4</sup> The Homestead Act enabled them to get 160 acres of land for free until shortly after 1900. For most people this was the sole chance to get a headstart in farming, for "complexities of land availability and cost were greatest in the central belt" (Shortridge 1995, 74). The so-called timber claim had to be met by people, in order to keep their homesteads. This meant that they had to plant a certain number of trees on their property. They also had to maintain and harvest many different crops over a period of time to be given the title of the land. Intermarriages between neighbors' children took place to join the acres of land, or inherited grounds were sold off to the oldest brother for purposes of enlarging one's property. The development of wheat as an agricultural commodity helped the railroad to thrive even more. In Ellis wheat and cattle were loaded on trains for shipping to bigger cities in the East.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Homestead Act of 1862 entitled any person who was twenty-one years old, a citizen of the United States or who had filed to become such "to enter one quarter section, or a less quantity, of unappropriated public land" (Land Department, Kansas Pacific Railway Co. 1871, 13).

The immigrants to Ellis, Kansas, originated from Bukovina (see Maps 5-6). Bukovina, which in English means the land of the beech trees, is located on the eastern rim of the Carpathians and owes its name to the extensive forests of beech trees in the hilly country of northeast Bukovina. This region has been a part of several different countries. Today the northern part of Bukovina belongs to the Ukraine, whereas the southern section is a part of Romania. In 1775 Bukovina became an Austrian province and was a sparsely-settled region. The Austrian administration, eager to colonize the region, subsidized the immigration of colonists to Bukovina. In addition to many different ethnic groups, German settlers took part in that immigration and came from three distinct areas in Germany. The Lutheran "Swabians" from southwest Germany, from what is now Baden-Württemberg and Rheinland-Pfalz, the Catholic Bohemian Germans, from the Bohemian Forest, now in the Czech Republic, and the Zipsers, from the Zips mountains, now in Slovakia. The Lutheran "Swabians" immigrated to Bukovina mostly between 1782-87, and the Zipsers between 1784-1809. The Catholic Bohemian Germans colonized that region in two waves, the first time between 1793-1817, working in the glass and timber industry, and then the second time as late as 1835-50 as farmers (Weczerka 1961, 31).<sup>5</sup> Otto Boelitz maintained in 1926 that there were the "Donauschwaben, die ... sich in den achtziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts dort niederließen. Ferner wurden ... zahlreiche Deutschböhmen als Handwerker und Ackerbauer angesiedelt, und auch Zipser Bergleute fanden sich in dem Gebirge der südlichen Bukowina ein" (Boelitz 1926, 87). Norbert Zimmer listed all German settlements in his 1930 dissertation on "die deutschen Siedlungen im Buchenland (Bukowina)." The farming settlements of the Catholic Bohemian Germans were Schwarzthal, Bori, Glitt, Lichtenberg, and Buchenhain (Poiana Micului), while the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Weczerka (1961, 23-43) for an overview on the settlement of Germans in Bukovina.

settlements of the timber workers and glass blowers with a Bohemian German majority were Karlsberg, Althütte, Neuhütte, and Fürstenthal (Zimmer 1930, 9). As a result Bukovina's population grew rapidly in the next few decades. <sup>6</sup> In the 1870s this region had become one of the most densely populated areas in that part of Europe. <sup>7</sup> The opportunities that had first attracted the original German colonists from different areas in Germany had vastly changed. They were faced with similar conditions again that had been the reasons for emigration to Bukovina from their home country. There were a number of economic hardships, such as the closing down of the glass and timber industries. In addition after a few generations there was a scarcity of land again caused by overpopulation and the rule of primogeniture, by which the first-born son inherited the property. <sup>8</sup> This combination of factors forced many Germans in Bukovina to consider emigrating.

Ports of embarkation were, for example, Bremen or Hamburg, Germany. Destinations included the United States, Canada, and Brazil (see Map 7). The first substantial wave of Bukovina German emigration to the American Great Plains (Colorado, Kansas) occurred in the 1880s, followed by a second emigration period some twenty years later in the years preceding World War I. <sup>9</sup> Edward Lang mentions in the foreword to his compilation on names of Bukovina Germans that settled in the Ellis area that approximately 32 families made it to Kansas, with the majority of these migrations occurring between 1892 and 1901 (Lang n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See also Welisch (1986) for details about the Bukovina Germans during the Hapsburg period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> According to Carman's field notes on Ellis Bukovina Germans, "villages furnishing population to Kansas were founded as late as 1841" (Carman, 1962, 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For a comprehensive account of reasons for emigration to Bukovina by Bohemian Germans see Klaube, chapter 3 (1984).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> According to one of the informants, since some families that came to Ellis, Kansas, with their children, had seen World War I coming, this was also a contributing factor to their decision to emigrate. Also, in 1921, the United States instituted a quota system for immigrants of all eastern European countries. By then Bukovina had also been absorbed by Romania. This limited the emigration of Bukovina Germans quite extensively. See also Windholz (1993, 16) for details on how the quota system affected immigration of Bukovina Germans to the United States.

The immigrants to west central Kansas were commonly referred to as Austrians in their new country, as well as in their old country, Bukovina, because they had settled in Bukovina under the Austrian Empire. The Lutheran "Swabian" Germans came mostly from villages such as Illischestie, Tereblestie, and Alt-Fratautz in Bukovina, while the Catholic Bohemian Germans mainly came from Karlsberg, Fürstenthal, and Buchenhain (Poiana Micului) to Kansas.<sup>10</sup>

Since the Volga Germans had come to Ellis County about ten years earlier and had relocated in eastern Ellis County thereby settling all the land up to about Ellis, the Bukovina Germans started settling from Ellis on west so as to occupy land in adjoining Trego County. The "Swabians" from Bukovina, who were Lutherans, who settled north of the city of Ellis, usually stayed on their land with the church being the only center for socializing with others. The Catholic Bohemian Germans, on the other hand, who settled south of Ellis, although staying in their ethnic community, integrated fast into the ethnically diverse Catholic community in Ellis.

There is some controversy as to when Ellis was officially founded. The Union Pacific Railroad says the town of Ellis was born in 1867 when the then called Kansas Pacific had built a watering station there when it laid track lines west across the state. There are other accounts that it was officially established in 1870. According to an article in the *Hays Daily News* entitled "Founders of Ellis made own History," "on July 1, 1870, the brand-new town of Ellis arrived on the train from Ellsworth" because "railroad workmen, section men, equipment and small buildings were deposited on the new townsite" (*Hays Daily News*, 1976). This article explores the early history of Ellis to the present while touching on famous people who helped to shape the image of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See map of the German settlements in Bukovina prior to 1940, reprinted from Franz Lang (1963-64, 49) in chapter 1, Map 1. See Bornemann (1986) and Klaube (1984) for a thorough history of various Bohemian German settlements in Bukovina, as well as Welisch (1982) and Rein (1957) for detailed settlement histories of individual settlements in Bukovina. In addition, see Hein Ellingson (1987), chapters 1 and 2 for a thorough insight into the history of Bukovina and its German settlers.

this town. What is certain is that the city was named for a Union soldier by the name of George Ellis. <sup>11</sup>

The official slogan for the city of Ellis is "a city with a rich past and a promising future" (see the city logo). It encompasses everything that the town has been and stands for today. It was a "hustling railroad town" in the early 1900s and "all lines of business are represented and the stock in all stores is especially fine" (Freese, 1908). And even in 1976 the *Ellis County Star* described Ellis to be "a thriving modern little city situated on the Union Pacific Railroad" and "the second largest city in Ellis County" (*Ellis County Star*, 1976). When the diesel locomotive replaced the steam locomotive the railroad kept on phasing down. Service people who worked inside railroad cars, as well as workers in the roundhouse, that had been built in 1871, lost their jobs. The roundhouse was finally closed in 1962, and passenger trains stopped serving Ellis in 1964-65. Nowadays only freight trains make their stop in Ellis. In fact, Ellis has paid tribute to its rich history of the railroad by opening a railroad museum in 1993.

But agriculture has also always played a significant role in the history of Ellis, which is reflected by the fact that the local Co-Op is one of the two major employers in town. <sup>12</sup> When Ellis was laid out by the railroad there were less than one hundred people in town, some of those coming in with the buffalo hunters, and other people just

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Windholz (1993) and Fesler (1962) state that Ellis was founded in 1867. The article by Mary E. Pearson on Ellis and its history from the book entitled At Home in Ellis County, Kansas, 1867-1992, Vol.1, published by the Historic Book Committee, Ellis County Historical Society, makes mention of it, but states that the historical consensus places the founding of the town in 1870. The most credible date seems to be 1870, which put the town on the map in 1870. This was reported by the first postmaster, Henry H. Metcalf (Pearson, 1991, 49).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> According to the Community Profile of Ellis, Kansas, published by the Kansas Department of Economic Development (1991), the Golden Belt Co-Op is the city's major employer, besides the city of Ellis.

starting up a private business there. <sup>13</sup> People had to live in railroad cars, when they first came, according to the personal account of the early days of Ellis, Kansas, by the first woman ever settling in that town (Smith Martin 1903). The first people who came lived in dugouts and lots of stores were crude paper tar shacks. The first house was not built until around 1870. If neighbors had a building they would share it with other people. <sup>14</sup> The town grew slowly in addition to the railroad crews by some people of Scots-Irish background and a large group of people from Montgomery County, New York, out of the Mohawk Valley. The greatest influx in population came with the European immigration in the 1880s. A lot of the first-generation homesteaders from Bukovina were already among them. With the growth of the railroad and the availability of land via the Homestead Act, the population in the surrounding areas of town soon increased.

The new community started out with 150 inhabitants in 1870. <sup>15</sup> The population was very small then in comparison to the figure that was given two decades later in 1890 with 1,107 residents. These population figures show that a great increase in population must have come in those two decades between 1870 and 1890. This underscores the fact that the greatest influx in population took place in the 1880s when the European immigration began. The first immigration wave of the Bukovina Germans also fell in this time period, when the population of Ellis rose by more than seven times. <sup>16</sup> At the turn of the century, in 1900, however, the census reported 932

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See Smith Martin (1903) on a brief personal account of the early days of Ellis, Kansas. She was the first woman to come to Ellis. She describes how she and her parents along with her siblings came to the United States and settled in Ellis, Kansas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> One informant said that his grandparents shared a house with another family. They would simply turn their stove around to let the other family cook their meal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This was reported by the first postmaster of Ellis, Kansas, Henry H. Metcalf (Pearson, 1991, 49).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Carman, in his printed field notes on Ellis Bukovinian Germans, notes that "in 1895 there were in the town of Ellis 10 persons born in Russia as compared with the 24 born in Austria; in 1915 Russia 70, Austria 28" (Carman, 1962, 2). This underscores, he said, that the Catholic Bohemian Germans moved westward into the countryside.

inhabitants for Ellis, showing a decline in population of almost 175 people.<sup>17</sup> This might have been an indication that some settlers moved away into the surrounding countryside (most of the Catholic Bohemian Germans farmed), or into other counties or states. The figure for the 1910 census, 1,404, when the population figure had gone up by more than 500, provides the first evidence for an upswing in population again. <sup>18</sup> The actual population figure in 1910 reflects the influx of another relocation of immigrants to Ellis. One major factor here is most certainly the second wave of German immigrants from Bukovina, that was mostly completed by the middle of the first decade.

Because of the profound territorial changes in the former Austrian Empire, the multicultural nationalities who together constituted this domain were called Austrians. Consequently all Bukovina Germans called themselves Austrians and were referred to as such by others, when they came to Ellis. <sup>19</sup> This made it harder for the census to determine the country of birth. Everyone simply listed Austria as birthplace. In some cases a variety of countries of origin were put down, like Bohemia, Romania, or Hungary. Most of the time only the last name of the male immigrants would give away their heritage. In a 1905 population count, <sup>20</sup> for example, quite a few of the Catholic Bohemian German last names appear in the Ellis census, with everyone listing Austria as their country of origin. Whereas the census records show a steady increase in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The population of Ellis Township, that area including and immediately surrounding Ellis, displays the same trend of population decline. While there were 501 residents officially recorded in 1890, the census in 1900 showed the population to be 363 in Ellis Township.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> In 1908 Freese mentioned that the population of Ellis already counted about 1500 (Freese 1908, n. page). The population of Ellis Township, 721, almost doubled at the same time. <sup>19</sup> Various informants, Lutheran "Swabians" and Catholic Bohemians, told the author that they were

always referred to as Austrians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> This was before governmental regulations on privacy in Kansas thereby restricting the release of names of individual citizens in the census. From then on that information was only released to blood relatives. The so-called decennial censuses in Kansas were initiated in 1865. These surveys were issued by the Kansas State Board of agriculture through 1925 (Shortridge, 1995, 231). See also the microfiche collection on Ellis County at the Government Documents & Maps Library at the University of Kansas.

population in the city of Ellis from 1910 to 1950, 2,649, the figure for the 1960 census, 2,218, provides the first evidence for a decline in population that has continued into the 1990s. <sup>21</sup>

The 1990 census lists the population of Ellis as 1,814, whereas the 1980 census still showed 2,062 residents. The median age for the town of Ellis is 37.<sup>22</sup> The age breakdown in larger categories for Ellis is as follows, according to the 1990 census:

Number of Residents
116
279
1,193
160
66

The number of people from age 65 and over is 415. <sup>23</sup> It is primarily from the last two groups that speakers of Catholic Bohemian German can be found. However, there are sporadically speakers, children or nieces and nephews of those belonging to the last two groups listed above, born in the late 1920s or early to mid 1930s, who are competent in Catholic Bohemian German as well. <sup>24</sup>

A look through the phone directory for Ellis and its surrounding area from April 1994 reveals that the number of mostly male descendants of the original Catholic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The population of Ellis Township does not display the same trend towards an increase in population. There was a steady drop from 1910, 721, to 1950, 536, that continued on until the 1970 census, 352. By 1990 the population increased again slightly and the 1990 census listed the number as 384 residents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The same median age, 37, was recorded for Ellis Township.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  In Ellis Township the population of those 65 and over numbers 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> With the first generation slowly dying out it became more and more difficult for the second generation of German immigrants to Kansas to resist pressures of abandoning German, according to Carman (Carman, 1962, 314).

Bohemian German immigrants to Ellis, who still live in the town, <sup>25</sup> is 121, with the names of Catholic Bohemian Germans living in WaKeeney in nearby Trego County, 47, only counting up to a third of it. <sup>26</sup> This seems to show that the majority of the first generation Catholic Bohemian German settlers to Ellis stayed there or in the nearby countryside.

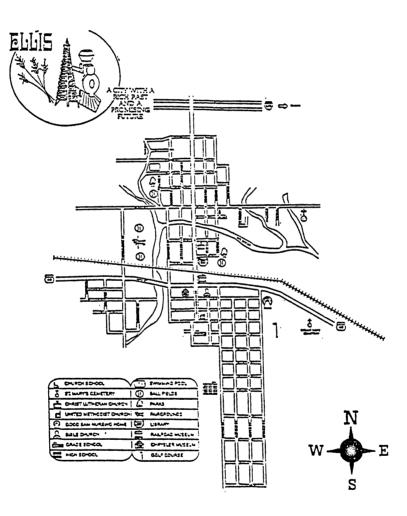
While the descendants of Lutheran "Swabian" Germans and Catholic Bohemian Germans settlers still continue to form a large percentage of the town's population, linguistically, the pressure of abandoning their settlement dialects has led to a lack in language loyalty and a loss for understanding of their cultural heritage. Thus, in 1988 the Bukovina Society of the Americas was formed to promote recognition of the Bukovina German people and to preserve their heritage. In memory of the Bukovina people that came to Kansas, the society created a memorial to the Bukovina settlers in the city park of Ellis. The memorial shows the slopes of the Carpathian Mountains and its inscription includes a tribute to the settlers. The memorial was dedicted in 1993 at the Fifth Bukovinafest, held annually in the summer.

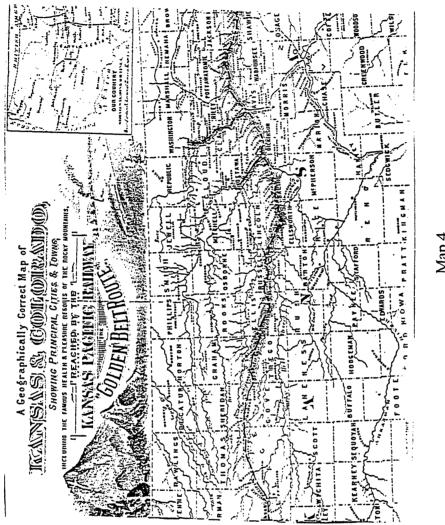
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> This figure includes Ellis Township.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See Sprint telephone directory with listings for Bogue, Dighton, Ellis, Hill City, Ness City, Ogallah, Quinter, and WaKeeney from April 1994.

# Map 3

City Map of Ellis, Kansas Reprinted from Ellis city map, city clerk Ellis, Kansas (1996).



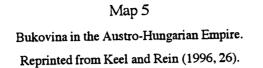




# Geographical map of Kansas showing the Kansas Pacific Railway

Map 4

27

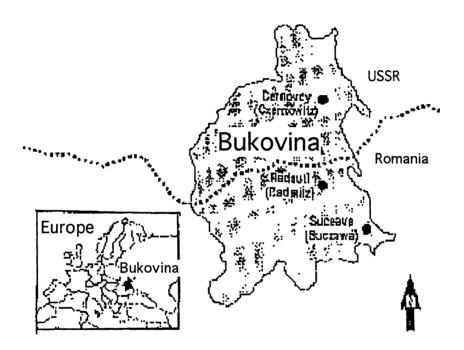




## Map 6

### Bukovina

The Bukovina Germans who settled Ellis, Trego and Rooks counties earlier had migrated from Germany to Bukovina, in the Austrian Empire. Shaded according to its 1910 borders, Bukovina now straddles Romania and the Soviet Union.



Charles Riegel and Doug Weller /Hays Daily News Reprinted from the Hays Daily News, July 16, 1989.

Since the map predates the break-up of the USSR the area north of the dotted broken line belongs to the Ukraine.

Map 7 Areas of Settlement in the New World Reprinted from Keel and Rein (1996, 18).





Figure 2 Memorial honoring Bukovina German settlers in Ellis, Kansas.

It was dedicated on July 16, 1993 by *the Bukovina Society of the Americas*. The inscription says:

In memory of the settlers from Bukovina Austria who stepped off the train at this location.

Beginning in 1886 the German speaking immigrants brought a strong Christian faith and work ethic to build a future for their families in the new world.



Figure 3 The Ellis Railroad Museum

The Field Work Methodology and Protocol of Dialect Interviews

The linguistic analysis of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis, Kansas, in Chapter 4 describes the grammar of the dialect as it exists among the remaining speakers of this dialect at this particular place. Therefore, it can be referred to what Johnson calls an "Ortsgrammatik" (1994, 21). This linguistic description serves the purpose of documenting the main phonological, morphological, and syntactical features of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis. By recording this dialect, valuable data will be provided for linguists interested in German language history and German dialectology , especially in isolated foreign speech islands, as well as the development of German dialects in the United States. There has never been any research on the Catholic Bohemian German dialect, but several linguists have conducted prior research on German dialects in the United States. <sup>1</sup> The field work methodology also involved interviews that employed the 40 Wenker sentences. <sup>2</sup>

Fluency could not be used as a criterion for the interviews, due to the language decay of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. Only a handful of people still have the ability to converse fluently on a variety of topics. Some informants, though they like to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the United States linguists such as Lester W. J. Seifert and William Keel, among others, have made valuable contributions to the research of German dialects for Wisconsin German and Volga German in Kansas, respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The forty original Wenker sentences were a part of an interview questionnaire developed by Georg Wenker for the determination of dialect isoglosses in Germany in 1876. The 40 Wenker sentences used for this study are from Mitzka (1952, 13-14). In addition, other dialect questionnaires used as references for the design of the interviews are the 200 items word list of the *Deutscher Wortatlas (DWA)*, which appeared in 1973, and the unpublished Seifert Questionnaire (1946). Other questionnaires consulted include Kurath (1939, 149-58) and Haugen (1953, 645-53).

converse in their dialect, hardly ever use their language, because the number of speakers has dwindled immensely. None of them ever continually speaks it, unless being addressed in the dialect. This often leads to a smaller range and frequency of uses. Thus, the majority of informants just speak from memory, often vividly recollecting childhood memories such as Christmas customs. With gradual social, as well as linguistic acculturation to the English-speaking environment English has become the primary language for everyday communication. With regard to language demise and language death Dorian states it seems realistic "that the reduced use of a language will lead also to a reduced form of that language" and uses the term "semi-speakers" to classify such speakers (1977, 24).

Nevertheless, several informants included in this study did not show, in Dorian's term, the reduced use of their language, either when involved in free speech alone or in dialogue with other speakers. They were able to engage in long conversations in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect on a wide scope of subjects. They easily and enthusiastically carried on for a considerable amount of time when asked about childhood memories. For instance, growing up on a farm in the country was a favorite topic. Also when asked about something habitual that has long been engrained in them since their childhood like cooking certain dishes, or farming, the informants never hesitated responding in the German dialect. When interrupted in their stories for explanations or clarifications, however, they switched to English. The easy flow of speech proved mostly true with informants of the second generation of immigrants from Bukovina. Informants belonging to the third generation of immigrants from that area felt more comfortable with English. <sup>3</sup> Their use of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> However, in a conversation between Informant 1 (the main dialect informant), an informant of the second generation of immigrants from Bukovina, and Informant 5, who belongs to the third generation of immigrants from that area, the latter was very comfortable speaking the Catholic Bohemian German dialect.

Catholic Bohemian German dialect was more hesitant and they showed longer pauses. These informants were capable, notwithstanding, of providing necessary data for this study.

The bilingual factor was very crucial in conducting the interviews. None of the dialect informants had any problem with switching the language codes, because all of them had practiced it most of their lives. All sentences and grammatical exercises were given to them in English which they rendered into the equivalents of their dialect. Conversations with the informants were also bilingual. Each exercise was introduced in English. Questions were usually asked in English, and the informants provided answers in their German dialect. <sup>4</sup> When a question was, however, occasionally posed in Standard German there was no hesitancy in responding in German dialect. <sup>5</sup> Few had any concern about the correctness of their use of German. <sup>6</sup>

The basic interview was made up of four different exercises and was designed to last approximately two hours. <sup>7</sup> The interview started out with the forty Wenker sentences translated into English (Appendix 1), which were rendered by most informants into the dialect equivalents. <sup>8</sup> They were then asked to give the dialect version of as many words and terms as possible from the two-hundred-item list from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Questions were posed in English in order to avoid possible "echoing" of Standard German and avoid causing any discomfort to the informants as to their ability to speak "correct" German.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Few informants understood the author's Standard German. Most of the informants immediately reverted back to English or looked puzzled. One dialect informant conceded to the author that, when she attended church services in German as a little child, she could not understand the type of German spoken. However, all informants were aware of it because of the non-dialectal "High German" used earlier in church and school.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Informant 1, although being the most fluent, nonetheless frequently tagged on "recht so" (right) after a response awaiting an affirmative nod. This person knew Standard German because of time served in Germany during World War II. The author is certain that this informant added this tag out of habit, not because of insecurity in the dialect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The design of the basic interview was used in 1993-95. Because of time constraints, one of the exercises had to be shortened or left out. This usually meant that the question and answer session was not employed.

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  The appendix shows the original German sentences with their English equivalent given to the informants. They never saw or heard the German originals.

the Deutscher Wortatlas (DWA), also translated into English (Appendix 1).<sup>9</sup> The third exercise consisted of the description of five pictures with many details depicting familiar rural life scenes. Finally, a free speech sample was obtained by asking the informant to relate an anecdote in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect or asking specific questions in English about significant events in their lives replying in the dialect. Topics of interest comprised things such as growing up on the farm, family life, cooking recipes of ethnic dishes, the wedding day, or the dust bowl era of the 1930s in the central United States. The dust bowl was a period of hardship which impacted the lives of many people in Ellis County. Topics had to be chosen for free speech involving events that could be recalled up to the 1950s. By then, in the majority of Bukovina German families, English had taken over as the primary language in the home, due not only to the anti-German sentiments that developed because of the two world wars, but also to the development of the English language mass media in the United States. Also English as the language of education was a big switch for most of the informants because they had all grown up speaking Ellis Catholic Bohemian German at home.

The Wenker sentences were employed as an essential exercise for the interview because they have been traditionally used as a parameter for the collection of data on German dialects by dialectologists since their formulation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In utilizing these forty sentences, it is possible to solicit data for determining the approximate location in the Bohemian Forest where the dialect of these Catholic Bohemian Germans originated. Even though Wenker's sentences could certainly sound somewhat old-fashioned and outdated to a speaker of modern German and therefore they may be inappropriate for the study of modern German dialects, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The most common terms are listed and mapped out in the dtv-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache (dtvA) (König, 1992), which is based on DSA and DWA.

results of the author's own field work led her to thoroughly agree with Johnson who maintains that these sentences are "very practical for translation exercises involving informants born into a rural environment" (Johnson 1994, 23). Every informant, whether literally translating or paraphrasing these sentences, was always capable of expressing them in their dialect. Because all sentences deal with life in the country, the informants could easily relate them to their experience. Several of the dialect informants were also amused by some of the expressions, especially the tag "du Affe" (you monkey) (see Wenker sentence no. 11, Appendix 1).

Johnson (1994, 24) points out his concern of using the forty Wenker sentences for syntactic analysis of each model sentence. The author shares his concern, for in her experience the informants' rendering of each sentence may have been constructed according to the English word order in some of the test sentences. This may have altered the natural dialectal realization of the sentence structure, as well as the fact that some informants asked to have some of the sentences read aloud to them. This was done by reading the model sentence in phrases. The results were partial translations in concordance with the sentence structure of the English model given. This problem will be addressed in Chapter 4 with the discussion of syntactic structures in the dialect utilizing free speech samples. However, the Wenker sentences will only be minimally taken into account with reference to syntax.

The *Deutscher Wortatlas (DWA)*, utilized since 1939, is important for the word geography of German dialects. Using the two-hundred-word list as another part of the interview increased the chance of narrowing down the possible place of origin of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect in the Bohemian Forest. Although most terms could be collected from the informants, they were unable to provide all the word items. Partly because of topographical and climatic differences between the Bohemian Forest, the mountainous landscape of Bukovina, and the Great Plains of Kansas, many vegetation terms asked for were not known, such as "stinging nettle" or "chamomile." Specific insects or birds were also lost from the dialect or could not be recalled such as "dragon fly" or "lark," or an obscure word such as "cockchafer larva." Terms not native to the mountainous region of Bukovina were usually rendered in English, such as "tomato" or "strawberry." <sup>10</sup> However, the informants remembered most of the terms.

The third and fourth exercise served the purpose of gathering data in a natural language setting. First, informants were shown five pictures depicting rural life. They were asked to describe them in as much detail as possible, talking about such things as the farm, farm tools, animals, the landscape, the seasons. None of the pictures caused the informants any difficulty and they were very at ease describing the scenes. In fact, for some it was very entertaining at times, for example when they did not immediately identify a detail pictured.

For the last part of the initial interview some informants agreed to participate in a conversation with the author. A couple of simple questions were posed to collect a conversational sample. Other informants, however, did not only readily respond, but also recited anecdotes and told jokes in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. The anecdotes and jokes were a part of their memorized repertoire. They were useful for the comparison between the conversational (spontaneous) and "fossilized" forms of speech with respect to verb forms, and the vocabulary. The main informant in particular had a whole repertoire of anecdotes, of which he narrated one or two with a slightly different choice of vocabulary every time he was recorded. <sup>11</sup> Two versions of a recipe for an ethnic dish were taped from Informant 2, with the first one being

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Informant 1 also frequently paraphrased terms that either he could not recollect, or that were lost from the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The same informant paraphrased terms asked from the DWA. It reflects his flexibility and ability to improvise in the language. All anecdotes were conveyed to him by his mother.

recalled from memory and the second one being explained while making the dish. The latter version is an excellent example of a free conversational environment and shows the informant's ease with the dialect. This example can be utilized very well for the syntactic analysis of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect.

The author deemed it necessary to choose a main informant for the development of a detailed description of the grammar. The decision for determining which one of these two informants would serve as the principal informant was difficult. Both informants had the fluency, flexibility, and a wide range of vocabulary. They would be capable of reciting isolated verb paradigms and noun phrases, and also produce them within the context of a sentence. Finally, the decisive criteria were the ability to improvise in the dialect, as well as the full completion of the grammar charts and the Wisconsin German Questionnaire. Informant 1 proved to be more comfortable with the grammar, remembered more of the paradigms, and translated the whole Wisconsin German Questionnaire. Informant 2, along with the other informants provided the corroborating data.

The main informant (Informant 1) selected for this study was born in 1918, in Ellis, Kansas. He has worked as a farmer his whole life. He was educated through the eighth grade, but never received formal German language training. He can speak "High German" because he was stationed in Germany during World War II. He is very well known among residents in Ellis and its surrounding area because he stems from a large family whose last name is common in Ellis County. The Bukovina Germans of Ellis highly regard him as the most fluent speaker of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. He was also recommended to the author by Kurt Rein (University of Munich), a well known expert on Bukovina and the Lutheran "Swabian" Germans in Ellis and abroad. <sup>12</sup>

Informant 1 was first recorded by the author in 1993 and again in 1995.  $^{13}$  In these interviews he provided a set of Wenker sentence translations, and an almost complete list of the two- hundred-items of the *DWA*. He also gave a full descriptions of the pictures, recited anecdotes and participated in question and answer sessions. In subsequent interviews, he rendered different grammar questionnaires into the German dialect, as well as cited verb and noun phrase paradigms in isolation. Furthermore, he provided a complete translation of the Wisconsin German Questionnaire. He was chosen as the principal informant for this dialect study because his interviews were of the best quality and quantity.

Informant 2 was born in 1916, in Ellis, Kansas. She, like Informant 1, did not receive schooling in "High German." She lived and worked on a farm all her life. Informant 2 was also interviewed in 1993 and subsequently in 1995. She translated the Wenker sentences, as well as the majority of words from the *DWA* two-hundred-items list, was able to isolate most of the verb paradigms and noun phrases, provided picture descriptions, and responded to questions. In a later interview she described a cooking recipe and translated two-thirds of the Wisconsin German Questionnaire.

A third 1993 informant, Informant 3, is male, and was born in 1907. He is the oldest of all informants in this study. He was able to give the equivalents of the Wenker sentences, as well as some items from the *DWA* in his German dialect. Additionally, he was able to respond in a question and answer sequence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Rein, aside from dozen of other publications, has published many articles on the history and cultural heritage of the Lutheran "Swabian" Germans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Tape copies of the interviews conducted between 1993 and 1995 by the author are kept at the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at the University of Kansas.

The majority of informants for this study were interviewed in 1995. Information on the 1995 informants:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Sex</u>	Year of Birth
4	F	1915
5	F	1926
6	F	1913
7	F	1923
8	F	1928
9	М	1935
10	F	1922

All informants in these 1995 interviews recorded Wenker sentences, whereby Informants 6 and 7 translated one set of Wenker sentences alternately. They did not render any of the two-hundred items from the DWA, whereas Informants 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10 translated most of them. The 1995 informants participated in the picture description exercises, with some giving details on all five of them.

Informants 4, 5, and 9 delivered data on a very extensive list of verb paradigms and noun phrases in isolation and within the context of the sentence, while Informant 8 provided a few grammar exercises. Informants 4, 5, 6, 7, and 10 agreed to free conversation as well. Informant 4 related some expressions in the dialect.

One other informant, informant 11, was also interviewed in 1996. She was born in 1920. Informant 11 provided a complete translation of Wenker sentences as well as selected items from the DWA. In addition, she gave a description of three pictures and was able to relate an anecdote in the dialect. All the informants have a school education through the eigth grade. For the purpose of ascertaining the extent of dialect mixing among the informants' ancestors, the author sought some information on the family history of the 11 informants. It is important to know the parental place of birth in order to assess dialect mixing. Each dialect speaker has different phonological realizations for certain dialect words. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers whose ancestors came from the villages of Buchenhain (Poiana Micului) in Bukovina realize falling diphthongs in their speech, while those dialect informants with ancestors from Fürstenthal, Bukovina, pronounce reversed diphthongs. The following chart shows the parental place of birth reflecting the information as provided by the informants themselves:

<b>Informant</b>	Mother	Father
1	Poiana Micului	Poiana Micului
2	Poiana Micului	Poiana Micului
3	Poiana Micului	Poiana Micului
4	Ellis	Fürstenthal
5	Ellis	Ellis
6	Poiana Micului	Poiana Micului
7	Poiana Micului	Poiana Micului
8	Fürstenthal	Poiana Micului
9	Fürstenthal	Ellis
10	Poiana Micului	Poiana Micului
11	Fürstenthal	Poiana Micului

Informants 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 10 fit in one category, in that both parents were born in Poiana Micului (Buchenhain), Bukovina, while Informants 8 and 11 have only one parent born in Poiana Micului.<sup>14</sup> Informants 4 and 9 have at least one parent born in Ellis, Kansas, except for Informant 5, whose parents were both born in Ellis. All

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Poiana Micului (Buchenhain) and Fürstenthal, north of Poiana Micului, were both German settlements in Bukovina. See map 1 in chapter 1 showing German settlements in Bukovina.

the informants' grandparents are from Bukovina. All informants were born in Ellis County, with the exception of Informant 10, who was born in Poiana Micului, Bukovina, and came to Ellis in 1954.

The transcription system used in this study is consistent with symbols chosen by the International Phonetic Association. The author decided to modify one particular phonetic symbol. <sup>15</sup> There is a tense/lax distinction with vowels. Vowel length is predictable and is not indicated. <sup>16</sup>

The recording of the informants participating in the interviews between 1993-96 was done on cassette tape using a Realistic CTR-73 AC, a battery cassette recorder. A small lapel microphone was used during the recording sessions. The interviews were all held in informants' homes.

The location of the interviews presented an interesting problem for recording of the informants. Although it is the author's belief that interviewees are the most relaxed in their natural surrounding, i.e., at home, situations can arise that cause pitfalls to the quality of taping. The artificial speech setting of a meeting room, for example, would have guaranteed optimal conditions under those circumstances. Consequently, speech samples had to be transcribed that were interrupted by a toddler's interjections or people talking in the background (for example other family members). Other interviews were impeded by the noise of a lawnmower in the background. Thus, the taping and transcribing of some informants' speech caused the author a certain amount of distress. Nevertheless, the recording sessions were all conducted in a setting that was comfortable for the informants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The author consulted Pullum and Ladusaw (1986) to clarify the use of a particular symbol, such as the arbitrary decision to use [a] for the lax lower front unrounded vowel and [a] for the tense lower back unrounded vowel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Vowel length is not indicated because tense vowels in stressed syllables are by nature longer than in unstressed syllables. Moulton also states, in Standard German, in relation to spelling a tense vowel is followed by a single consonant and a lax vowel by a double consonant or a consonant cluster. See Moulton (1966, 62-4).

## Chapter 4

The Grammatical Analysis of the Catholic Bohemian German Dialect of Ellis, Kansas

This chapter outlines the grammar or linguistic structure of the *Ortsmundart*, i.e. the local dialect of the Catholic Bohemian Germans of Ellis, Kansas. The phonological, morphological, and syntactical features of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect are shown as completely and thoroughly as possible given the present state of the dialect.

	Bilabial	Labio- Dental	Alveolar	Post- Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops:							
- Voiceless	р		t			k	
- Voiced	b		d			g	
Fricatives:							
- Voiceless		f	S	ſ	ç	x	h
- Voiced		v					
Affricates:		$\mathbf{p}\mathbf{f}$	ts	t∫			
Nasals:	m		n			ŋ	
Liquids:			1				
Trill:			r				
Approximant:					j		

The Consonant System of the Catholic Bohemian German Dialect of Ellis, Kansas <sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Forms in tables are phonemic symbols.

### **Phonology:** Consonants

### Stops

/p/ [p] - The voiceless bilabial stop occurs in word-initial, word-final and syllablefinal position before a following consonant and in consonant clusters. It occurs rarely in intervocalic syllable-final position.<sup>2</sup>

word-initial position: - /paitſn/ 'whip'; /putsn/ 'to clean (infinitve); /politsai/ police'; /pentn/ 'pantry'; /past/ '(it) fits', /pulvp/

'powder'

intervocalic position: - /papirsok/ 'paper sack'; /ʃlɪpərī/ 'slippery'; /kəpə/ 'bucket'

word-final position: - /blaɪp/ 'stay!'; /gɪp/ 'give!'; /liɒp/ 'love'; /urlaup/ 'vacation'

clusters: - /ɛps/ 'something'; /gɪpst/ '(you) give'; /kamplt/ '(she) combs'; /lampl/ '(little) lamb'; /haɪpl/ 'a head (of lettuce,kale)';

/b/ [b] - The voiced bilabial stop occurs mainly in word-initial position. It

occasionally occurs in intervocalic position and never word-finally. Clusters containing

/b/ and a following liquid or resonant occur only word-initially or in syllable-initial

position.

word-initial position: - /bam// 'tree'; /bet/ 'bed'; /bes/ 'angry'; /basl/ 'aunt';

/bigln/ 'to iron (inf.); /bttmb/ 'faucet'; /bernp/ 'boar';

/bargəln/ 'cookies

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ is slightly aspirated in foreign words such as /pesta/ 'pasture' or /pentr/ 'pantry'. There is, however, in word-initial position a tendency for /p/ to be lenited to the voiced bilabial stop /b/, but the voiceless nature of the sound is still preserved. As a general remark the three voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ are normally not aspirated in word-initial position and are pronouned more softly. Yet the sound quality is still voiceless word-initially. There is, however phonemic variation in word-initial /p/ and /b/ in some instances. The word for "bald", for example was collected from two-informants using the Wisconsin Questionnaire, section 43. It was realized respectively as /plotot/ and /blotot/. This represents individual variation on the pronunciation of the individual.

intervocalic position: - /saubomoxt/ 'to clean (inf.)'; /groubt/ 'mean' <sup>3</sup> clusters: - /blodln/ 'leaves'; /blosn/ 'to blow (inf.)'; /blttsn/ 'lightning';

> /blump/ 'flowers'; /bruk/ 'bridge'; /brent/ 'burnt (past participle); /bro[kə/ 'toad'

/t/ [t] - The voiceless alveolar stop occurs in word-initial position, where it is not aspirated. <sup>4</sup> It most often occurs word-finally and in consonant clusters. With regard to clusters, the voiceless alveolar stop occurs mostly as the second element, but it sometimes word-initially followed by a resonant. /t/ occurs intervocalically, but often the voiced alveolar stop /d/ is used in this position instead.

word-initial position: - /taftet/ 'godfather; /taftot/ 'godmother'; <sup>5</sup> /tatp/

'father'; /taubaro/ 'male dove'; /tuot/ 'does'; /tok/

'day'

intervocalic position: - /gubtə/ 'good (decl. adj.)'; / routə/ 'red' (decl. adj.)'; /koto/ 'tomcat"; /aɪto/ 'udder'; /ʃmɛtn/ 'cream' but: - /muɒtɒ/, /muɒdɒ/ 'mother'; /fetɒ/, /fedɒ/ 'uncle'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> /b/ rarely occurs in intervocalic position because often the syllable *-ben* is in many words progressively assimilated from *-bn* to *-bm* and finally to -m. The voiced bilabial stop /b/ is hardly pronounced in most words and lost in the verb /ham/ 'to have'. Assimilation is a common feature in Bavarian dialects and it is always mentioned in Bavarian grammars. See Merkle (1984, 34-37) for a detailed overview. Furthermore, see the section on vowels in this chapter for a description on the vowels /p/ and /ə/.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{4}{1}$  /t/ is sometimes lenited to /d/ word-initially. This seems to be dependent on the individual speaker. For example, the word /toxtp/ "daughter" was collected in the context of the Wenker sentence 8. The voiceless alveolar stop was used by most informants, but the phonemic variation /d/ occurred with one informant. The same informant used /d/ in word-initial position with the word /toxt/ "dead" in Wenker sentence 14. The phonemic variation in word-initial /t/ and /d/ again appears in Wenker sentence 32 with the word /tij/ "table", but this time the voiced alveolar stop occurs with a different informant. And again in Wenker sentence 35, the phonemic variation of /t/ and /d/ occurs by more than one informant with the past participle /to/ "done".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In these two words collected using the *DWA* two-hundred word list, two informants clearly used the voiced alveolar stop /d/ in word-initial position and syllable-initial position. The words are /dofdet/ "godfather", and /dofdodn/ "godmother".

word-final position: - /haɪt/ 'today'; /guɒt/ 'good'; /bʊlt/ 'soon'; /mɪt/ 'with'; /vɪrt/ 'becomes'; /bɛt/ 'bed'; /hʊnt/ 'dog'; /ʃtɑt/ 'quiet'

clusters: - /trukto/ 'dry'; /trept/ 'soil'; /trŋp/ 'to drink'; /blitst/ '(it is) lightning'; /koxt/ 'cooks'; /tsaitn/ 'times'; /noxt/ 'night'; /draust/ 'outside'

/d/ [d] - The voiced alveolar stop occurs most often in word-initial and syllableinitial position. It occasionally occurs in word-medial position intervocalically, but never word-finally. It occurs in clusters often accompanied by a liquid and preceded by a nasal or initially followed by /r/. <sup>6</sup>

word-initial position: - /dʊrx/ 'through'; /dɛŋ/ '(I) think; /du/ 'you (2nd person Singular)'; /dʊm/ 'stupid'; /dɪŋ/ 'thing'; /dɛkn/ 'quilt'; /dɔ/ 'there'

intervocalic position: - /dudərd/ 'yolk'; /vedd/ 'weather'; /fledomaus/ 'bat'; /fedon/ 'feathers'; /donidd/ 'down'

clusters: - /nadl/ 'grandmother'; /nedl/ 'grandfather'; /tsaidln/ 'to milk (inf.)'; /kandl/ 'can'; /draust/ 'outside'; /drai/ 'three'

/k/ [k] - The voiceless velar stop occurs slightly aspirated word-initially and syllable-initially, but not word-finally. <sup>7</sup> Some words could also be collected with /k/ in intervocalic position. It can occur as the first element of a cluster accompanied by a voiceless fricative and in one case preceded by / $\int$ / at a syllable boundary. It also appear initially in a cluster often followed by a nasal, liquid, or resonant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The voiced alveolar stop is often omitted in the pronunciation of words such as /ren/ "to talk (inf.)", in all forms of the verb /vern/ "to be (inf.)" and in the words /gfond/ "found (past part.)", and /allond/ "to invite (inf.)".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The voiceless velar stop is also slightly aspirated in loanwords such as /keik/ "cake", and /kapintə/ "carpenter".

word-initial position: - /kmt/ 'child'; /koxt/ 'to cook (inf.)'; /kuxt/ 'cake'; /kopf/ 'head'; /keft/ 'beetle'; /kampln/ 'to comb'; /kukuruts/ 'corn';

intervocalic position: - /trʊkɒ/ 'dry'; /tsvīkɒ/ 'to pinch (inf.)'; /iɒdrʊkɒ/ 'to chew cud (inf.)'; /bokɒ/ 'to bake (inf.)'

word-final position: - /sok!/ 'say!'; /gnak/ 'neck'; /ɛk/ 'corner'; /bok/ 'buck'; /ruk/ 'coat'; /tok/ 'day'; /tovak / 'tobacco'; /tsuruk/ 'back (adverb)'

clusters: - /kloon/ 'little'; /voksn/ 'to grow'; /knedl/ 'dumplings'; /brojkə/ 'toad'; /kraɪts/ 'back'; /kre/ 'horseradish'; /kneçl/ 'ankle' <sup>8</sup>

/g/ [g] - The voiced velar stop occurs word-initially preceding a vowel or in a cluster often followed by a resonant, a liquid, or a nasal. It also appears in intervocalic position, sometimes being the first element of the second part of a compound or a multi-syllabic word. It does not occur in word-final position.

word-initial position: - /gupt/ 'good'; /goptn/ 'garden'; /gestpn/ 'yesterday'; /gens/ 'geese'; /gesn/ 'eaten (past part.)'; /gœlsn/

'mosquito'

intervocalic position: - / [vigomuoto/ 'mother-in-law'; /ligo/ 'to lie';

/henogato/ 'hawk'; /nargin/ 'curious'; /argənə/ 'own'

clusters: - /fluin/ 'fly'; /gsokt/ 'said (past part.)'; /gven/ 'been (past part.)';

/gnup/ 'enough'; /bigln/ 'to iron'; /fogl/ 'bird'; /gros/ 'grass'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> If word-initial /k/ is followed by the nasal /n/ it is lenited to such an extent that it is hardly pronounced.

Fricatives

/f/ [f] - The voiceless labio-dental fricative occurs mainly in word-initial position. It occasionally occurs in intervocalic position. Its usage word-finally is rare. It also appears in two-consonant clusters word-initially and word-finally where it is often the first element before a nasal or a resonant.

word-initial position: - /funs/ 'foot'; /fasl/ 'barrel'; /fœlt/ 'field'; /faɪər/ 'fire'; /fɛtsn/ 'rag'; /fɒkɑft/ 'sold (past part.)'; /fɒbrɛnt/ 'burnt (past part.)'

intervocalic position: - /kafd/ 'to buy (inf.)'; /lafd/ 'to run'; /ofd/ 'oven'; /soff/ 'soap'; /kefd/ 'beetle'; /afi/ 'up'; /befor/ 'before'

word-final position: - /of/ 'monkey'; /af/ 'on'; /finf/ 'five'; /briof/ 'letter'; /fvoof/ 'tail'; /fof/ 'sheep'

clusters: - /aft/ 'later (adverb); /hɛrʃɔft/ 'dominance'; /hœlfɒ/ 'to help (inf.)'; /lefl/ 'spoon'; /flaɪʃ/ 'meat'; /ʃaʊfl/ 'shovel'; /frɛmdɒ/ 'stranger'

|v| [v] - The voiced labio-dental fricative occurs most often word-initially. It also appears intervocalically, but does not occur word-finally. In consonant clusters it can occur at a syllable boundary preceded by words describing pain at different parts of the body. And furthermore it also appears word-initially following the affricate /ts/ or post alveolar fricative / $\int$ /.

word-initial position: - /vIntD/ 'winter'; /vInt/ 'wind'; /vedD/ 'weather'; /vent/ 'wall'; /vef/ 'clothes'; /voItsn/ 'wheat'; /vis/ 'meadow'

intervocalic position: - /ovəl/ 'always'; /ivo/ 'over '; /tovak/ 'tobacco';

/hivəln/ 'mountains'; /ovp/ 'but'; /hovpn/ 'oats'

clusters: - /gven/ 'been (past part.)', /[vopts/ 'black'; /sœlvp/ 'self';

/Jvestd/ 'sister'; /tsvod/ 'two'; /odvatn/ 'to work (inf.)'; /moŋve/ 'stomach ache'

/s/ [s] - The voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in all environments. It can often be found in two-consonant clusters with /s/ being the first element followed by a nasal, a liquid or the voiceless alveolar stop /t/.<sup>9</sup> In three-consonant clusters it can be found at syllable boundaries.

word-initial position: - /seks/ 'six'; /soffə/ 'soap'; /sults/ 'salt'; /si/ 'she,

they'; /sips/ 'sweet (adj.)'; /sump/ 'sunday'; /somstp/ 'saturday'; /su/ 'son'

intervocalic position: - /bɛsɒ/ 'better'; /vʊsɒ/ 'water'; /vaɪsə/ 'white'; /haɪsɒ/ 'houses'; /mɪsɒ/ 'knife'; /kʊsɪn/ 'cousin'; /kloɒs/ 'little (adj.)'

word-final position: - /IS/ 'is'; /ros/ 'horse'; /hos/ 'rabbit'; /aIs/ 'ice'; /UNS/ 'us'; /grous/ big'; /gros/ 'grass'; /haus/ 'house';

/goos/ 'goat'

clusters: - /blost/ 'blows'; /Ist/ 'eats'; /baIsnt/ 'they bite'; /haIrisl/
 'grasshopper'; /rosfluiŋ/ 'horsefly'; /fosttsait/ 'lent'; /mosn/ 'scar'
/ʃ/ [ʃ] - The voiceless post-alveolar fricative occurs primarily in word-initial
position, both as a single element or in a two-consonant cluster with a voiceless stop.
A two-consonant cluster can be found in word-final position. A three-consonant
cluster also appears word-initially and word-finally. In the latter position it is noticable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> There is no data collected on the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ in all environments. Merkle (1984, 25) points out that in Bavarian there is no voiced fricative whether it is word-initially, intervocalically, or word-finally.

that here the voiceless alveolar fricative /S/ becomes  $/\int/$  after /r/ and before /t/. <sup>10</sup> It is rarely used in intervocalic position.

word-initial position: -  $(\int en / \text{'nice'}; /\int o / \text{'already (adv.)'}; /\int of / \text{'sheep'}; /fedl / \text{'head'};$ 

/ʃu/ 'shoe'; /ʃoŋ/ 'cabinet'; /ʃentn/ 'to scold (inf.)'; /ʃaʊfl/ 'shovel'

intervocalic position: - /dre mo m o m /threshing machine'

word-final position: - /froj/ 'frog'; /tij/ 'table'; /flaij/ 'meat'; /damij/ 'dizzy'; /vej/ 'clothes'; /haipoltərij/ 'stubborn'

clusters: - /ʃvɛstɒ/ 'sister'; /ʃtoɒ/ 'stone'; /ʃtrak/ 'straight'; /ʃtɑt/ 'quiet'; /gʃtoɒm/ 'died (past part.)'; /drɛʃn/ 'to thresh (inf.)'; /gʃpoɒsɪ/ 'silly'; /vɪrʃt/ 'sausage'; /ɛrʃt/ 'first'; /fɪrʃtəndəl/ 'Fürstenthal'

/c/ [c] - The voiceless palatal fricative never appears in word-initial position. It appears intervocalically, word-finally or in a cluster. It is often the first element of a two-consonant cluster followed by /t/. By definition it is always preceded by a front vowel intervocalically or word-finally.

intervocalic position: - /heçD/ 'higher (comparative)'; /srçəl/ 'scythe'; /drekrçə/ 'dirty'; /reçD/ 'rake'; /tsartrçə/ 'ripe'; /glarçD/ 'to like (inf.)'; /ledrçə/ 'single'

word-final position: - /bebərīç/ 'baby'; /bɛttsaīç/ 'bed sheet'; /glaīç/ '(I) like'; /bīlīç/ 'cheap' clusters: - /ʃlɛçt/ 'bad'; /laīçt/ 'funeral'; /gʃīçt/ 'story'; /ʊnrɛçt/ 'wrong'; /rɛçtə/ 'right thing'; /laīçtn/ 'light (adj.)'; /frīçtn/ 'fruits'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Two words were collected that keep the voiceless alveolar fricative after the alveolar trill. These words are /virst/ "you become, will (2nd pers. Sg. pres. tense)"; and /bist/ "you are (2nd pers. Sg. imp.)".

/x/ [x] - The voiceless velar fricative does not occur in word-initial position. It appears in intervocalic position and in word-final position. Like its corresponding consonant, in clusters it is often found with a following /t/. This consonant always follows a back vowel. <sup>11</sup>

intervocalic position: - /koxt/ 'to cook (inf.)'; /broxt/ 'broken (past part.)'; /kuxt/ 'cake'; /latditxtt/ 'bed sheets'; /valaxon/ 'geldings'; /voxo/ 'week'

word-final position: - /houx/ 'high'; /laɪtubx/ 'bed sheet'; /mox!/ 'make! (2nd pers. Sg. imp.)'; /ux/ 'also'; /lox/ 'hole'; /libx/ 'light'; /pflubx/ 'plow'

clusters: - /koxt/ 'cooks'; /dvrx/ 'through'; /noxt/ 'night'; /frvxt/ 'fruit'; /iprxtp/

'Tuesday'; /rauxt/ 'smokes'; /joxn/ 'to hunt (inf.)'; /bioxl/ 'book'

/h/ [h] - The voiceless glottal fricative occurs mainly word-initially. No word was collected for /h/ in intervocalic position. It is sometimes found in consonant clusters where it is pronounced after a juncture pause at compound-word boundaries. <sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In the word / $\infty$ tobp/ "october" one speaker pronounces the voiceless velar fricative whereas other speakers realize it as the voiceless velar stop /k/. The same variation occurs in /hroxst/ and /hrorkst/ "autumn". The reason for this variation in pronunciation is perhaps the Old High German (OHG) /x/. König (1992, 63) shows the change from /k/ to the affricate /kx/ or /x/ in OHG that took place in the 7th and 8th century in Upper German. On this note another variation in pronunciation of the voiceless velar stop should be mentioned. Many speakers realize the voiceless velar stop /k/ word-finally alone or in a cluster, but some exceptions collected are for example / $\int$ toox/ "strong", or the past participle /gsoxt/ "said". Another obvious occurrence is the pronunciation of the voiced velar stop /g/ as a voiceless velar or uvular fricative intervocalically, as well as word-finally. Some examples collected are /drektçs/ "dirty" or /ledtçs/ "grass widow", or /truxs/ "coffin", and /viox/ "cradle".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> One word was collected respectively where /h/ becomes /x/ or /k/ word-finally; these are the words /gfipx/ "cattle", in the Wisconsin Questionnaire, section 17, and the imperative /fotsark mp!/ "I am sorry", in the same questionnaire, section 57. In intervocalic position the voiceless glottal fricative is replaced by /k/ in two verbforms collected of the verb "to see", one in the Wisconsin Questionnaire, section 48 /sekst/ "you see (2nd. person Sg.)", and the other one /sekt/ "sees" in a verb questionnaire on strong verbs. However, the usage of a consonant replacing /h/ intervocalically can vary between /g/ and /ç/ for the same word. Examples are words such as /heçp/ and /hegp/ "higher (comparative)" collected in Wenker sentence 17, as well as /negəriçp/ and /negərigp/ "closer (comparative)" collected in the Wisconsin Questionnaire, sections 65 and 66.

word-initial position: - /haus/ 'house'; /honm/ 'home'; /hunt/ 'dog'; /hinto/ 'behind'; /hon/ '(I) have'; /hosn/ 'pants'; /hemət/ 'shirt'; /hai/ 'hay'; /haksn/ 'legs'

clusters: - /ofphepn/ 'oven'; /ve[henp/ 'clotheshook'; /bophapedi/ 'bare-headed'

Affricates 13

/pf/ [pf] - The voiceless labio-dental affricate occurs most often in word-initial position and in two-consonant clusters. Here the affricate /pf/ appears as the first element with a following liquid /l/ or at a compound-word boundary. Two words were collected in intervocalic position and one word was documented in word-final position. word-initial position: - /pfefp/ 'pepper'; /pfont/ 'pound'; /pfinstp/ 'Thursday';

/pfaifn/ 'to whistle'; /pfaifa/ 'pipe'

intervocalic position: - /kepfə/ 'heads'; /empfon/ 'reception'

word-final position: - /kopf/ 'head'

clusters: - /pflamə/ 'plum'; /pfluox/ 'plow'; /pfliox/ 'plows' /pflontsn/ 'plant';

/kopfve/ 'headache'; /treapfl/ 'potato'; /epfl/ 'apple'

/ts/ [ts] - The voiceless alveolar affricate occurs in all environments. It frequently occurs in two-consonant clusters, where it often appears before /v/, but can also be an element in a three-consonant cluster.

word-initial position: - /tsego/ 'basket'; /tsuko/ 'sugar'; /tsaiç/ 'things'; /tsaituŋ/ 'newspaper'; /tsont/ 'tooth'; /tsain/ 'tears'; /tsaidln/ 'to milk'; /tsuŋ/ 'to show'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Linguistic scholars treat affricates either as single units or as a consonant clusters. Moulton (1966, 44-48) treats each affricate as a single phoneme, while Fox (1990, 37-38) prefers to see them either as phonologically distinct units or as two elements. In this study each affricate is included in the phonemic inventory as a single unit.

intervocalic position: - /fptscelt/ 'told (past part.)'; /srtsont/ 'they sit'; /katsolo/ 'kittens'

word-final position: - /holts/ 'wood'; /voits/ 'wheat'; /kots/ 'cat'; /kraits/ 'back'; /[pots/ 'sparrow'

clusters: - /pflontsn/ 'plant'; /tsvikt/ 'to pinch (inf.)'; /krontsbirlə/ 'cranberry'; /kraitsblits/ ' cross lightning'; /putst/ 'cleans'; /fosttsait/ 'lent'; /tsvir/ 'string'; /letstə/ 'last'

tf/ [tf] - The voiceless post-alveolar affricate occurs rarely, but in all positions. One word was found word-initially, three words were collected both intervocalically and in two-consonant clusters with a following /n/, while four words were counted word-finally. With the exception of four words all others are loan words. word-initial position: - /tfu/ 'chewing tobacco'

intervocalic position: - /matʃi/ 'muddy'; /bʊtʃərʃʌp/ 'butcher shop'; /mætʃəs/ 'matches';

word-final position: - /mAtf/ 'much'; /lAntf/ 'lunch'; /vilitf/ 'village'; /dartf/

#### 'German'

clusters: - /paɪtʃn/ 'whip'; /daɪtʃn/ 'German (adj.)'; /dotʃn/ 'turnip'

## <u>Nasals</u>

/m/ [m] - The bilabial nasal occurs in all environments. It is found in two or threeconsonant clusters and it is often preceded by /ʃ/ or followed by /p/. <sup>14</sup> word-initial position: - /mɪr/ 'we (1st pers. pl.)'; /muoto/ 'mother'; /mɪl/ 'milk'; /mœl/ 'flour'; /miot/ 'tired'; /mɑl/ 'mouth'; /moɪdl/ 'girl'; /monto/ 'monday'

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The bilabial nasal /m/ always occurs at syllable junctures of the first person plural forms, where a pause occurs between the verb form and the tag that starts with the nasal.

intervocalic position: - /IMD/ 'always'; /baIMə/ 'trees'; /MAID/ 'wall'; /damıʃ/ 'dizzy'; /umɔIsn/ 'ant'; /umʊrkn/ 'cucumber'; /tʊməl dɪ!/ 'hurry up! (2nd pers. sg.)'

word-final position: - /bam/ 'tree'; /ʃnaɪm/ 'to snow (inf.)'; /buom/ 'boys'; /vem?/ 'whom'; /blɪm/ 'stayed (past part.)'; /ʃlɪm/ 'bad'; /graʊpm/ 'hail'

clusters: - /mɪr sʊlmɒ/ 'we should'; /mɪr mɪsmɒ/ 'we must'; /vuɒrm/ 'worm'; /ʃmɛtn/ 'cream'; /lampl/ 'lamb'; /kampln/ 'to comb'; /ʃɪmpl/ 'mole'; /tsvɛʃm/ 'plum'

/n/ [n] - The alveolar nasal occurs in all positions. It appears in clusters preceding /t/ or another alveolar consonant, as a second element of a cluster following  $/\int/$ , and in word-final position in combination with other consonants.

word-initial position: - /nɪt/ 'not'; /nʊr/ 'only'; /nɪmɒ/ 'never'; /noxt/ 'night'; /naɪjop/ 'New Year's Day'; /nebl/ 'fog'; /nort/ 'north'

intervocalic position: - /ʃtenənt/ '(they )are standing'; /bənəmɒ/ 'behaved (past part.)'; /mamə/ 'my (poss. pronoun'; /junɪ/ 'june'; /hənə/ 'rooster'; /flɛnɒ/ 'to cry (inf.)'

word-final position: - /m/ 'in'; /kon/ '(I) can'; /non/ 'to sew (inf.)'; /mon/ 'to mow' (inf.)'

clusters: - /vintb/ 'winter'; /unkraut/ 'weed'; /fluŋt/ '(they) are flying"; /haint/ 'today'; /hintri/ 'back there'; /nosn/ 'nose'; /ʃnaim/ 'to snow (inf.); /vartsn/ 'wart';

 $/\eta/$  [ $\eta$ ] - The velar nasal does not occur word-initially. It often occurs in clusters followed by the velar consonant /k/ but it also appears in combination with other consonants.

intervocalic position: - /trnp/ 'to drink (inf.)'; /gonp/ 'gone (past part.)'; /brunp/ 'brought (past part.)'; /ofonp/ 'to start (inf.)';

word-final position: - /dɛŋ/ '(I) think'; /glɛŋ/ 'lain (past part.)'; /reŋ/ 'rain'; /ɛmpfɔŋ/ 'reception'; /raʊxfɔŋ/ 'chimney'; /ɛŋ/ 'you (2nd pers. pl.)'; /lɔŋ/ 'long'

clusters: - /fɔŋt/ 'catches'; /dɛŋkt/ 'thought (past part.)'; /ʃoŋmoxn/ 'cabinetmaker'; /ɛŋkl/ 'ankle'; /ʃtɪŋkəts/ 'skunk'; /bɪŋl/ 'bundle; bump' <sup>15</sup>;

# <u>Liquid</u>

/1/ [1] - The alveolar liquid occurs in all positions. It occurs in many two and three-consonant clusters in combination with many consonants. If the cluster appears word-finally with /1/ as the final element, the alveolar liquid is then always syllabic. word-initial position: - /luft/ 'air'; /laıçt/ 'funeral'; /luŋp/ 'lung'; /levp/ 'liver';

/lampl/ 'lamb'; /kampl/ 'comb'; /letstə/ 'last'; /lipps/ 'dear'; /laıçtə/ 'light (adj.)'

intervocalic position: - /ʊlə/ 'all'; /fɒlaɪnt/ 'melted (past part.)'; /hœlɒ/ 'louder (comp.)'; /haɪlɪgɒ/ 'holy'; /ʃofələ/ 'little sheep'/ mɑlɒ/ 'miles'; /bɪlɪç/ 'cheap'

word-final position: - /mɪl/ 'milk'; /ʃul/ 'school'; /ʃvaɪl/ 'piglet'; /fœl/ 'much'; /hœl/ 'loud'; /mœl/ 'flour'; /hivəl/ 'hill'; /tʊməl dɪ!/ 'hurry up! (2nd pers. sg.)'

clusters: - /basl/ 'aunt'; /gansl/ 'gosling'; /fasl/ 'barrel'; /moldl/ 'girl'; /gœlt/ 'money'; /epfl/ 'apples'; /[lim/ 'bad'; /nadl/ 'grandmother'

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  In this particular word, many speakers pronounce the word with /ŋ/ and a following velar consonant /k/ .

/r/ [r] - The alveolar trill occurs in all environments. It appears in many two or three-consonant clusters, and often occurs as the the second element in two-consonant clusters. The trill is stronger in a stressed syllable and is pronounced with little constriction in unstressed syllable, where it tends to weaken and become approximate in nature. <sup>16</sup> The /r/ can become syllabic and is vocalized in postvocalic position wordmedially and word-finally. In some words the alveolar trill loses some of its friction, but does not become approximate, especially when /r/ precedes / $\int$ / in a combination of consonants. The consonant is however pronounced word-finally when immediately followed by a word beginning with a vowel. <sup>17</sup>

word-initial position: - /routo/ 'red'; /reçt/ 'rather, right (adv.)'; /ren/ 'to talk'; /ros/ 'horse' /raudox/ 'chimney'; /ruom/ 'turnip/'; /raist of/

'opens up'

intervocalic position: - /herInt/ 'inside'; /friprp/ 'earlier (comp.)'; /marodi/ 'tired'; /taubord/ 'male dove'; /kukuruts/ 'corn'; /pford/ 'priest';

/[ton/ 'story'

word-final position: - /fir/ 'for'; /mir/ 'we (1st pers. pl.)'; /dutr/ 'egg yolk'; /bəfər/

'before'; /ver/ '(I) will, become'; /der / 'the (definite article)'

clusters: - /brent/ 'burnt (past part.)'; /grunt/ 'run (past part.)'; /[voots/ 'black';

/bir[tn/ 'brush'; /gret/ 'straight (adv.)'; /brout/ 'bread'; /endl/ 'ear';

/opvatn/ 'to work (inf.)'

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  A good example for this phenomenon is the word /ondon/ "other", collected for example in Wenker sentence 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Most words ending in the vowel phoneme |v|, such as |faro| "fire" are also realized with the affix |ar/, such as |farar| when followed by a vowel. Another noticeable feature is the occurrence of |r| between vowels and simply its epenthetic nature in a word. Examples collected were the phrases such as |dcs tuo -r - i nmv| "I don't ever want to do it again", or |i voels nmv meortov -ra so| "I don't ever want to do it again" in Wenker sentence 10, or the word /kuorautv/ "udder". Schmeller (1821, 142-43) calls this occurrence simply an additional |r| and lists examples in his book on the grammatical overview on Bavarian dialects, while Kranzmayer (1956, 127) claims that this consonant is a "Hiatustilger", a hiatus blocker, that is especially used in Central Bavarian.

## Approximant

/j/ [j] -- The palatal approximant (semivowel) mainly occurs word-initially and sometimes intervocalically. In the latter position the palatal approximant sometimes occurs at a compound boundary as the first element of the second compound after a juncture pause. It never appears in the word-final position.

word-initial position: - /jʊŋ/ 'young'; /jɪŋɒ/ 'younger (comp.)'; /joɒ/ 'year'; /jusn/ 'to use (inf.)'; /junɪ/ 'june'; /julɪ/ 'july'; /joxn/ 'to hunt (inf)'

intervocalic-position: - /frijoD/ 'spring'; /ejə/ 'marriage'; /famœljə/ 'family'; /JIjD/ 'eggs' <sup>18</sup>

clusters: - /aməgjokt/ 'chased (past part.)'; /gjust/ 'used (past part.)'; /fjunərəl/ 'funeral'

The phonemic distribution of the consonant phonemes in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final position is shown is the following chart. It is not easy to find exact minimal pair contrasts because not all consonants occur in each environment. This table, however illustrates enough contrasting phonemes by listing all consonants described above in the phonemic inventory of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect. <sup>19</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This word was collected in Wenker sentence 7 and in free speech as well as a another realization of it by one of the speaker with the mid back tense rounded vowel |o|, |ojo| "eggs". Perhaps it is the informant's individual emphasis on that word in a free speech passage, because the speaker pronounces the word with a diphthong in the questionnaire. Schatz (1907, 101-02) in his discussion on sonorants in his *Altbairische Grammatik* points out the non-approximation of |j| after long vowels and diphthongs and he adds that the palatal approximant is originally pronounced in the plural form of "eggs".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> This chart is designed after the one used by Moulton (1966, 21).

	Word-Initial		Intervocalic		Word-Fin	nal
/p/	/paitjn/	'whip'	/kəpə/	'bucket'	gip!/'	'give!'
/pf/	/pfaɪfn/	'to whistle'	/kepfə/	'heads'	kopf/'	'head'
/b/	/baisn/	'to bite'	/saubo/	'clean'		
/v/	/vœln/	'to want'	/hovon/	'oats'	/∫of	'sheep'
/ <b>f</b> /	/fœln/	'colt'	/ofp/	'oven'		
/t/	/tupt/	'does'	/feto/	'uncle'	/hart/	'today'
/đ/	/duɒr∫tɪ/	'thirsty'	/fedon/	'feathers'		
/s/	/su/	'son'	/meso/	'knife'	/dɛs/	'the '
/ʃ/	/∫u/	'shoe'	/mɔʃin/	'machine'	/vɛʃ/	'clothes'
/ç/			/reçd/	'rake'	/raıç/	'rich'
/k/	/kuo/	'cow'	/okon/	'to plow'	/ruk/	'coat'
/g/	/gunt/	'good'	/gogotsn/	'to cackle'	/ax/	'also'
/x/			/voxo/	'weeks'	/braux/	'(I) need'
/h/	/huostn/	'cough'				
/m/	/man/	'to mow'	/amə/	'inside'	om/	'on'
/n/	/nan/	'to sew'	/barmə/	'trees'	/kon/	'(I) can'
/ŋ/			/goŋɒ/	'went'	/ʃɔŋ/	'cabinet'
/1/	/laıçt/	'funeral'	/hailigo/	'holy'	/mīl/	'milk'
/r/	/raıç/	'rich'	/harrotn/	'to marry'	/mr/	'we'
/j/	/jat/	'yard'	/əɪjɒ/	'eggs'		
/ts/	/tsu/	'to'	/katsələ/	'kittens'	/vorts/	'wheat'
/tʃ/	/tʃu/	'chew'	/matʃɪ/	'muddy'	/daɪtʃ/	'German'

In the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis the voiceless consonants display differences in comparison with historical linguistic changes of German and its modern day usage. The tendency towards lenition is not consistent in all environments. Voiceless stops are mostly lenited in initial positions, especially in sentence translations and free conversation. In words collected individually voiceless stops tend to be much more enunciated. Voiced stops occasionally show lenition in medial environments.

The Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis shows that Old High German (OHG) /p/ is most often fully pronounced in word-initial position, but lenition is also documented as in /plotot/ and /blotot/ *platt, glatzköpfig* 'bald'. <sup>20</sup> There is always full pronunciation of /p/ in word-final position. However, the Catholic Bohemian German dialect displays the reflex of the second sound shift from West Germanic /p/ to the Old High German (OHG) affricate /pf/ in all environments: /pfont/ *Pfund* 'pound'; /ɛmpfoŋ/ 'reception'; /kopf/ *Kopf* 'head'. <sup>21</sup> In word-medial position WG gemination /pp/ shifts to OHG /pf/: /treapfl/ *Erdapfel* 'potato'. WG /p/ also shifts to OHG /f(f)/ medially: /pfefo/ *Pfeffer* 'pepper'. Medial OHG /b/ is usually weakened to the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ between vowels, after /t/, and after /l/: /vaɪvo/ *Weiber* , *Frauen* 'women' /opvatn/ *arbeiten* 'to work (inf.)'; /hulvot/ halb 'half (adv.)'. There is also a shift from /b/ to the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ when followed by the liquid /l/ in the following two words: /tsvifəl/ *Zwiebel* 'onion'; /knoflət/ *Knoblauch* 'garlic'. The voiced bilabial stop, however, changes to the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ between /m/ and /l/: /lampl/ *Lamm* 'lamb';

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> New High German (NHG) forms are given in italics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> There is one word collected in the picture description that is inconsistent with the reflex of the sound shift usually shown by the speakers. The word /postn/ "post" was pronounced that way by all speakers, but one. This speaker realized the affricate /pf/. However, the word might be a borrowing from English that was incorporated into the dialect when the Catholic Bohemian Germans had already settled in Ellis, Kansas.

/kampl/ Kamm 'comb'. It is sometimes not actualized at all word-finally or after the alveolar trill /r/: /bup/ Bube 'boy'; /hiprkst/ Herbst 'fall'.

The dialect reflects the sound shift WG /t/  $\rightarrow$  OHG /ts/ in word-initial position and  $\rightarrow$  OHG /s(s)/ word-medially: /tsaItUIJ/ Zeitung 'newspaper'; /vost/ Wasser 'water'. There is also evidence of the shift of WG /t/  $\rightarrow$  OHG /s/ in word-final position: /hots/ heiß 'hot'. Word-initial WG /d/  $\rightarrow$  OHG /t/ is inconsistently lenited, even in the same words such as : /dout/ tot 'dead'; /daIç/ Teich 'pond'; but also /tout/ and /taIç/. Medial WG /ð/ shifts to OHG /d/: /brundto/ Bruder 'brother'. Medial OHG /t/ is unshifted or lenited: /butto/ Butter 'butter'; but: /bladln/ Blättlein 'leaves'. Two words show evidence with medial OHG /t/ lenited to its voiced corresponding consonant whereby OHG /v/ is omitted: /vidIn/ Witwe 'widow'; /vidmto/ Witwer 'widower'.

There is no lenition of word-initial OHG /k/ in the dialect: /klopnə/ kleine 'little'; /kuln/ Kohlen 'coals'. WG /k/  $\rightarrow$  OHG /hh/ is inconsistently reflected word-medially following a vowel: /koxtl/ kochen 'to boil'; /broxtl/ gebrochen 'broken'; but: /boktl/ backen 'to bake'. <sup>22</sup> The voiceless velar stop WG /k/  $\rightarrow$ OHG /h/ is either pronounced or lost word-finally: /raux/ Rauch 'smoke, but: /mtl/ Milch 'milk'; /i/ ich 'I'. OHG /g/ is reflected word-initially and word-medially: /glvk/ Glucke 'sitting hen'; /gnak/ Genick 'neck'; /aigənə/ eigene 'own'; /ligtl/ liegen 'to lie (inf.)'. Word-final OHG /g/ however is deleted in unstressed syllables such as in names for weekdays: /monttp/ Montag 'monday'.

Besides lenition and apocope, the dialect displays other interesting linguistic aspects. The voiceless alveolar fricative is mostly palatalized when it is preceded by /r/ and followed by /t / which is mostly attributed to assimilation processes: /ger[tn/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The NHG verb backen is based on the OHG forms bahhan, backan and the MHG bachen. See Duden, Das Herkunftswörterbuch, 1989) for a more detailed description on the etymology of this verb.

Gerste 'barley';  $/\epsilon r [t]$  erst 'first'. In intervocalic position the consonants /f and /gare sometimes lenited to /v/: /finvo/ fünf 'five'; /kevp/ Käfer 'eleven'; /hivol/ Hügel 'hill'; /[pipvol/ Spiegel 'mirror'. The consonant /b/ almost always shifts to |v| between vowels, after |r| and after |l|. <sup>23</sup> A change of consonants takes place in some words. In the first person plural which in Standard German is realized as wir the |v| shifts to |m|: |mir| wir 'we', and the consonant cluster |tv| is reflected by p/ in the word  $\epsilon ps / etwas$  'something. The plural verb forms of the verb sa/ sein'to be' are replaced with the plural verb forms of the verb /ham/ haben 'to have' through levelling: /han/ (wir) haben '(we) have'. It is common in Bavarian dialects for the plural forms of the verb  $/s\alpha/$  to be replaced with plural forms of the verb /ham/. <sup>24</sup> Furthermore, an apocope of the alveolar nasal /n/ documented wordfinally often causes the preceding vowel to nasalize slightly. The nasalization of vowels and diphthongs, however, is not marked in the transcription of the dialect. This inherent feature to Bavarian dialects is, however, added in a few cases where the nasal diacritic shows a difference in the meaning of a word or a prefix: /vai/ Wein 'wine'; /vai/ Weib, Frau 'woman'; /õ/ an 'on (prefix)'; /o/ ab 'off (prefix)'. <sup>25</sup> In addition, when individual words were translated three informants vocalized the alveolar liquid /1/ in the NHG word Kälbchen 'calf' as /karvəl/, all informants vocalized the liquid in the NHG word Schwalbe 'swallow' as / [varvə]/, and the same feature is reflected in the word /poistl/ Polsterlein, Kissenbezug 'pillowslip' by the main

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The literature on Bavarian grammars always mentions especially the lenition of /b/ to /v/. Schmeller (1821, 82) mentioned the lenition of /b/ to /v/ before unstressed vowels or before /r/, and Weinhold (1867, 129) traces back word-medial /b/ to Gothic-Saxon /bh/. Ringseis in his *Neues Bayerisches Wörterbuch* points out that the voiced bilabial stop is lenited to the voiced labio-dental fricative in Bavarian dialects (Ringseis 1994, 22).

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  Merkle (1984, 65) calls this "bäuerliche Form", that is rural form. There is still evidence of this today in mainly rural areas of Bavaria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Schwind (1968, 178) maintains that Bavarian vowels and diphthongs are only slightly nasalized. Merkle (1984, 18) points out that the gradation of nasalizing a word depends on the speech habits of the individual speaker.

informant. His ideolect also reflects a word-final backing after the alveolar trill /r/ to the voiceless velar fricative /x/ in numerous words. For example, the following collected words such as: /lorx/ leer 'empty'; /tiorx/ Tür 'door'; /februarx/ *Februar* 'february'. Thus it seems that in postvocalic position the alveolar trill is realized as a uvular type of /r/ that has a tendency to devoice and becomes the uvular fricative /x/. <sup>26</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> There is also an epenthetic uvular fricative between /r/ and /t/ in the NHG word *Garten*, realized by the informant as /gooxtn/. Kranzmayer (1956, 124) provides examples of medial /r/ often being replaced by /x/ or the uvular fricative appearing before /t/ in certain regions. One example he cites is  $/\int tooxk/$  "strong". Kohler (1995, 166) also argues that in some regional accents the uvular fricative /x/ appears before voiceless plosives and fricatives. For example the NHG word *hart* is thus realized as /haxt/ "hard". The pronunciation of this word by the main informant reflects this phonetic feature: /heoxt/.

	Front	Front	Central	Back	Back
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High Tense:	i				u
Lax:	I				ΰ
Mid Tense:	е				0
Lax:	3	œ	ə		э
Low Tense:				a	
Lax:	а		σ		

Dip	hth	ongs

Falling Diphthongs	<b>Rising Diphthongs</b>
uo	σσ
ip	13
OD	IC
ED	aı
	U
	ລບ

The vowel system of the Catholic Bohemian German Dialect of Ellis, Kansas

### **Phonology** - Vowels

and unstressed syllables.

Front Vowels

/i/ [i] - The high front tense unrounded vowel mostly occurs in interconsonantal position and is rare word-initially and word-finally. It occurs in stressed syllables in all positions. <sup>27</sup>

word-initial position: - /i/ 'I'; /ivo/ 'over'; /irə/ 'her (fem. poss. pronoun)' interconsonantal position: - /bigln/ 'to iron (inf.)'; /vido/ 'again (adverb'; /dis/ 'this'; /disl/ 'thistle'; /bleç[mit/ 'tinsmith'

word-final position: - /di/ 'the (fem. sg.nom.); /si/ 'she (3rd pers. nom. sg. pronoun), 'they (3rd pers. nom. pl. )'

/I/ [I] - The high front lax unrounded vowel mainly occurs in interconsonantal position, but also appears word-initially and word-finally. It occurs in both stressed

word-initial position: - /m/ 'in'; /mm/ 'always'; /into/ 'under'; /is/ 'is' interconsonantal position: - /tɪʃ/ 'table'; /kɪnt/ 'child'; /mɪt/ 'with'; /vɪnt/ 'wind'; /nɪt/ 'not'; /mɪl/ 'milk'; /lɪnks/ 'left'; /ʃlɪm/

'bad'

word-final position: - /afi/ 'up'; /ausi/ 'outside'; /ncti/ 'right'; /juni/ 'june'

/e/ [e] - The mid front tense unrounded vowel. It mostly occurs in interconsonantal position in a stressed syllable. It rarely appears word- initially and word-finally in a stressed syllable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> NHG stress rules apply for this dialect as well. The prominent stressed syllables in many loan words can differ from Standard German pronunciation. The stress is usually on the last syllable for example in words such as /tovok/ "tobacco"; /kafe/ "coffee". Ebner (1980, 219-20) underscores that borrowed words are usually stressed on the last syllable. However, vowel length is not indicated as mentioned in chapter 3. For tense vowels in stressed syllables are noticeably longer than tense or lax vowels occurring in unstressed positions. See Moulton (1966, 62-64).

/ɛ/ [ɛ] - The mid front lax unrounded vowel occurs in word-initial and interconsonantal position in stressed syllables. It does not occur in word-final position. word-initial position: - /ɛsn/ 'to eat (inf.)'; /ɛŋ/ 'you (2nd pers. nom. pl. pronoun); /ɛps/ 'something"; /ɛk/ 'corner'

interconsonantal position: - /ʃlɛçt/ 'bad'; /gɛns/ 'geese'; /ʃvɛstɒ/ 'sister'; /fɛtn/ 'lard' /pfɛfɒ/ 'pepper'; /rɛk/ 'coats'

/a/ [a] - The low front lax unrounded vowel occurs most often in interconsonantal position in stressed syllables. It sometimes appears in a stressed syllable wordinitially.

word-initial position: - /antəro/ 'drake'; /antn/ duck, ducks'; /aft / 'later' interconsonantal position: - /hamo/ '(we) have'; /gansl/ 'gosling'; /katsl/ 'kitten'; /gnak/ 'neck'; /tato/ 'dad'.

/œ/ [œ] - The mid front lax rounded vowel occurs in stressed syllables in interconsonantal position, but rarely in word-initial position in a stressed syllable. It is always followed by the liquid /1/.

word-initial position: - /œlstɒ/ 'oldest'; /œltɒn/ 'parents' interconsonantal position: - /vœln/ 'to want to (inf.)'; /fœlt/ 'field'; /gœlt/ 'money'; /gœlbə/ 'yellow'; /gœlsn/ 'mosquito'

# Central Vowels

 $\left| \partial \right|$  [ $\partial$ ] - The mid central lax unrounded vowel merely occurs interconsonantally and word-finally in unstressed syllables. It does not occur word-initially.

interconsonantal position: - /trʊkənə/ 'dry'; /ʃtenənt/ '(they) are standing '; /bənəmɒ/ 'behaved (past part.)'; /hɛmət/ 'shirt' word-final position: - /gɔntsə/ 'whole'; /bɪrlə/ 'berry'; /sɔɪfə/ 'soap'; /kəpə/ 'bucket'

/D/ [D] - The low central lax unrounded vowel only occurs in unstressed syllables. It does not appear in word-initial position. It occurs when /T/ is vocalized in postvocalic position or with the vocalization of  $/\partial n/$ . The affix  $/\partial n/$  is vocalized in nouns, infinitives, and past participles. Here it depends on the stem -final position, usually after the labial fricative /f/, the uvular fricative /x/, the velar stop /k/ and after all nasals; otherwise /n/ is retained in stem-final position. <sup>28</sup>

interconsonantal position: - /fɒbrɛnt/ 'burnt (past part.); /ligɒblim/ 'stayed (past part.); /hʊndɒt/ 'hundred'; /okon/ 'to plow' word-final position: - /koxt/ 'to cook (inf.)'; /bruttedt/ 'brother'; /sumter/ 'summer'; /kɑfttet/ 'to buy (inf.)'; /tɪŋttet/ 'to drink (inf.)'; /ʃtrīkttet/ 'to knit (inf.)'

Back Vowels

/u/ [u] - The high back tense rounded vowel occurs in stressed syllables in all environments. It mostly appears in interconsonantal position.

word-initial position: - /umoisn/ ' ant'; /umorkn/ 'cucumber' interconsonantal position: - /kuxən/ 'cake'; /jusn/ 'to use (inf.)'; /juə/ 'shoes'; /jvugp/ brother-in-law'; /lutern/ 'lantern'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Some examples for the retention of /n/ are: /kampln/ "to comb (inf.)" and /krioŋ/ "to get (inf.)".

word-final position: - /tsu/ 'to'; /du/ 'you (2nd pers. nom. sg. pronoun)'; /ju/ 'shoe'

/ʊ/ [ʊ] - The high back lax rounded vowel occurs mainly interconsonantally in stressed and unstressed syllables. It occasionally appears word-initially, and never word-finally.

word-initial position: - /unkraut/ 'weed'; /unsu/ 'our (poss. adj.)'; /ufu/

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'open'
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interconsonantal position: - /svntp/ 'sunday'; /svmp/ 'summer'; /dvndp/ 'thunder'; /umvrkn/ 'cucumber'; /kvkvrvts/ 'corn'

/o/ [o] - The mid back tense rounded vowel occurs mainly in interconsonantal position in a stressed syllable. It can also appear word-initially and word-finally where the stress also falls on this vowel.

word-initial position: - /ofp/ 'oven'; /ovp/ 'or'; /opst/ 'fruit'; /oklaupt/ 'picked (past part.)'; /okult/ 'killed (past part.)'

interconsonantal position: - /ros/ 'horse'; /brot/ 'brought (past part.)'; /fogl/ 'bird'; /nogl/ 'nail'; /hosn/ 'pants'

word-final position: - /vo?/ 'where?';  $/\int o/$  'already'; /to/ 'done (past part.)'; /so/ 'so'

(5) [5] - The mid back lax rounded vowel occurs frequently in interconsonantal position and word-final position in stressed and unstressed syllables. It can be followed by a single consonant or multiple consonants.

word-initial position: - /optrt/ 'privy'; /of/ 'monkey'; /omot/ 'above'; /oprœl/ 'april'; /ondon/ 'other'; /oktobo/ 'oktober'

# interconsonantal position: - /koxt/ 'to cook (inf.)'; /hot/ 'has'; /ʃvomt/ 'mushroom'; /noxt/ 'night'; /hos/ 'rabbit'; /gogotsn/ 'to cackle (inf.)'

/d/ [d] - The low back tense unrounded vowel occurs in stressed syllables interconsonantally and word-finally. It rarely appears word-initially in a stressed syllable.

# **Diphthongs**

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

interconsonantal position: - /gupt/ 'good'; /duprfti/ 'thirsty'; /fups/ 'foot'; /blupt/ 'blood'; /pflupx/ 'plow'; /ftuptn/ 'mare' word-final position: - /bup/ 'boy'; /kup/ 'cow'; /gnup/ 'enough'; /tup/ 'to do (inf.)'

/iD/ [iD] - The diphthong /iD/ occurs in stressed syllables word-initially and interconsonantally.

```
word-initial position: - /iorto/ 'tuesday'; /iodroko/ 'to chew cud (inf.)'
interconsonantal position: - /fios/ 'feet'; /pfliox/ 'plows'; /briof/ 'letter';
/liops/ 'dear'
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/OD/ [OD] - The diphthong /OD/ appears in word-initial position, interconsonantal position, and word-final position in a stressed syllable.

word-initial position: -/op/ 'egg'; /opvas/ 'pea'; /opbat/ 'work'; /opm/

'arm'

interconsonantal position: - /hops/ 'hot'; /gops/ 'goat'; /vopx/ 'soft'; /vopm/ 'warm'; /[vopts/ 'black'

word-final position: - /fop/ 'color'; / [top/ 'stone'; /bop/ 'bone'

 $\langle \epsilon D \rangle$  [ $\epsilon D$ ] - The diphthong  $\langle \epsilon D \rangle$  appears in a stressed syllable word-initially, interconsonantally, and word-finally, but is unstressed in conjunction with a verbal prefix in infinitives and past participles.

word-initial position: - /epdl/ 'ear'; /epnst/ 'serious'; /epgpn/ 'to offend

(inf.)'

interconsonantal position: - /hepts/ 'heart'; /trept/ 'soil'; /hepn/ 'to hear

(inf.)'; /neomot/ 'no one'; /auskeon/ 'to sweep

(inf.)'

word-final position: - /mep/ 'more'

 $/\Im \upsilon$  [ $\Im \upsilon$ ] - The diphthong  $/\Im \upsilon$  / only occurs in stressed syllables in all environments.

word-initial position: - /ouston/ 'Easter'

interconsonantal position: - /grous/ 'big'; /brout/ 'bread'; /rout/

'red'; /fous/ 'foot'; /houx/ 'high'; /tout/ 'dead';

word-final position: - /kou/ 'cow'; /frou/ 'happy'; /sou/ 'sow'

 $\langle \varepsilon I \rangle$  [ $\varepsilon I$ ] - The diphthong  $\langle \varepsilon I \rangle$  occurs in interconsonantal position and word-final position in a stressed syllable.

interconsonantal position: - /breif/ 'letter'; /veifœl?/ ' how much?'; /feis/ 'feet'; /freit/ 'earlier (comp.)'; /meiplbam/ 'maple

tree'

word-final position: - /kɛɪ/ 'cows'; /frɛɪ/ 'morning'; /ʃnɛɪ/ 'snow'; /vɛɪ/ 'ache'

/OI/ [OI] - The diphthong /OI/ occurs in stressed and unstressed syllables in wordinitial, interconsonantal, and word-final position.

word-initial position: - /OID/ 'eggs'; /OID/ 'one'; /OIÇkatslə/ 'squirrel';

/oifoln/ 'dropped (past part.)'; /oigonp/ 'walked off

(past part.)'

interconsonantal position: - /moidl/ 'girl'; /voitsn/ 'wheat'; /umoisn/ 'ant'; /soifə/ 'soap'; /froiənd/ 'earlier (comp.)'; /noxtoiln/ 'owl'

word-final position: - /froi/ 'morning'; /doi/ 'down'

/UI/ [UI] - The diphthong /UI/ occurs in all environments in stressed syllables.

There is only one word documented in word-initial position.

word-initial position: - /IJ/ 'some'

interconsonantal position: - /fluŋ/ 'fly'; /flukt/ '(it) flies'; /tuf/ 'deep';

/tsun/ 'to pull (inf.)'; /kruict/ '(it) crawls';

word-final position: - /kui/ 'none'; / [tui/ 'stones'

/al/ [al] - The diphthong /al/ appears in all environments in stressed syllables. word-initial position: - /alto/ 'udder'; /alg[toelt/ 'hired (past part.)';

/aitson/ 'tightwad (past part. adj.)'; /ailonn/

'to invite (inf.)'

interconsonantal position: - /tsaidln/ 'to milk (inf.)'; /harpl/ 'head (of a
 vegetable)'; /glaiçən/ 'to like (inf.); /haist/ 'houses';
 /kraits/ 'back'

word-final position: - /vai/ 'wine'; /vai/ 'woman'; /drai/ 'three'; /hai/ 'hay'; /mai/ 'my (poss. pronoun)'; /ʃnai/ 'to cut (inf.)'

/au/ [au] - The diphthong /au/ occurs in word-initial, interconsonantal, and wordfinal position. It mainly appears in stressed syllables, but sometimes in an unstressed syllable.

The following vowel chart contrasts the vowel phonemes in stressed position word-initially, interconsonantally, and word-finally, but also includes the vowels /2/ and /D/ that only occur in unstressed position. Although the majority of vowels occur in pairs of similar quality, it is rather difficult to pair up all of them to show a perfect complementary distribution.

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Word	-Initial	Interce	<u>onsonantal</u>	Word-	Final	
/i/	/i/	'I '	/nidp/	'down'	si/	'she, they'
/1/	/m/	'in'	/mt/	'no'	/mɪ/	'me'
/e/	/esəl/	'donkey'	/nedl/	'grandfather'	/ge/	'to go'
/ɛ/	/ɛs/	'it'	/nedls/	'nettles'		
/u/	/umoisn/	'ant'	/kuxən/	'cake'	/ʃu/	'shoe'
/ʊ/	/ʊns/	'us'	/koxl/	'kitchen'		
/o/	/ofp/	'oven'	/hof/	'yard'	/so/	'so'
/0/	/of!/	'monkey!'	/hət/	'has'	/dɔ/	'there'
/a/	/af/	'on'	/glasl/	'glass'	/na/	'no'
/a/	/aft/	'later'	/gansl/	'gosling'		
/œ/	/œlton/	'parents'	/mœl/	'flour'		
/ə/			/hɛmət/	'shirt'	/sima	/ 'seven'
/ơ/			/hundot/	'hundred'	/sʊm	D/ 'summer'
/uv/			/fuos/	'foot'	/kuo/	'cow'
/iɒ/	/iprto/	'tuesday'	/fips/	'feet'	/kiv/	'cows'
/วบ/	/ouston/	'Easter'	/foʊs/	'foot'	/koʊ/	/ 'cow'
/ɛɪ/			/fɛɪs/	'feet'	/kɛɪ/	'cows'
/00/	/00/	'egg'	/nodx/	'fool'	/kop/	' 'no'
/ɛɒ/	/eontn/	'harvest'	/nedx/	'afterwards'	/met	o/ 'more'
/10/	/orc/	'eggs'	/tsɔɪŋ/	'to show'	/dɔɪ/	'down'
/ʊɪ/	/ʊɪ/	'some'	/tsʊɪŋ/	'to pull'	/kui/	'none'
/aɪ/	/aito/	'udder'	/harso/	'houses'	/hai/	' 'hay'
/aʊ/	/auto/	'udder'	/haus/	'house'	/hau	/ '(I) hit'

		/kuv/, /kou/	/kip/, /kɛı/	/ʃtoɒ/	/ao[/	/ejics/	/ʃtʊɪ/	/torff/		/lart/, /faro/	/ʃnaɪ/	/rout/	/εοπ/,	/μευ/	/haus/
	CBG	/nc/ '/an/	/iv/, /ɛɪ/	/00/	/ao/	/IC/	/෩/	/ΩI/		/ar/	/ar/	/ɒc/	/ɛɒ/		/aʊ/
	DHN	/n/	/i/, /y/	/aɪ/	/ɔ/, /ɑ/, /a/	/aɪ/	/ar/	/i/		/IC/	/ar/	/0/	/i/, /ɛ/		/au/
2)	MHG	<0n>	<ie>, <ie></ie></ie>	<ei></ei>	<ô>, <â>, <a></a>	<ei></ei>	<ei></ei>	<ui>⊳</ui>		<ou>, <iu></iu></ou>	Ş	<ô>	<ie>,</ie>	<ul> <li><ul> <li><ul> <li><ul> <li><ul> <li><ul> <li><ul> <li><ul> <li><ul> <li><ul></ul></li></ul></li></ul></li></ul></li></ul></li></ul></li></ul></li></ul></li></ul></li></ul>	<û>
		/ʃen/, /ve/	/fmf/	/usou/	/amɒs/	/bam/	/ncm/	/gcelt/							
	CBG	/e/, /ɛ/	/i/, /ɪ/	/c/ ,/o/	/Ω/	/a/	/a/	/œ/							
	DHN	/ε/, /œ/, /φ/	/y/, /y/	/a/, /a/	/c/	/au/	/æ/, /e/	$ij$ , $ij$ , $ij$ , $i\epsilon$ ,	/y/						
1)	MHG	<ê>, <ё>	<ü>	<â>, <a></a>	<n></n>	<no></no>	<æ>	<i>, &lt;ê&gt;, &lt;ë&gt;, <iie></iie></i>							

The chart shows an overview of the major vowel correspondences between Middle High German (MHG), New High German (NHG), and the Catholic Bohemian German Dialect (CBG) of Ellis, Kansas. There is no connection between NHG and CBG. The chart only serves as a comparison between MHG, NHG, and CBG. There are phonemic symbols as well as graphemic symbols. The vowels of the dialect are under 1), while the diphthongs are under 2). The Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis does not show the New High German (NHG) front rounded vowels /y/, /y/,  $/\phi/$ , or  $/\infty/$ . <sup>29</sup> They are unrounded and are realized respectively as /i/, /iv/, /i/, /e/, and /e/: /frijov/ Frühjahr 'spring'; /mivt/ müde 'tired'; /friçtn/ Früchte 'fruit'; /knedl/ Knödel 'dumpling'; /kepf/ Köpfe 'heads'. The plural formation and some suffixes, such as several plural allomorphs often do create a fronting of the vowels in the dialect: /fuvs/ Fu $\beta$  'foot' versus /fivs/ Fü $\beta$ e 'feet'; /fogl/ Vogel 'bird' versus /fegl/ Vögel 'birds'; /laituvx/ Bettuch 'bedsheet' versus /laidivxv/ Bettücher 'bedsheets'; /frvxt/ 'fruit (sg.)'; /friçtn/ 'fruit (pl.)'.

The diphthongs /uD/, /iD/, /eD/, /eD/, and /UI/ are pronounced as two distinct vowel phonemes with the second component /D/ realized almost like a mumbling sound which leads to a stretching of the vowels, while the diphthongs /OU/, /eI/, /OI/, /AI/, and /AU/ have a compound vowel character. The so called falling diphthongs /uD/ and /iD/ are a significant feature in the vowel system of the dialect. Middle High German (MHG) <uo>  $\rightarrow$  New High German (NHG) tense /u/ via monophthongization is realized as /uD/: /fuDs/ Fu $\beta$  'foot'; /kuD/ Kuh 'cow'. And the MHG diphthong <ie>  $\rightarrow$  NHG tense /i/ occurs as /iD/: /liD/ lieb 'lovely'; /tsiDgl/ Ziegel 'brick'. MHG <ue>  $\rightarrow$  NHG tense /y/ is also realized as /iD/: /kiD/ Kühe 'cows'; /miDt/ müde 'tired'. The diphthongs /uD/ and /iD/ can also occur as secondary diphthongs through the vocalization of /r/ with the following /r/ slightly pronounced or totally unpronounced: /miD/ mir 'me'; /fuDt/ fort 'away' /biDrftn/ Bürste 'brush'. <sup>30</sup> In addition, the MHG monophthong <e> is realized as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The author chose to use the symbol of the NHG front rounded vowel /œ/ to show the realization of the NHG vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /ɛ/ and /y/ < Middle High German (MHG) <i>, <ê>, <ê>, <ë>, and <üe> influenced by the liquid /l/ which has given rise to rounded vowels: /fœlt/ Feld 'field'. <sup>30</sup> Kubitschek (1927, 15) calls them "unechte Zwielaute" in his discussion on the vowel system of

the dialects of the Bohemian Forest. The author translated this term as 'secondary diphthong'.

diphthong /iD/ in words such as : /hiDrkst/ Herbst 'fall'; /kiDrtsn/ Kerze 'candle'; /iDrtD/ Dienstag 'tuesday'. The falling diphthongs can also be realized as reversed diphthongs, /uD/ as /DU/: /fOUS/ Fuß 'foot'; /kOU/ Kuh 'cow'; while /iD/ becomes /EI/: /fEIS/ Füße 'feet'; /kEI/ Kühe 'cows'. The latter is characteristic of North Bavarian and is known as gestürzte Diphthonge, that is reversed diphthongs.

The MHG diphthong  $\langle ei \rangle \rightarrow NHG /aI / appears as a rounded diphthong /op/$ in monosyllabic words: /OD/ Ei 'egg'; /goDS/ Geiß 'goat'; /[toD/ Stein 'stone'; but changes to the rising diphthong /OI/ if historically two syllables are used: /OID/ Eier 'eggs'; /gois/ Ziegen 'goats'; /soife/ Seife 'soap'. It can, however also occur as /UI/ with the following nasal /n/ lost: / [tUI/ Steine 'stones'; /UI/ einige 'some'; /kui/ kein (e) 'no (negative pronoun)'. The rounded diphthong /op/ also appears from the MHG vowels  $\langle \hat{o} \rangle$ ,  $\langle \hat{a} \rangle$ , and  $\langle a \rangle$  through /r/ vocalization or when followed by the fricative /s/: /dopf/ Dorf 'village'; /jop/ Jahr 'year'; /vopm/ warm 'warm'; /opvas/ Erbse 'pea'. The diphthong  $(\epsilon D)$  occurs when the /r/ is vocalized and disappears completely following the lax  $\langle \varepsilon \rangle$ :  $/m\varepsilon D / mehr$  'more'; /epntn/ Ernte 'harvest'; /gepn/ gern 'to like to do something'; or when MHG <ie> and  $\langle ue \rangle \rightarrow NHG$  tense /i/ precede the nasals /m/ or /n/: |eon| in 'him'; /nepmpt/ niemand 'no one'; NHG tense  $/i/ \leftarrow$  via MHG <iu> is often realized as the reversed diphthong /u/: /tuf/ tief 'deep'; /fluin/ Fliege 'fly'. <sup>31</sup> The NHG monophthongs i/i, i/i,  $\epsilon/i$ , and tense y/i  $\leftarrow$  MHG vowels i/i,  $\epsilon/i$ ,  $\epsilon/i$ , and i/iappear often as the front rounded vowel /ce/ when influenced by the liquid /l/ as mentioned above: /besn toel/ Besenstiel 'broom handle'; /goelsn/ Mücke

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> OHG <iu> became the MHG long vowel <iu> collapsing with the vowel <iu> from Germanic <û>. The OHG form apparently reflects the Bavarian development of Germanic<eu> to <iu> in the OHG period. For a detailed discussion see Braune/Eggers (1975, 48).

'mosquito'; /goelt/ Geld 'money'; /hoelfp/ helfen 'to help'; /fpkoeln/ sich verkühlen 'to catch a cold'. There are two exceptions: /balt/ (er) bellt '(it) barks', /talp/ Teller 'plate'. The NHG diphthong  $|a_I| \leftarrow$  MHG tense long vowel  $\langle i \rangle$  does reflect NHG diphthongization in the dialect: /dainə/ dein 'your'; /jnai/ schneiden ' to cut; /tsaidln/ melken 'to milk'. And MHG <ou> and <iu> realized as the NHG diphthong /JI/ are unrounded to the rising diphthong /AI/: /latt/ Leute 'people'; /faip/ Feuer 'fire'; /hai/ Heu 'hay'. NHG /av/  $\leftarrow$  MHG  $<\hat{u}$  > consistently reflects the diphthongization /au/: / [aufl/ Schaufel 'shovel'; /haus/ Haus 'house'; /braut/ Braut 'bride'. There is one exception before the liquid /1/: /mal/ Maul 'mouth'. <sup>32</sup> The NHG /au/  $\leftarrow$  MHG <ou> sometimes appears as the diphthong /au/: /rauxo/ rauchen 'to smoke'; /haupt/ Haupt 'head'; it occurs as the back tense vowel /a/ before the nasal /m/: /bam/ Baum 'tree'; /tramp/ träumen 'to dream'. The back tense vowel  $\alpha$  is also realized in words with the NHG vowels  $\alpha$ and  $/e/ \leftarrow$  OHG long  $<\hat{a}$  via MHG  $<\hat{a}$  :  $/n\alpha n/n\ddot{a}hen$  'to sew';  $/l\alpha r/leer$ 'empty; /[var/ schwer 'heavy'. MHG <e> and tense long <ê> are retained in the dialect as /e/: /nebl/ Nebel 'fog'; /fedom/ Federn 'feathers'; /ve/ weh '(it) hurts'. The NHG word Schnee, however, does not show the realization of /e/, but of the diphthong  $/\varepsilon_I$  word-finally:  $/[n\varepsilon_I]$  'snow'. There is also a retention of /e or  $|\varepsilon|$  in the dialect when MHG < $\hat{\varepsilon}$  and < $\hat{\varepsilon}$  are reflected in NHG as either  $|\varepsilon|$ ,  $|\phi|$  or /ce/: /kefo/ Käfer 'bug'; /jen/ schön 'beautiful'; /lefl/ Löffel 'spoon'; /pfefo/ Pfeffer 'pepper'; /fctsn/ Fetzen 'rag'. NHG /y/ and /y/ corresponding to MHG is unrounded in the dialect to /i/ and /i/ respectively: /hivəln/ Hügel 'hills'; /fmf/ funf 'five'. MHG <i> and <u> are largely preserved in the dialect: /i/ ich 'I'; /juni/ Juni 'June'. A noticeable exception is: /intp/ unter 'under' where MHG

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> This word was realized as /mol/ by some speakers or with the diphthong as /maul/.

 $\langle u \rangle \rightarrow NHG / u'$  is also realized as /I/. NHG tense /u/ and lax /a/  $\leftarrow MHG \langle \hat{a} \rangle$ and  $\langle a \rangle$  is often rounded to /0/ or /5/ in the dialect: /mosn/Narbe 'scar'; /5kon/ ackern, pflügen 'to plow'. A significant change in the realization of the vowels /0/ and/5/ to /u/ and /u/ primarily takes place in some words of the dialect with a following liquid /l/ or the nasal /m/ with NHG /u/, /a/, and /0/  $\leftarrow$  MHG  $\langle \hat{a} \rangle$ ,  $\langle a \rangle$ , and  $\langle o \rangle$  respectively: /umoisn/ Ameise 'ant'; /fmultsrigl/ Schmaltzriegel 'doughnut'; /kult/ kalt 'cold'; /kuln/ Kohlen

'coals'; . <sup>33</sup> NHG /o/  $\leftarrow$  MHG <ô> is reflected as the secondary diphthong /ou/: /rout/ rot 'red'; /tout/ tot 'dead'; /brout/ Brot 'bread'. But the dialect retains the vowel /u/ from MHG <u>  $\rightarrow$  NHG lax /o/: /sump/ Sommer 'summer'; /suntp/ Sonntag 'sunday'.

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers have a tendency to reduce vowels in unstressed syllables such as in the past participle prefix /g/ with the apocope of the unstressed vowel /2/. Tense long vowels in single-syllable words in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German differ from Standard German pronunciation, e.g., the word /ros/*Roß, Pferd* 'horse'. Other scholars have noticed this lengthening of vowels in Bavarian dialects. One scholar noted: "Dehnung und Schärfung der Vokale und der damit zusammenhängende Wechsel einfacher und verdoppelter Consonanten folgen in der altbayerischen Mundart nicht den Gesetzen der Schriftsprache" (Mutzl 1860, 343). <sup>34</sup> Furthermore, Ellis Catholic Bohemian German has two words that are distinct in the dialect. In the words /nedl/ *Großvater*, *Ahn(e)* 'grandfather', and /ncdl/ *Großmutter*, *Ahnin* 'grandmother' they insert an epenthetic consonant /d/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The NHG word *kalt* 'cold' was also realized as /kolt/ by some speakers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Mutzl (1860, 343) gives a detailed description on pronunciation differences in Bavarian dialects as opposed to Standard German. Ebner (1980, 219-20) in his discussion on German in Austria also lists numerous examples for the phenomenon of vowel quantity and intonation in Austrian German based on Bavarian dialects that differ from the literary language.

between the vowel and the syllabic /l/ and metathesize the nasal /n/ and the vowel. <sup>35</sup> The words are derived from MHG / $\alpha$ n/ and / $\alpha$ ne/ respectively. Metathesis also occurs in the word /trept/ *Erde* 'ground, soil'; and the word for NHG *Kartoffel*, *Erdapfel* /trepfl/ 'potato' between the vowel / $\epsilon$ / and the alveolar trill /r/. The initial alveolar stop /t/ is perhaps added from a preceding article with assimilation of the unstressed vowel. <sup>36</sup>

# Pronominal Morphology 37

	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Possessive
1st person singular	i	mi	mır	mai(n)
2nd person singular	du	dı	dır	dai(n)
3rd singular masculine	er, der	edn, edm	edm	sai(n)
feminine	si, di	si, di	ir	ir, saı(n)
neuter	es, des	es, des	des	sai(n)
1st person plural	mır	uns	uns	(er)eneanu
2nd person plural	des (tsvod)	εŋ	eŋ, es	enənə
3rd person plural	si, di	si, di	denə <sup>38</sup>	edrə(nə), derənə

The chart on the pronominal system of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect

displays three cases, the nominative, accusative, and dative cases. Some personal

 $<sup>^{35}</sup>$  The syllabic /1/ is the diminutive suffix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Weinhold (1867, 169-70) mentions the frequent transposition of /r/ and /e/ in the prefix -er, for example *da restarb* (*da erstarb*) 'then died'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> The grammatical tables were completed either by asking the informants directly for specific forms or by translation exercises.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Apart from the demonstrative pronoun form for the 3rd person plural dative case, no specific pronoun form could be collected.

pronouns occur in a reduced form when unstressed, such as:  $/\varepsilon r / > /D / er$  'he'; /si / > /sə / sie (sg. and pl.) 'she, they', and  $/\varepsilon s / s / s / es$  'it'. There is , however a tendency for the dative and acccusative case to merge into a common objective case, especially in the 3rd person singular masculine. The collapse of these cases can also be observed in the 1st and 2nd person plural forms, whereas the 3rd person dative plural shows a distinctive dative form. There is a clear distinction of the dative and accusative forms in the 1st and 2nd person singular forms, as well as the 3rd person singular feminine form.

In the following examples the accusative and dative case distinction is retained: /toməl dr!/ Beeile dich! 'Hurry up!'

/aft genmo mit dir/ Dann gehen wir mit dir zusammen. 'Then we will go with you.'

The breakdown of the accusative/dative distinction is, however evident in the inconsistent use of the 1st person singular pronoun as an indirect dative object as is illustrated by the following sentence:

/der ivoruk past mir nit/ Dieser Mantel paßt mir nicht. 'This coat does not fit me.'

/der ivoruk past mi nit/ Dieser Mantel paßt mir nicht. 'This coat does not fit me.'

The shift to a common objective case is also apparent in the use of the 3rd person singular masculine dative pronoun for a direct accusative object, contrary to the historically used masculine accusative form with /n/, as the following examples represent:

/i hon com gsokt, jo, i se com/ Ich habe ihm gesagt, ja, ich sehe ihn. 'So I told him yes, I see him.'

/i vil com om kupf hau.../ Ich will ihn schlagen.... 'I want to hit him...'

The 2nd person plural forms are unique in this table in that they show the old dual form  $\ddot{o}s/enk$  (MHG ir/iuch) >  $/\epsilon \eta/euch$  'you (2nd pers. pl.)' in the accusative and dative case. The dual form stems from the Indo-European dual pronoun form *es*. <sup>39</sup> The nominative case expresses the dual by using the demonstrative pronoun /d $\epsilon$ s/ *diese* 'these', and the number 'two' /tsvot/ *zwei*. The following sentence illustrates the use:

/des tsvon hats a  $\int es$  haus kot/ Ihr habt ein schönes Haus gehabt 'You two had a nice house'

The possessive pronouns tend to have weakened endings. The singular forms sometimes occur with the final nasal being lost. In addition, the 3rd person singular masculine/neuter possessive pronoun is sometimes used instead of its feminine counterpart:

/irə mo hot ir a naıə ruk kuft/ Ihr Mann hat ihr einen neuen Rock gekauft. 'Her husband bought her a new coat.'

/sai enkəlkint blaipt mit ir/ Ihr Enkelkind bleibt bei ihr. 'Her grandchild stays with her.'

The 1st person plural possessive pronoun varies between two forms that do not seem to be specific for an individual speaker. The same informant might use both forms, such as in the following examples of Informant 1:

 $<sup>^{39}</sup>$  See (Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen , 1997) for a discussion of the etymology of the NHG pronoun euch .

/mir hamp kaispt mit onsono fraitsoft/ Wir haben unsere Verwandten besucht. 'We visited our relatives.'

/mir gepmo onsərə hend kokorots/ Wir geben unseren Hühnern Mais. We give our chickens corn.'

Since the genitive case has been lost in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect, apart from the use of set phrases with a genitive noun inflection, such as : /mutər gotəs/ *Mutter Gottes* 'mother of God'; /den aplas des flatfəs/ den Ablaß des *Fleisches* 'the indulgence of the flesh', we find no example of the historical genitive. Possession is expressed periphrastically, using the dative case and possessive pronouns: 40

/des hant maine lait eure haus/ Dies ist das Haus meiner Eltern 'This is my parents' house.'

/mai foton sai jveston irə buo/ Der Sohn der Schwester meines Vaters (mein Cousin) 'my father's sister's son (my cousin).'

/des moidl is den leo vebb sai vai gven/ Das Mädchen ist Leo Webers Frau gewesen 'The girl was Leo Weber's wife'

The demonstrative pronouns predominate in the nominative case of all genders, where they often replace the personal pronoun: /di famont si/ Sie schämen sich. 'They are embarrassed.' Demonstrative forms in the singular always precede first names of people: /der vIII/ Willi 'William'; /di rosi basl/ Tante Rosi 'aunt Rosi.' Furthermore, the demonstratives in the nominative case appear fairly frequently in a main sentence between the subject and the verb, emphasizing the subject: /di flimp gens, di baisont mi tsu tout/ <sup>41</sup> Die bösen Gänse beißen dich tot. Those mean geese will bite you to death.' The third person singular feminine and neuter

 $<sup>^{40}</sup>$  The loss of the genitive case is a common occurrence throughout the German dialects. See Merkle (1984, 96).

 $<sup>^{41}</sup>$  This informant used the first person accusative pronoun instead of the second person accusative form.

demonstrative forms, as well as the third person plural also occur quite often in the accusative environment. The third person plural is also used in the dative demonstrative: /unt do is er mit mai framtfoft a tsom kemp gven mit deno ulo/ Und da ist er mit allen in meiner Verwandtschaft zusammengekommen 'And there he also got together with all my relatives'; and sometimes substitutes the possessive pronoun: /si gem derono heno gerftn/ Sie geben ihren Hühnern Gerste 'They give their chickens barley.'

Formal Usage:

 $/\epsilon_{IJ}$  / *lhr* 'you (2nd pers.pl.)', the old dual form, is used for formal address in the dialect:

/... dos si umakemo misn tsun eŋ/ ... daß sie bei euch/Ihnen vorbeikommen müssen 'that they have to stop by at your place'; /... eŋ tsun afhem/ ... um euch/Sie abzuholen '... in order to pick you up.'<sup>42</sup> Impersonal Pronoun:

The 3rd person singular neuter  $(\varepsilon s)$  functions as the subject with verbs used impersonally:  $(\varepsilon s \text{ get } \upsilon l \Rightarrow \varepsilon n l l \int Alles \text{ ist auf Englisch. 'Everything is in English.'}$ The neuter pronoun is often reduced to (s) if unstressed in the beginning of the sentence and frequently postenclitic to a finite verb, to pronouns, or conjunctions:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Informant 1 was making a phone call to Informant 5, his niece. He is her uncle and older than she, so she addresses him formally. Mirwald (1988, 23) points out that this pronoun was used to formally address people, as well as your parents and relatives. The formal address, however is mostly unfamiliar to speakers of the dialect when they address people. When directly questioned or in translation exercises with the second person plural pronoun in it the main informant used the 2nd person singular form /du/ du 'you': /ver brst du?/ Wie geht es Ihnen? 'How are you?' While Informant 5 was on the phone with her uncle she addressed a question to the author and immediately switched to the second person singular form: /virst hiftino tsu do rost? Wirst du zur der Rosi hinfinden? 'Will you find the way to Rosi's place?' When directly questioned about a formal usage she, however, formed questions such as: /vi hapts den?/ Wie geht es Ihnen? 'How are you'; /hapts gsunt? Sind Sie gesund? 'Are you healthy?'

/s fe draust/ Es ist draußen schön 'It is nice outside'; /aft virts vido biso vern/

Danach wird es wieder besser 'Then it will get better again.'

**Relative Pronouns:** 

There are no distinct relative pronouns in the Catholic Bohemian German

dialect. The relative clauses functioning as attributes are constructed by the indefinite

relative pronoun /vos/ was 'what' for all genders and the plural:

/er is mai feto, vos kroŋ is/ Das ist mein Onkel, der krank ist 'This is the best honey I have ever had'

/a vai, vos s kint of do voelt brigo kon/ Das Weib (Die Frau), das (die) ein Kind auf die Welt bringen kann 'A woman who can bring a child into this world'

/i tup tsaituŋ lesən, vos om ti gleŋ is/ Ich tue die Zeitung lesen, die auf dem Tisch gelegen hat 'I am reading the paper that was on the table'

/a kup, vos kai kaivəl kripkt/ Eine Kuh, die kein Kälbchen kriegt 'A cow that get have a calf'

/di hant men vi di distln, vos in foelt draust/ Die sind mehr wie die Disteln, die im Feld draußen (sind) 'These are more like the thistles back in the field'

Two examples were collected with the demonstrative pronoun preceding

/vos/: 43

/i hon mai basl gsen, di vos in heis voont/ Ich habe meine Tante gesehen, die in Hays wohnt 'I saw my aunt who lives in Hays.'

/nit der mo, den vos du gœlt gem host/ Nicht der Mann, dem du Geld gegeben hast 'Not the man whom you gave money.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Wiesinger (1989, 455) points out that relative clauses in Bavarian dialects are introduced by the relative pronoun was and they can be strengthened by the demonstrative, *der*, *die*, *das was*.

**Reflexive Pronouns:** 

Numerous sentences containing reflexives have been collected. Most of them show the use of the accusative forms. The reflexive pronouns sometimes occur with the loss of the final palatal fricative. The first two examples show verbs with an accompanying accusative case reflexive pronoun, while the last two sentences have the dative reflexive forms:

/unt host di gupt koltn/ ...und hast dich gut benommen 'and you have behaved yourself.'

/er hot si nidoglekt/ Er hat sich niedergelegt 'He lay down.'

/di fips tupnt mp so ve/ Die Füße tun mir so weh. 'My feet hurt so much.'

/mai brundt voel si afstoeln tsvai sene haist.../ Mein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser bauen 'My brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses.'

Most informants used the 3rd person singular masculine personal pronoun

/com/ ihm 'him' in the latter sentence, Wenker sentence 33, to express the reflexive

form: 44

/sai brundn voel com bau tsvon fene naie haisn in dann jut/ Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen 'His brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses in your yard'

Interrogative Pronouns:

The NHG interrogative pronouns wer 'who?', wem 'whom ... to ?', wie

'how?', wieviel 'how many?', wo 'where?', woher 'where... (from)?', was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The *dtv-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache* (1992, 155) provides the information that in OHG the dative case of a reflexive was formed by using the 3rd person singular personal pronoun *imu*, *iru*. This distinction is still made in some Upper German dialect areas. One sentence was collected showing the accusative reflexive pronoun /si/ being used with a verb that does not have a reflexive in the corresponding New High German (NHG): /oonp hot si gftolpot.../ *Einer ist gestolpert*... 'One [person] stumbled...'

'what?', was für 'what kind of?' and warum 'why?' have been collected for the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. They are realized in the dialect respectively as /ver/, /vem/, /vi/, /vifœl,veifœl/, /vo/, /vo...her/, /vos/, /vos fir/ and /vern,ve/.<sup>45</sup> The realization of the words for the NHG interrogative pronouns wieviel and warum depends on the speaker.

The translation of the dative interrogative pronoun *wem* 'whom ... to?', in Wenker sentence 21 underscores the tendency of this dialect to a common objective case. While in some translations the dative interrogative pronoun prevails, the nominative form *wer* 'who?' functions as a dative object in a couple of sentences and another example uses the accusative form of *wer* :

/tsu ver hamant di do  $\int torr fotscelt?/Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt? 'Whom did he tell the new story to?' <sup>46</sup>$ 

/ven hot er di stor fotsælt?/ Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt? 'Whom did he tell the new story to?'

#### Nominal Morphology

There are three genders in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect: masculine, feminine and neuter. Nouns, adjectives and articles are declined for those three genders. Nouns are declined in the singular and plural. <sup>47</sup> Articles and adjectives can be inflected in the nominative, accusative and dative cases. As with the pronominal system there is no inflection in the genitive case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The interrogative pronoun for the NHG *warum* 'why' has been collected from Informant 1 and Informant 2, both of whom realized the interrogative pronoun with /vern/ and /ve/, respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> This informant uses the third person plural instead of the third person singular masculine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The gender of nouns in this dialect are essentially parallel to the genders assigned to nouns in NHG. There is evidence of a few words, however, that have a different gender, for example: /der botor/ *die Butter* 'the butter'; /der rats/ *die Ratte* 'the rat'.

The Definite Article: 48

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
Masculine	der	den	den
Feminine	di	di	der, derd
Neuter	des	des	des, den
Plural	di	di	di, den

The chart above shows the definite articles of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect. As has been mentioned before with the pronominal system, there sometimes is the tendency toward a collapse of the accusative and dative cases to one oblique case. The evidence is particularly strong with regards to the masculine forms, where the accusative form of the definite article very often also functions as the definite article of the dative indirect object. On the other hand, there is a consistent accusative and dative distinction with the feminine forms. Occasionally this distinction is also made in the neuter article. The following examples will show the use of the dative article with the dative indirect object, respectively, for the feminine and neuter:

/si hant finf sesəl in der kuxl/ Sie haben fünf Sessel in der Küche 'There are five chairs in the kitchen.'

/i hons dem vai gsokt/ Ich habe es der Frau gesagt 'I told it to the woman.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> As with the pronominal system, some forms of the definite articles are simplified, especially in free conversation. The feminine singular nominative and accusative and all plural forms are sometimes realized as  $/d_0/$  and the neuter singular nominative and accusative articles as /s/, while the masculine singular accusative form is reduced to /n/. Furthermore, some informants occasionally omit the article altogether, for example: /mrl fonts koxt  $\delta/$  Die Milch fängt an zu kochen 'the milk is starting to boil.'

The masculine accusative form of the article often precedes a noun functioning as the direct object, but it also appears with a noun acting as the indirect object of the sentence. The following examples show the use of the masculine accusative form of the article in accusative and dative environments:

/er hot den  $\int tol ausgmist/ Er hat den Stall ausgemistet 'He cleaned the stable.'$ 

/Iç glaube den fater/ Ich glaube dem Vater 'I believe the father.'

The tendency of the accusative and dative masculine towards a common objective case is particularly evident in conjunction with prepositions that are contracted with the definite article. The accusative masculine ending /n/ is predominant in a historically dative (of location) environment:

/du sitst  $\int 0$  hinton ti $\int Du$  sitzt schon hinterm Tisch 'You are already sitting behind the table.'

/bam kopl same celton/ bei Karls Eltern 'at Karl's parents.'

The collapse of the accusative and dative case to a common case is perhaps also evident in the inconsistent usage of the dative plural definite article. In Wenker sentence 40 the dative distinction is made by one speaker, whereas others use the accusative plural article with the NHG dative preposition *mit* 'with'. The first example shows the use of the dative plural article, while the second statement has the accusative plural article:

/i bin mit den lait mitgfoon/ Ich bin mit den Leuten mitgefahren 'I drove with the people.'

/i bin gfoon mit di lait/ Ich bin mit den Leuten gefahren 'I drove with the people'

The retention of the historically dative masculine ending /m/ is rare. Two examples collected are with the preposition /on/ auf 'on', whereby the preposition and the definite article are contracted to /om/:

/host des vusp om ofp?/ Steht das Wasser am (auf dem) Ofen? 'Is the water on the stove?'

/er is om hivel om gstond/ Er stand oben am (auf dem) Berg 'He stood on the hill.'

The Indefinite Article:

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
Masculine	a (od, odn)	a (oon)	a (oon)
Feminine	a (oo)	a (oone)	a (onno)
Neuter	a (od)	a (op)	а

The indefinite article *ein* 'a' is realized as /ODn/ with masculine nouns in all cases, but it was mostly used in the reduced form /a/. All other forms of the indefinite article were realized with the reduction to /a/. <sup>49</sup> The form /OD/ which is also used for the ordinal number *eins* 'one' occasionally occurs as well in the nominative case of all genders and in the neuter accusative: /si hot op op broxp/ *Sie hat ein Ei zerbrochen* 'She broke an egg.' With the exceptions of the feminine acusative and dative endings of the ordinal number the mere use of the reduced form of the masculine

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The reduced form occurred with high frequency in the nominative case in the picture descriptions. Further simplification sometimes occurs with masculine and neuter in accusative and dative cases realized as /-on/.

and neuter indefinite articles perhaps underline the tendency towards a merger of both cases to one common objective case. A variation of the masculine nominative with the vocalized ending /D/ is used by the main Informant. The NHG indefinite pronoun *jemand* /ODND/ 'someone' reflects this, when used as a noun: /IS ODND gven/ Da war einer /jemand 'There was someone'. It is further inflected when preceded by a definite article: /der odna is a lerd, ... ont der odna is a bedld/ Der eine ist Lehrer, ... und der andere ist ein Bettler 'One is a teacher,... and the other one a beggar.'

#### Negation:

The negative indefinite pronoun kein 'no' is mostly realized as /kop/ in the singular: /i fint kop nodl/ Ich kann keine Nadel finden 'I cannot find a needle'; and /koI/ in the plural: /mIr hamp koI gens/ Wir haben keine Gänse 'We do not have any geese'. The negative pronoun does not normally occur with an ending. Also the indefinite pronoun manche, einige 'some' which was collected for the nominative plural does not have an ending: /oI hon i  $\int$ ten losn kot/ Manche habe ich stehen lassen 'I left some'.

Noticeable is the double negation that occasionally occurs in the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect, such as: /neomols nit/ niemals [nie] 'never [ever]'; /i glaiç koo fofflaif ovo karvəlsflaif nit/ Ich mag weder Schaffleisch noch Kalbsfleisch 'I do not like mutton or veal'.

## Noun plural formations:

Plural formations in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect are largely congruent with NHG plural suffixes. There are, however, some derivational features for the plural of the dialect that are unparalleled to the standard usage in NHG. Numerous plurals of nouns of all three genders are marked by a fronting of the stem vowel. In nouns marking their plural with the inflectional suffix  $/\Im r/$ , the /r/ is usually vocalized accompanied by a change in vowel quality. In various other nouns an additional nasal suffix /n/ is added to the noun singular as a plural marker, and the plural marker /D/ is affixed to some singular forms ending in a nasal. Some plural nouns do not have an inflectional suffix at all. A selection of noun plurals of all three genders with different plural markers follows:

	<u>Singular</u>			<u>Plural</u>
masculine:				
	der fups, fous	der Fuß	'foot'	di fips, feis
	der krud	der Krug	'jar'	di kriv
	der ∫u,∫ou	der Schuh	'shoe'	di ∫uə
	der bam	der Baum	'tree'	di barmə
	der tsego	der Korb	'basket'	di tsegon
	der hivəl	der Hügel	'hill'	di hivəln
	der mo, mon	der Mann	'man'	di mano
	der lefl	der Löffel	'spoon'	di lefl
feminine:				
	di kuo, kou	die Kuh	'cow'	di kid, kei
	di gons	di Gans	'goose'	di gens
	di hen	die Henne	'hen'	di hend
	di froxt	die Frucht	'fruit'	di friçtn
	di ram	die Pfanne	'pan'	di ramo
	di brr∫tn	die Bürste	'brush'	di bır∫tno
	di antn	die Ente	'duck'	di antn
neuter:				
	des dopf	das Dorf	'village'	di devfv
	des kınt	das Kind	'child'	di kındo
	des op	das Ei	'egg'	di oro
	des ros	das Pferd	'horse'	di ros
	des haus	das Haus	'house'	di haiso
	des glasl	das Glas	'glass'	di glasln

#### N- Class Nouns:

Most feminine nouns collected, based on the Middle High German (MHG) Nnoun declension are marked with a word-final nasal /n/ in the singular and plural: /mosn/ die Mase, Narbe 'scar'; /fɪsoln/ die Fisole, Bohne 'bean'; /kiɒrtsn/ die Kerze 'candle'. One masculine noun of this class is marked with the final /ə/ inflection retained in the nominative singular: /dɛr honə/ der Hahn 'rooster', another one has the final nasal in the dative and accusative cases: /buom/ dem/ den Buben 'boy(s)', while a third N- noun was collected in the accusative singular case: /ən atvokɑtn/ einen Advokaten 'a lawyer'. The neuter noun Herz that is still reflected in NHG dative singular does not have an ending in the dialect: /fon saın hɛɒts/ von seinem Herzen 'from his heart'.

#### Diminutive Suffix:

The NHG diminutives -chen and -lein are to a large extent reflected in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect as syllabic /l/: /gansl/ Entlein 'duckling'; /lampl/ Lamm 'lamb'; /bioxl/ Büchlein 'little book"; /ʃttkl/ Stückchen 'little piece'. An epenthetic vowel is inserted in words ending in a final labio-dental fricative: /ʃvaɪvəl/ Schwälbchen 'little swallow'; /kulvəl/ Kalb 'calf'. A few words have been collected with the suffixes /ələ/ and /lə/ such as: /frɛʃlə/ Fröschlein 'little frog'; /ʃofələ/ Schäfchen 'little sheep'. Some words only appear with diminutive marker: /mɔɪdl/ Mädchen 'girl'; /blodl/ Blatt 'leaf'.

#### Adjectives:

Predicate adjectives are preceded by a predicate verb and do not have any endings: /di tsartn hant hopt/ Es sind harte Zeiten 'Times are hard'.

Attributive adjectives which always come before the noun and frequently follow an article, primarily show a systematic pattern in the system of weak endings, but strong and mixed adjective endings are arranged orderly as well to a large extent. The attributive adjectives show endings in all three systems, with a few exceptions and some endings unaccounted for in the case of strong and mixed adjective endings.

Weak Adjective Endings:

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Plural
Nominative	- <del>3</del>	-ə (ø)	÷	-ən (-ə)
Accusative	-ən	-9	-ə	-ən
Dative	-ən	-ən	-ən (-ə)	-ən

Weak adjective endings appear after definite articles. The graphical display illustrates a rather predictable pattern. The predominant adjective ending in the nominative and accusative singular is /-ə/, whereas the accusative masculine forms are marked /-ən/. The dative endings, as well as all the plural forms show an /ən/. The one nominative feminine variation with no ending was collected in Wenker sentence 21: /di nai gʃiçt/ *die neue Geschichte* 'the new story'. The one neuter dative variation shows the loss of the final nasal: /mit dɛn vaisə ros/ *mit dem weißen Pferd* 'with the white horse'. The two nominative plural endings with the omission of the final nasal are examples that occurred in translation sentences in the Wenker and the Wisconsin Questionnaires: /di ʃlimə gɛns/ *die schlimmen Gänse* ' the mean geese'; /di juŋə krəuən/ *die jungen Krähen* 'the young crows'.

#### Strong Adjective Endings:

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Plural
Nominative	-ər	-ə	-əs (-s)	-9
Accusative	-ən	-9	-ø	<b>-</b> ə
Dative	-ən	-ə	-ən	- <del>2</del>

Strong adjective endings occur frequently in the plural, while some singular forms could be accounted for as well. Some past participles verb forms functioning as adjectives occurred as well. The plural forms are consistently marked with  $\left|-3\right\rangle$  in all cases, as the following examples show: /route epfl/ rote Äpfel 'red apples'; /gfluxtana hop/ geflochtene Haare 'braided hair'; /klopna fegl/ little birds 'kleine Vögel'. The one nominative masculine strong adjective ending was collected in Wenker sentence 11 as an imperative: /dumpr espl!/ dummer Esel 'stupid donkey!, and the following examples show the accusative and dative masculine strong adjective endings: /gupton vai/ guten Wein 'good wine', /fon siosn vai/ von süßem Wein 'from sweet wine'. The dative feminine shows a weak adjective ending: /mit gupta hopmmoxta flai vir t/ mit guter hausgemachter Wurst 'with good homemade sausage'. The neuter nominative and accusative forms are inconsistent, but the one example of neuter accusative adjectives ending in an alveolar fricative does not have an ending at all, perhaps due to apocope and assimilation of the second alveolar fricative: /In hops vusp/ in heißes Wasser 'in hot water'. The neuter nominative mostly shows the strong adjective ending /-as/, while two variation occurs with apocope of the vowel: /gmolns flat [/ gemahlenes Fleisch 'ground meat', /gupts rmtflai [/ gutes Rindfleisch 'good beef'.

Mixed Adjective Endings:

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Plural
Nominative	<b>-</b> D	- <del>2</del>	-S, -ƏS	-ə, -ən
Accusative	-ɒ, -ən	-ə	-S, -ƏS	-ə, -ən
Dative	-ən	- <del>2</del>	-ø, -ən	-ən

Mixed adjective endings occur after the indefinite article, the negative pronoun, or the possessive pronouns. They are systematic in the nominative and accusative cases in all genders and the plural. The feminine dative shows /ə/: /fon a guptə flu[n vai/ von einer guten Flasche Wein 'from a good bottle of wine'. One neuter dative that was collected did not show an ending, perhaps again because of apocope and assimilation after the fricative /s/: /fon a grous blodl/ von einem großen Blatt. 'of a big leaf', while another form shows a final /-on/: /tsu on ulton vai/ zu einem alten Weib 'to an old woman'. Most mixed adjective endings occurred in the masculine and neuter nominative case. The neuter nominative and accusative cases show the strong ending form /-9s/, but mostly appears with apocope of /-9/. The masculine accusative case mostly ends in /p/ and occasionally shows the form /-pn/: Nom. Sg. Masc. /a tsomp hos/ ein zahmer Hase 'a tame rabbit'; Acc.Sg.Masc. /ən lonp intokedl/ einen langen Unterkittel 'a long undershirt'; /oon gupton teist/ einen guten Geschmack' 'a good taste'; Nom. Sg. Neut. /a [es lampl/ ein schönes Lamm 'a nice lamb'; Acc. Sg. Neut. /a blacos tipxl/ ein blaues [Taschen] Tuch 'a blue handkerchief'. The feminine forms were all realized as /-2: Nom. Sg. Fem. /a goelbə ruom/ eine Karotte 'a carrot'. Two plural forms that were collected in the nominative and accusative cases respectively show two different endings: Nom. Pl. /mai kloons kindo/ meine kleinen Kinder 'my little children'; /unsers rauxton vir t/ unsere geräucherten Würste 'our smoked sausage'; Acc. Pl. /mamo

argən hend/ meine eigenen Hühner 'my own chickens'; /kur lenənə bantln/ keine längeren Bänder 'no longer strings'. The dative plural form is /ən/: /mrt irən [voptsən hunt/ mit ihren schwarzen Hunden 'with her black dogs'.

## Comparative and Superlative Adjectives:

The Catholic Bohemian German dialect forms the comparative and superlative adjectives with the same endings as NHG. The comparative ending is *-er* and the superlative is marked with the ending *-est*. In most adjectives this suffix creates a fronting and raising of a back stem vowel: /ʃlɪm/ 'bad'; /ʃlɪmo/ 'worse'; /ʃlɪmstə/ 'worst'; /jʊŋ/ 'young'; /jɪŋɒ/ 'younger'; /jɪŋstə/ 'youngest'. The dialect adds the same endings to the irregular adjective: /guot/ 'good'; /bɛstə/ 'bestə/ 'best'; and adds the superlative suffix to the comparative /mɛtb/ 'more' for the superlative adjective: /maɪstə/ 'most'. The NHG wie 'than' is used for comparisons: /tsve kɛpf hant bɛstb vi obntb/ Zwei Köpfe sind besser als einer 'Two heads are better than one'.

# Numerals

The first three cardinal numbers in the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect do not have the appearance of the final unstressed vowel /ə/: /ODNS/ eins 'one'; /tsvop/ zwei 'two'; /dra1/ drei 'three'. The numerals four through ninety-nine add a final /ə/: /fiorə/ vier 'four'; /finfə/ fünf 'five'; /simtsenə/ siebzehn 'seventeen'; /oxtsıgə/ achtzig 'eighty'. This final /ə/ is deleted when the number is modifying a noun: /mɪr hamp fipr kotsn/ Wir haben vier Katzen 'We have four cats', but: /gɪp ɪr fiprə nɪt finfə!/ Gib ihr vier, keine fünf! 'Give her four not five!'. The numeral /tsvop/ zwei 'two' is inflected thereby distinguishing between the genders. The form /tsve/ is used for masculine nouns, /tsvo/ is feminine, and /tsvot/ modifies neuter nouns: /tsve kepf/ zwei Köpfe 'two heads'; /tsvo deknt/ zwei Decken 'two blankets'; /tsvot lampln/ zwei Lämmchen 'two little lambs'. <sup>50</sup>

#### Verbal Morphology

The verbal conjugation of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect has a first, second and third person singular and plural. Verbs are conjugated in the indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods. Specific indicative verbs are conjugated in the present, present perfect, past perfect, and future tense. There is no distinct simple past tense. There appears to be a passive voice, though rarely used.

# Present Tense:

The personal suffixes for most present tense indicative verbs deviate from NHG endings. The 1st person singular ending -e is always lost: /i den/ Ich denke 'I think'; /i raux/ Ich rauche 'I smoke'; /i ftoel es nidu/ Ich stelle es nieder 'I put it down'. The 2nd person singular -st is retained: /du gIpst / du gibst 'you give'; /du sekst/ du siehst' 'you see', as is the 3rd person singular ending -t : /si krmt/ si kommt 'she comes'; /er mat / er mäht 'he is mowing'. The 1st person plural form is -(entilent This ending, however, is most of the time lost through apocope and assimilation to the following labial /m/ of the suffix /mto/ tagged on the 1st person plural , with the suffix being a reduplication of the first person pronoun /mtr/ wir 'we': /mtr gemt/ wir gehen 'we are leaving/walking'; /mtr tsattmt/ 'wir melken 'we are milking'. The 2nd person plural ends in the postenclitic form -ts , with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> See Merkle (1984, 159-65) for a detailed discussion on numerals in Bavarian dialects.

final -s resulting from the additional suffixation of the pronoun es, a reflex of the old dual  $\ddot{o}s/enk$ . : /des tsvo brauxts nIt/ *ihr braucht nicht* 'you (all) do not have to'; /des vists/ *ihr wißt* 'you (all) know'. The 3rd person plural maintains the MHG distinction with -( e) nt, but sometimes drops the final -t : /si ftenent/ sie stehen 'they are standing'; /si mont/ sie mähen 'they are mowing'; /si gogotsn/ sie gackern 'they are cackling'. The following graph displays the conjugation of the three main verbs /fte/ stehen 'to stand'; /blaim/ bleiben 'to stay'; /glaiçen/ mögen to like (to)':

	∫te	blarm	glaıçən
i	∫te	blarp	glaıç
du	∫test	blaıpst	glaıçst
er			
si }	∫tet	blarpt	glaıçt
23			
	C4	11	_1
mir	∫temp	blaimp	glaıçmo
des (tsvod)	∫tets	blarpts	glaıçts
si	∫ten∍nt	blarmənt	glaıçənt
past part.	g∫t⊃n¤	blim	glıço

The verb /glaiçon/ occurs mostly for the MHG modal auxiliary mügen (mögen) 'to like to' in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. It is perhaps a broadening of the semantic meaning of the MHG strong verb g(e)lichen (gleichen) 'to like someone, to equal, to resemble someone', as the strong verb past participle /glicp/ gemocht 'liked ' might suggest, or a rendition of the English verb 'to like' that entered the dialect as a loan-translation. <sup>51</sup> The following examples show its usage: /i glarç a hefəl kafe/ Ich möchte eine Tasse Kaffee 'I would like a cup of coffee'; /dɛs glarçmɒ ɛsn/ Wir essen das gern 'We like to eat that', /lɛtst joɒ hon is glrçɒ, ovɒ dis joɒr i glarçs nɪmɒ/ Letztes Jahr habe ich es gemocht, aber dieses Jahr mag ich es nicht mehr 'I liked it last year, but this year I do not like it anymore'. Some speakers, however, occasionally use the NHG verbal phrase (etwas) gern haben instead: /unt dɛs hon i koɒ gɛɒn/ Und das habe ich gar nicht gern 'And I really do not like that'; /ɛr tot gɛɒn a hefəl kafe ham/ Er hätte gern eine Tasse Kaffee ' He would like to have a cup of coffee'.

The following table shows the conjugation of the three principal auxiliary verbs /sa/ sein 'to be', /ham/ haben 'to have', and /top/ tun 'to do' for the present tense:

	sa	ham	top
i	bīn	hon	tuo
du	bist	host	tuost
er			
si }	IS	hət	tunt, tout
23			
mm	han, hamo	hamp	tuomo
des (tsvod)	hats	hats	tuots
si	hant	hamant	tuont
past part.	gven	kət	to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> This view is held by Bloomfield (1933, 462) who claims that the English verb 'to like' is the model from which the loan-translation in the dialect derives. Thus the German verb *gleichen*, meaning 'to equal, to resemble someone' receives a new meaning. Clausing (1986, 146) lists various references that discuss this semantic loan, which according to him occurs in a number of German dialects in the United States.

It is common in Bavarian dialects that the plural verb forms of the verb /sɑ/ sein 'to be' are replaced with the plural verb forms of /ham/ haben 'to have' through levelling.

The verb /too/ *tun* 'to do' occurs always occurs as an auxiliary verb with a dependent infinitive. The use of it appears to be a matter of personal preference. While some occasionally constructed a sentence with this auxiliary verb, others used it quite frequently:

/si tupt vef bigeln/ Sie bügelt die Wäsche 'She is ironing the clothes'

/ve tuont di krouen so frai?/ Warum schreien die Krähen so? "Why are the crows crowing like that?"

/i glaiç, ven mon neom fogesn tuot/ Ich mag Vergißmeinnicht 'I like forget-me-nots'

The 2nd and 3rd person singular present tense indicative verbs suggest that there is no strong verb vowel mutation of verbs in the dialect, but not enough evidence was collected. The following examples do not show vowel mutation: /er foot/ er fährt 'he is driving'; /si foŋkt ő/ Sie fängt an 'She starts'; /er blost/ er bläst 'he blows'. However, vowel mutation occurs throughout the whole singular when the stem vowel of a strong verb is /e/: /i nIm/ ich nehme 'I take'; /du nImst/ du nimmst 'you take'; /si nImt/ sie nimmt 'she takes'; /i grp/ ich gebe 'I give'; /du gIpst/ du gibst 'you give'; /er grpt/ er gibt 'he gives'. <sup>52</sup>

 $<sup>^{52}</sup>$  See also Keller (1961, 206) and Zehetner (1985, 96-97) on vowel mutation in strong verbs in the singular present tense.

Special note on verb endings:

Enclitic assimilation is prevalent in this dialect. All personal pronouns especially are often reduced and assimilated to a verb in casual speech, but are also occasionally tagged on to a pronoun or a conjunction. <sup>53</sup> The neuter personal pronoun  $|\varepsilon s|$  is simplified with high frequency: /aft virts bests/ Danach wird es besser 'It will get better later'; /ft ftest  $\varepsilon s$ ?/ Verstehst du es? 'Do you understand it?'; /vens afhept/ wenn es aufhört 'when it stops'; /aft hants hopm/ Später sind sie heimgegangen 'Later they went home.'

#### The Present Tense Preterite-Present Verbs: 54

The preterite-present vowel gradation is retained in the present tense of the MHG verb  $w i \not\in \not\in pn$  'to know', as well as the MHG modal auxiliaries künnen (können) 'to be able to'; dürfen 'to be allowed to', süln (sollen) 'shall, to be supposed to', wellen (wollen) 'to want to', müe  $\not\in pn$  (müssen) 'to have to'. The stem vowel of most modal auxiliaries is unrounded and lowered. The verb brauchen 'to need to' is added to this table. This verb serves as a modal auxiliary and along with a negation is often used instead of the modal auxiliary müssen 'to have to', for example: /i hon brauxo nit ge/ Ich brauchte nicht zu gehen 'I did not have to go':

	VISN	kind	dırfn	suln
i du	vods, vois vodst, voist	kən kənst	deof deofst	sul sulst
er ر				
23 23	VODS	kon	depf	sul

53 See Altmann (1984) for a more detailed analysis of these phenomena in a Central Bavarian dialect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> The grammatical tables were sometimes completed by direct questioning for specific forms.

mır des (tsvod) si	vismo vists visənt	kınmo kınts, kents kınənt, keno	deofmo deofts deofənt	sulmo sults sulnt
past part.	gvist	kınt, kent	erlaupt 55	suln
	vœln	misn	brauxd	
i	vœl	mus	braux	
-				
du	vœl	must	brauxst	
εr				
si }	vœl	mus	brauxt	
εs				
05				
mir	vœlmo	mismo	brauxmp	
des (tsvop)	vœlts	mists	brauxts	
si	vœlnt	misənt	brauxənt	
past part.	gvœlt	misn	brauxd	

Special note on modal auxiliaries:

Some sentences were collected with the NHG verb lassen 'to let' used as

modal auxiliary accompanied by a main verb. Here are two examples:

/er hot a binl ligon losn/ Er hat ein Bündel liegen lassen 'He left a bundle'

er hot a gfurfetsn oifoln losn/ Er hat ein Handtuch fallen lassen 'He dropped a dish towel'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> For the past participle of the NHG modal *dürfen* 'to be allowed to' the informants always used the past participle of the NHG verb *erlauben* 'to allow ': /i bm nnt erlaupt gven tson ausige/ Mir war nicht erlaubt hinauszugehen 'I was not allowed to go outside'. This may be a loan-translation from English.

Future Tense:

The future tense is occurs occasionally and is constructed as in NHG, with the present tense of the auxiliary verb /vern/ and a dependent infinitive. As with the preterite-present verbs the future auxiliary verb shows vowel gradation: /er virt nipmols nit raig vern / Er wird niemals reich werden 'He will never become rich'; /si vernt bult hairotn/ Sie werden bald heiraten 'They'll get married soon'.

V	ε	r	n
¥	C	T	щ

i	ver, vert
du	virst
εr	
si }	vırt
23	
mir	vermo
des (tsvop)	verts
si	vernt
past part.	voon

Subjunctive:

Present time subjunctive forms mainly appear with the three major auxiliary verbs  $/s\alpha/sein$  'to be', /ham/haben 'to have' and /too/tun 'to do': /ven mp a kats hent, varnt mais nit so  $\int Im/Wenn$  wir eine Katze, hätten wären die Mäuse nicht so schlimm 'If we had a cat, the mice would not be so bad', /ven i du var/

Wenn ich du wäre,... 'If I were you,...'. Only some other present time subjunctive modal auxiliary forms have also been collected. The subjunctive mood is expressed periphrastically with the other verbs, using a form of the principal auxiliary /top/ tun 'to do' and an infinitive where NHG uses würde + infinitive : /i tat si a geon sen/ Ich sähe sie auch gern 'I would also like to see her'.

	<b>2</b> a	ham	top
i	var, voo	het	tat
du	varst	hest	tast
εr			
si }	var, vod	het	tat
83			
mr	varn	hetmo, hent	tamp
des (tsvop)	varts	hets	tats
si	varnt	hent	tant

Some forms, however, have been collected for the 1st person singular and the 3rd person singular modal auxiliaries with the same sufffix (a) t: /i kantət/ ich könnte 'I could'; /i mrosət/ ich müßte 'I would have to'; /i volt/ ich wollte 'I wish'; /si brauxət nɪt/ sie brauchte nicht 'she would not need to'; /si kantət/ sie könnte 'she could', and one form for the 1st person plural: /sultmp/ wir sollten 'we should'.

Imperatives:

2nd person singular imperatives consist of the stem of the verb without ending: /blaɪp dɔ!/ Bleib da! 'Stay here!'; /tuməl dɪ!/ Beeil(e) dich! 'Hurry up!'; /fotsaɪk mp/ Verzeih mir! 'I am sorry!'.

The 2nd person plural imperatives are created with the ending of the 2nd person plural verb conjugation: /kents faier ö!/ Macht das Feuer an! 'Start the fire!'; /ʃaʊts af!/ Paßt auf! Look out!'; /foloʊsts di muotoʃprox nit!/ Verliert die Muttersprache nicht! 'Do not lose your mother tongue'.

#### Past Tense:

As previously mentioned, no data have been collected which suggest the use of a simple past at all, except for an occasional simple past tense form of the auxiliary verb /sa/ 'to be': /s voon draitsen  $\int tik / Es$  waren dreizehn Stück 'There were thirteen', /befor i tsu elis bin kemp, voor i a fam/ Ich war Bauer, bevor ich nach Ellis gekommen bin 'I was a farmer before I came to Ellis' <sup>56</sup> Past tense is expressed in the present perfect (auxiliaries haben/sein + past participle).

The auxiliary verb  $/s\alpha$  'to be' appears with intransitive verbs of motion or with statal intransitive verbs. It occasionally, however, occurs with transitive verbs :

/der guoto mon is durxs als durxgfoln/ Der gute alte Mann ist durchs Eis gebrochen 'The good old man broke through the ice'

/Er is g toom/ Er ist gestorben 'He died'

 $der \int nei is on grount g ftond geston af noxt/ Der Schnee ist diese Nacht liegen geblieben 'The snow stayed on the ground last night'$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Schirmunski (1962, 490) points out that the simple past tense of verbs is lost in Bavarian-Austrian dialects.

The auxiliary verb /ham/ 'to have' is used with transitive verbs:

/unso hergot hot gsokt/ Unser Herrgott hat gesagt 'God said'

/i hon a fene farm kot/ Ich hatte einen schönen Bauernhof 'I had a nice farm'

Past Perfect Tense:

Both these principal auxiliaries occur occasionally as the second participle in a

so called double past participle construction, primarily in casual speech. This

compound tense expresses the past perfect tense in the dialect: 57

/Unso tato hot uns gsokt kot/ Unser Vater hat uns gesagt [gehabt] 'Our father had told us'

/hamp in di jula gon gven/ Wir sind in die Schule gegangen [gewesen] 'We went to school'

/i hon si mol guot kent kot/ Ich habe sie mal gut gekannt [gehabt] 'I used to know her well'

/vens gstoom gven hant/ Wenn sie gestorben [gewesen] sind 'When they had died'

The past tense subjunctive of statal and intransitive verbs consist of a

periphrastic construction, using the subjunctive form of  $/s\alpha/$ , while a subjunctive form

of /ham/ is used with transitive verbs or modal auxiliaries. The following examples

show a combination of both auxiliaries in one sentence:

/vens du hest den kent, tsattn vornt ondost gven/ Hättest du ihn gekannt ! Dann wäre es anders gekommen ! 'If only you had known him! Things would have turned out differently'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Keller (1961, 227) mentions this past perfect tense formation in his book on *German dialects*, but adds that it is a rare construction. Zehetner (1985, 58) calls this compound tense the "gedoppelte Perfekt", that is the doubled perfect, to express an event completed in the past prior to another event.

/i vod frou gven, ven i het kend vo hi fodn/ Ich wäre froh gewesen, wenn ich Ferien gehabt hätte 'I would have been happy, if I had had a vacation'

Passive voice:

The passive voice is constructed with a form of the auxiliary verb /vern/ and the past participle of the main verb being in final position in a main sentence. The passive voice occurs in the present and present perfect tense in the dialect. <sup>58</sup> The following examples were collected:

/der  $\int$ tol virt ausputst/ Der Stall wird gesäubert 'The barn is being cleaned'

/hant di kip tsaidlt voon gestons noxt?/ Sind die Kühe gestern abend gemolken worden? 'Were the cows milked last night?'

/mai houtit is okultn voon drausn for do  $\int tot/$  Meine Hochzeit ist draußen vor der Stadt abgehalten worden 'My wedding took place outside of town'

Statal passive voice formations occasionally appear in the dialect. It employs the principal auxiliary verb /SCI and the past participle of the main verb. One variation has been collected that uses the past participle of /gen/ 'to go' in addition to the past participle of the main verb in order to express the statal passive: <sup>59</sup>

/der keik is jvopts brent into se/ Der Kuchen ist unten schwarz gebrannt 'The cake is burnt black on the bottom'

/des larvel is tsorisn/ Die Weste ist zerrissen 'The vest is torn'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> The sentences were collected from casual speech and by having the speakers directly translate a passive voice construction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> "Passivähnliche Konstruktionen", that is passive like constructions with past participles of /gen/ and /kemo/ 'to come' are "spezifisch dialektal bairisch", or specifically Bavarian, according to Hans Werner Eroms (1995, 62).

/treapfln hant ofkaifelt/ Die Erdäpfel sind aufgehäufelt ' The potatoes are hilled'

/ulas is dait gon gven/ Alles ist auf deutsch gegangen [gewesen] 'Everything was in German'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect creates weak and strong past participles. Weak verb past participles have a g - prefix. If the verb stem begins with the glottal fricative /h/ the prefix is realized as /k/, otherwise the g- prefix is retained.<sup>60</sup> The prefix is, however, lost if the verb stem begins with a stop obstruent. The weak past participle form is marked by a -t suffix: /kot/ gehabt 'had'; /gopbat/ gearbeitet 'worked'; /koft/ gekauft 'bought'. <sup>61</sup>

The strong verb past participles also has a g- prefix, which is constructed by the same grammatical variations as the weak verb past participles. The strong verb past participle ending, however, is an -en suffix, which frequently loses the suffix vowel and is reduced to /n/, or vocalized to /D/. The suffix is sometimes lost altogether in casual speech: /gfund/ gefunden 'found'; /gfosn/ geschossen 'shot'; /gesn/ gegessen 'eaten'; /rausgoŋ/ herausgegangen 'gone out'.

Even though there is no simple past tense in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect, NHG ablaut classes still exist from vowel gradation in strong verbs, as can be observed in the present tense singular and past participle forms: <sup>62</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The voiced velar stop /g/ loses some of its voiced nature when it is followed by a voiceless fricative. The corresponding velar stop of word-initial /g/ is realized, however, in past participles beginning with /h/, such as /kot/ "had". Weinhold (1867, 30) claims that the hardening of the voiced velar stop to its corresponding voiceless stop is evident before the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. <sup>61</sup> See Keel (1981a) on a detailed analysis on apocope and syncope in modern German dialects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> The graphic chart was completed in part by directly asking for specific forms.

Ablaut Class	Infinitive	Present Tense	Present Perfect
1	schreiben to write'	si ∫raıpt	si hət g∫riom
	schneiden 'to cut'	er ∫naıt	er hət g∫nıtn
	reiten 'to ride'	si raıt	si hət grıtn
2	lügen 'to lie'	si luikt	der hot gloŋ
	fliegen 'to fly'	si fluikt	si 1s gfloŋ
3	<i>finden</i> 'to find'	si fint	si hət gfunn
	<i>trinken</i> 'to drink'	εr triŋkt	er hət truŋp
	<i>schwimmen</i> 'to swim'	si ∫vimt	si hət g∫vump
4	helfen 'to help'	er hœlft	er hot kolfo
	sterben 'to die'	si ∫trpt	si 1s g∫toom
	nehmen 'to take'	er nımt	er hot gnomo
5	essen 'to eat'	si 1st	si hot gesn
	lesen 'to read'	er list	er hot glesn
	sehen 'to see'	si sekt	si hot gsen
6	<i>fahren</i> ' to drive'	er foot	er 1s gfoon
	<i>tragen</i> 'to carry'	si trokt	si hot troŋ
7	<i>schlafen</i> 'to sleep'	si Jlʊft	si hət gjləfo
	<i>fangen</i> 'to catch'	ɛr fɔŋt	er hət gfəqt 63

There are some discrepancies in the construction of a few past participle forms

of the same verb. While some speakers created a strong verb participle, others inflected

weak:

/si hot gsuno/ - /si hot so gsint/ Sie hat (schon) gesungen 'She sang (already)'

/si hot m1 a1glon/ - /si hot m1 a1glodnt/ Sie hat mich eingeladen 'She invited me'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> The NHG strong verb past participle *gefangen* 'caught' has a weak verb past participle ending in the dialect. Zehetner (1985, 100-101) gives a whole list of historically strong past participles that are weak verb past participles in Bavarian dialects.

/...vos sə hant so krein/ ... was sie so gekriegt haben '...what they got'; /unt a bioxl hon i kripkt/ Und ich habe ein Büchlein gekriegt 'And I got a little book'

/si hot des kint gsent/ - /si hot des kint gsuntn/ Sie hot das Kind gescholten 'She scolded the child'

The irregular verbs that show a weak verb past participle ending, but the vowel change of strong verbs in NHG do not create the *Rückumlaut*, or reversal of the vowel mutation in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect: /fpbrent/ verbrannt 'burnt'; /kent/ gekannt 'known'; /denkt/ gedacht 'thought'.

The irregular verb past participle of NHG *bringen* 'to bring' produced two past participle forms, a strong and a weak past participle. The weak past participle seems to be used more frequently (See also for example Wenker sentence 37, Appendix 2):

/si hot mo geston di straisl brogo/ /si hot straisln brot/ Sie hat die Blumen gebracht 'She brought the flowers' <sup>64</sup>

#### Syntax

Word order normally follows the same principles in the dialect as NHG. Coordinate sentence constructions occur in high frequency. The speakers often tended to translate a sentence word for word according to the English model given to them. Since the questionnaires and translation exercises were in the English version it seems likely that the syntax of the dialect sentences reflected that of the English sentence. However, adverbs and prepositional phrases in both, translation and free conversation,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> An interesting phenomenon is the fact that for NHG *bringen* in Wenker sentence 37, the use of the past participle form also differed among siblings.

tended to fall outside the construction of the NHG verb auxiliary /verb complement frame, generally referred to as *Ausklammerung* or *Ausrahmung* or in English leaking. <sup>65</sup> In addition, many sentences gathered from translation and free conversation occurred, placing the modal infinitive before the infinitive of the main verb. The following sample sentences representing different syntactic features are mainly taken from various anecdotes and free conversation. Some model sentences from the Wisconsin questionnaire were also included, as well as a selection of Wenker sentences, although it has been said that the Wenker sentences are generally not adequate for syntax analysis.

Main clause word order:

Main clauses comply with the principles of standard German main clause constructions. Statements generally had the finite verb in second position:

/si hant dait gret/ Sie haben Deutsch gesprochen 'They spoke German'

/i voels nimp mep top/ Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder tun 'I do not ever want to do it again'

/i bin mipt ont duorsty / Ich bin müde unt durstig 'I am tired and thirsty'

/er hot a tsinglhaus baut/ Er hat ein Ziegelhaus gebaut 'He built a brick house'

 $\log v \in m$  di  $\int tot Is$  di brok gven/ Auf dem Weg in die Stadt ist die Brücke gewesen 'The bridge was on the way to town'

/di hant nit lon kairat gven/ Sie waren nicht lange verheiratet [gewesen] 'They had not been married for long'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> See Fox (1990, 255) for a more detailed explanation on this type of syntactic construction. Also, Franz Lang (1933, 629) pointed out that Bukovina Germans commonly use *Ausklammerung* in their speech, a word order influenced by Slavic languages.

The finite verb is also the second element in questions introduced by an

interrogative pronoun:

/vos vœlst du lerno?/ Was willst du lernen [werden]? 'What do you want to become?

/vo gest du h1?/ Wo gehst du hin? 'Where are you going?'

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

/host du a nodl dohoom?/ Hast du eine Großmutter zu Hause? 'Do you have a grandmother at home?'

/kents faier õ!/ Macht das Feuer an! 'Light the fire!'

The next model sentences show leaking, with the prepositional phrase and an

adverb (of time) respectively coming after the past participle:

/dohopm hamp gret mit den celton/ Wir haben mit den Eltern zu Hause geredet 'At home we talked with the parents'

/aft is er ofg[tonp a vail/ Später ist er eine Weile aufgestanden 'Later he got up for a while

/a harrisl is in amakupft in mai hemat/ Eine Heuschrecke ist in mein Hemd hineingehüpft 'A grasshopper jumped into my shirt.'

Coordinate clause order:

The placement of the finite verb in second position was observed by all dialect informants in carefully uttered sentences. The most frequently used conjunctions in a longer discourse are the coordinating conjunction *und* 'and' and the connective adverb /aft/ *dann*, *danach* 'afterwards':

/unt aft nodem hamp gesn kot/ Und danach haben wir gegessen 'And afterwards we ate' /i hons tsvo ftont koxt ont hons nit voox kripkt/ Ich habe es zwei Stunden gekocht und habe es nicht weich gekriegt I boiled it for two hours, but could not get it soft.'

In longer discourse dialect speakers tended to reverse the finite auxiliary verb *haben* and the subject in a sentence or left out the subject altogether, often following the frequently used coordinating conjunction /unt/ und 'and'. This syntactic feature was observed when dialect informants related a story or an anecdote. The anecdotes told by the principal informant showed this construction frequently, perhaps because all anecdotes are recalled from memory. However, there is no consistent reversal of subject and finite verb throughout one single discourse. Each extended discourse also exhibits the subject/verb word order. The following discourse model sentences illustrate this syntactical feature of those narratives:

/unt so one noxt hamants kend nit vootn bis kriskindl kemd is. hamant umgogo, ham gsokt, op s kriskindl  $\int 0$  kemd is/

Und in solch einer Nacht haben sie nicht warten können, bis das Christkind gekommen ist. Sie sind umhergegangen und haben gefragt, ob das Christkind schon gekommen sei.

'And on such a night they could not wait for Santa Claus to come. They walked around asking when he would come.'

/si hot koxt. unt hamant gesn. hot si gsokt: ... unt han a  $\int$ trait kemp, hamant g $\int$ tritn./

Sie hat gekocht. Und [sie] haben gegessen. Sie hat gesagt: Und [sie] haben einen Streit gehabt, sie haben sich gestritten.

'She cooked. And [they] ate. She said: And [they] had an argument.'

In extended discourse not narrated or memorized, but rather less carefully

thought out, such as the slaughtering of a pig, Informant 1 varies the sentence structure

avoiding repetition by merely listing the participles that are dependent on the finite auxiliary *haben*:

/unt aft hamps afkent, ogvujn, je okrotst vido mitn meso/ Und danach haben wir es aufgehängt, abgewaschen [und] schön mit dem Messer wieder abgekratzt. 'Afterwards we hung it up, cleaned it [and] scraped it again with a knife.'

Repetition, however, was occasionally used by Informant 2 by repeating the

subject and its verbal complement, perhaps using it as an emphatic element:

/des hamp nit kot in den fripron joon, des hamp nit kot/ Das haben wir in den früheren Jahren nicht gehabt, das haben wir nicht gehabt 'We did not have that in earlier years, we did not have that.'

In main clauses or in coordinate word order with a modal auxiliary in a present

perfect double infinitive construction the modal infinitive appears before the main

infinitive:

/er hot voeln okon/ Er hat pflügen wollen 'He wanted to plow (the field)'

/In der frie hamp misn faufl nemp unt hamp misn ftaup ofhem/ Morgens haben wir die Schaufel nehmen müssen und haben den Staub aufheben müssen 'We had to get the shovel early in the morning and had to pick up the dust.'

/hamp des gebet misn vles enlij lerno/ Wir haben das ganze Gebet auf Englisch lernen müssen 'We had to learn the whole prayer in English'

Subordinate clause word order:

In reference to word order in subordinate clauses it was observed that the

informants used the connective adverb wie 'when' to express simultaneity of two

events in the past. The following constructions were collected while two informants each related a story:

/i hon nit enlif kint, vi i bin m ful gono/ Ich habe kein Englisch gekonnt, als ich in die Schule gegangen bin. ''I did not speak English when I came to school.'

/ont vi mp hant aməkemp, hant sə olə kupft/ Und als wir hineinkamen, sind alle gehüpft 'And when we came in, everyone jumped for joy.'

In a subordinate clause the finite auxiliary verb is placed in second position and before the past participle. This word order was also collected with Wenker sentence 24 which has been the principal sentence used in German dialect studies for the placement of the verbs in subordinate clauses. <sup>66</sup>

/vi mp hant hopmkemp geston af noxt, hant olə in bet vido, hamp fo gflofp. / Als wir gestern abend zurückkamen, da lagen die anderen schon im Bett und waren fest am schlafen. 'When we came home last night, the others were already lying in bed and were fast asleep.'

This goes contrary to the next sentences where the the finite auxiliary is in final

position in the subordinate clause:

/vi unsp hergot no af dp vælt gonp 1s,.../ Als unser Herrgott noch auf der Welt war,... 'When God was still on earth,...'

/vi er eon tsuogrobm krickt, is si grot hikemo/ Als er ihn zugegraben hatte, kam sie gerade hinzu. 'When he was done burying him, she came.'

/drai hant gstoom, vi si kloon gven hant/ Drei sind gestorben, als sie klein waren 'Three died, when they were little.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> See König (1992, 163) for a more detailed analysis of this specific sentence.

In other subordinate clauses subordinating conjunctions, such as *wenn* 'when, if ' and  $da\beta$  'that' appeared frequently as connective markers, and indirect questions were formed with the connective adverb *ob* 'whether'. The finite auxiliary verb usually follows the dependent infinitive in a subordinate clause with one of these conjunctions:

/unt ven ets nit tsu tuon is, is ules in haus afkoltn voon/ Und wenn nichts zu tun war, ist alles im Haus aufgeschoben worden 'And when there was nothing to do, everythng in the house is postponed.'

/ovo ven koo esi drin is, hant so ovo nit so guot/ Aber wenn kein Essig drin ist, sind sie nicht so gut 'But if no vinegar is added, they do not taste as good.'

/unt der fmit hot nit gvist, dos unso hergot is/ Und der Blechchmied hat nicht gewußt, daß es unser Herrgott ist 'And the tinsmith did not know that it was God.'

/si voelnt visn, op des tats tsu vakini umofoon/ Sie wollen wissen, ob du (lhr) nach WaKeeney fährst [fahrt] 'And they want to know, whether you will drive over to WaKeeney.'

The following subordinate clauses in the past tense subjunctive, however, show

inconsistencies with the placement of the auxiliary. While the auxiliary is placed after

the past participle in one sentence, it comes before it in the other variant:

/i het dis nit tu, ven i beso gvist het/ /i het des to, ven i het beso gvist/ Ich hätte das nicht getan, wenn ich es besser gewußt hätte 'I would not have done that, if I knew better.'

In a subordinate weil 'because' clause the placement of the finite verb occurs

consistently after the subject: <sup>67</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Zehetner (1985, 149-50) in his *Das bairische Dialektbuch* claims that *weil* 'because' is used as both, as a coordinating and as a subordinating conjunction in Bavarian dialects. Wiesinger (1989, 455) claims "in causal causes introduced by *weil* the finite verb occurs in second place" with respect to

/vails kriskindl is jo kemp gven/ weil das Christkind schon gekommen ist 'because Santa Claus has already come'

/vail i folois nit/ weil ich es nicht verliere 'because I do not lose it'

Infinitive phrases:

In the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis dependent infinitve constructions, which in NHG are modified by zu 'to' or  $um \dots zu$  'in order to', with a contracted preposition and a nominalized verb:

/er lernt tson fram/ Er lernt zu schreiben 'He is learning how to write.'

/du bist nit grous gnub tsun trinp/ Du bist nicht groß genug, um zu trinken 'You are not big enough to drink.'

The Ortsgrammatik of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis, Kansas, presented in this chapter provides information that is based on translation exercises and free conversation. Thus, the informants in this study translated carefully, but also conversed casually. The model sentences used to show word order in the dialect generally tended to deviate from NHG syntax when they occurred in a longer discourse in casual speech. The morphological and syntactic structure of the dialect described in this analysis reflects the current state of the dialect based on the remaining material that is available. The fact that there are only a few speakers left who also mostly speak the dialect from memory, plus the fact that only the informants in this study converse actively in the dialect with each other, makes it difficult to determine the exact

Central and Southern Bavarian dialects, and Rowley (1989, 435) shares this view for Northern Bavarian. The word order in a subordinate *weil* 'because' clause has been discussed by linguistic scholars in recent years. In NHG colloquial speech *weil* is realized as a coordinate conjunction, while in written German this conjunction introduces a subordinate clause. For a detailed discussion see Glück (1990, 44-50).

morphology and syntax of the dialect as it must likely have been when the first dialect speakers settled in Ellis. The grammatical analysis reflects the speech patterns of the few speakers left who identify themselves as Catholic Bohemian Germans. Their lexicon, on the other hand, as well as particular grammatical features still convey the uniqueness of the dialect. The discussion in chapter 5 will center around grammatical distinctions, lexical forms, borrowing and other unique factors in the dialect .

#### Chapter 5

# Lexical Forms, Borrowing and Other Unique Characteristics in the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German Dialect

After Austria annexed Bukovina under the Treaty of Constantinople and the territory became a separate crownland of Austria, it was a sparsely settled region. The Hapsburgs, eager to colonize the region, subsidized the immigration of colonists to Bukovina by providing them with a piece of virgin land, among other things. In addition to many other ethnic groups, e.g., Slovaks, Romanians, and Poles, many German settlers took part in that immigration. The Catholic Bohemian Germans from the Bohemian Forest came in two waves to Bukovina. The first wave immigrated to Bukovina between the years 1793-1817, and the second wave as late as 1835-50. The ruling emperor of the Austrian Empire quickly introduced social and economic reforms when Bukovina came under Austrian rule. This progressiveness attracted other ethnic groups, such as Ukrainians. Bukovina soon became a multinational province.<sup>1</sup>

Living conditions for the Catholic Bohemian Germans in the multiethnic province of Bukovina differed initially from those in the Bohemian Forest. They had either founded new settlements there or settled in villages that were colonized by other nationalities earlier, but the social circumstances they were used to did not apply anymore. They were now subjected to the social influences of their new environment. They accepted the local architecture and were introduced to new food.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Kurt Rein (1996, 27-60) for a detailed overview on the reasons for migration of German settlers to Bukovina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mirwald (1992, 39) in reference to the social status of the German settlers in Bukovina writes that "nach ihrer Ansiedlung im Urwald mußten sich die Deutschen völlig umstellen. Die Verhältnisse bezüglich Gemeinschaft, Bauen, Landwirtschaft, Ernährung u.a. aus der alten Heimat galten hier nicht. Anfangs wurden nicht nur die Bauweise, sondern auch Essensgewohnheiten übernommen."

German was the official language and the Catholic Bohemian Germans lived in close-knit communities. Their social life centered around the church, their family, and relatives. Furthermore, villagers of other ethnic origins spoke German and they "verwendeten den ortsüblichen Dialekt (bayrisch-böhmisch)," that is the locally spoken German dialect (Mirwald 1992, 41). Thus, these settlers were not only able to retain their ethnic and cultural identity, but also their linguistic identity. The Catholic Bohemian German settlers only borrowed the names of new types of food from their Slavic neighbors into their lexicon. They prepared *mamaliga*, a corn dish, which is a Romanian borrowing, and *halushki*, filled cabbage rolls, which is of Ukrainian/ Romanian origin. The Catholic Bohemian Germans brought these staple foods with them to Ellis, Kansas. These two loanwords were used in free conversation among the dialect informants. They are adapted into the phonological and morphological system of the dialect:

## /i glaıç des bestə, ven der haluſkı kuxt/ Ich mag es am besten, wenn der Haluschki kocht 'I like it best if the halushki is boiling'

#### /mrl unt mamliga dotsuo/

Milch und Mamaliga dazu 'milk and mamaliga added'

In Ellis, the Catholic Bohemian Germans persisted in keeping their customs and speaking their dialect. Since the Lutheran "Swabians" who had also emigrated there from Bukovina and other German immigrants spoke German:  $/des is oles dart \int gven/Das ist alles auf deutsch gewesen 'It was all in German'. The language was spoken not only in the home but also in town and in businesses. Grocery shopping, for example, could be conducted in German. These people commonly referred to$ 

themselves as /unsere latt/ unsere Leute 'our people'.<sup>3</sup> Both, the Catholic Bohemian Germans and the Lutheran "Swabians," were commonly referred to as Austrians in their new country, as well as in their old country, Bukovina, because they had settled there under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These groups called themselves Austrians thereby distinguishing themselves from other German-speaking settlers: /velçə hant dattf gven, ovo nit estraiço/ Welche waren Deutsche, aber nicht Österreicher 'Some were Germans, but not Austrians'. Outside the realm of business Catholic Bohemian Germans did not intermingle much at all with the other Germanspeaking population of Ellis until sometime after World War II. This attitude was reflected in the fundamental difference they placed between their dialect and German. They referred to their dialect as being German Bohemian: /ɛts kom i ins daitf plaudon ftat s daitfbemif/ Jetzt komme ich ins Deutsch plaudern statt des Deutschböhmischen 'I am starting to chat in German and not in German Bohemian'. Everything at home on the farm was conducted in their Catholic Bohemian German dialect. <sup>4</sup>

With World War I the effort to retain their identity through their language began to weaken. This trend worsened during and after World War II. Speaking German in public was discouraged because of the anti-German sentiment in the United States. Unlike the Volga Germans in Ellis County the *Austrians* were not discriminated against as a group per se. <sup>5</sup> The German language was banned from schools, as one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This expression was related to the author by Informants 1 and 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Informant 2 said that she and her siblings were not allowed to speak English in their father's presence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Johnson (1994, 83) writes that the Volga Germans were also persecuted because of their Russian heritage. None of the informants for this dissertation could recall having ever been discriminated against for speaking German nor for their ethnic heritage. However, most of the informants grew up in isolated areas in the country, went to rural schools and hardly ever came to town, where the anti-German sentiment was strong. However, already during World War I people were penalized if they were perceived to speak German. As a consequence many German speaking residents of Ellis made it known that they were patriotic.

informant puts it: /In do [ul koo dait]/ In der Schule [gab] es kein Deutsch 'No German in school'. Kansas Law prohibiting the use of German in schools in 1919 was "forthright and unvielding" making use of the English language "exclusively as the medium of instruction" (Luebke 1980, 12).<sup>6</sup> Many Catholic Bohemian German children were unable to speak English at all when they had to start school: /i hon nit enli kint, vi i bin in ful gono/ Ich konnte kein Englisch, als ich in die Schule gegangen bin 'I could not speak English when I started school'. It was hard for them to adjust to the fact that at home with their parents they spoke their dialect, because oftentimes a parent or both parents could not speak English and they had to use their dialect, while exclusively speaking English in school: /mir hamo foel durxgmoxt/ Wir haben viel durchgemacht 'We had to endure a lot'. However, many stopped teaching their children their dialect and those who passed it on to their children often received replies in English: /di famont si/ Die schämen sich 'They are ashamed'. The younger generation retains hardly any dialect knowledge, and those, who do acquire the dialect, find it hard to maintain it because of the surrounding English speech community.

The Catholic Bohemian Germans had not encountered this incursion into their language identity when they lived in Bukovina. Thus, in an effort to assimilate with the English speaking community the aforementioned facts made borrowing from English an inevitable factor for the Catholic Bohemian Germans in Ellis County. They did not merely adopt English terms for new items they encountered in the United States, such as different types of food. A look at the complete list of English words found in the data collected from the recorded speech samples suggests that English interference with the dialect goes beyond English loanwords for nouns. The categories are mostly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See 1919 State of Kansas Session Laws (352).

broken down into vocabulary on farm housing and technology, commerce, food (including vegetables, fruit, dishes uncommon to the emigrants from Bukovina), topography (plants and trees indigenous to Kansas), measurements and compass directions, and a variety of names for illnesses. Furthermore, it includes a list of verbs, discourse markers, phrases, and a small array of miscellaneous word types:

#### I. Nouns

a) Farm Housing and Technology:

farmer sink pantry freezer fan radio television air condition phone electricity bathroom floor porch yard buggy car truck tractor fence corral crop

shocks granary silo tank cultivator mower cutter road railroad station highway

## b) Commerce:

counter post office depot grocery store butcher shop undertaker funeral home real estate insurance

# c) Food:

raisins raspberries strawberries grapefruit cantaloupe peaches tomatoes yeast cake pie cookies doughnuts peanuts candy pancake oatmeal sausage hamburger fishloaf meatloaf bacon garlic salt onion powder

# d) Topography:

country county pasture creek mountains oak tree maple tree

## e) Measurements and Compass Directions:

bushel gallon mile degree north south west east

f) Illness:

measles scarlet fever small pocks pneumonia diabetic blood sugar shot

### II. Verbs

to clean to hire to act to behave to record to plow to phone to call to cut (with a header) to cultivate to move to retire to rent to watch to fix to catch

to touch to bother to use to spin to ration

## Discourse Markers and Phrases:

you know you see see well right okay alright good bye I don't know pride and joy

#### Miscellaneous:

cousin renter tightwad tramp Thanksgiving football baseball bull chew (chewing tobacco) flavor about

a lot

# finally funny disabled running (as in running water)

Almost no English borrowing pertaining to family, religion, as well as to parts of the body, and clothing was found in the recorded samples. This suggests that the main lexical corpus of the dialect, the "core vocabulary" (Johnson 1994, 86) is still intact in those areas which sustain the dialect, because they play a large part in their life, such as church, family relations, and also parts of the body. <sup>7</sup> Clausing (1986, 142-43) writes about the areas in which German Americans and Icelandic Americans are influenced by English. He writes: "Lexical borrowing, in short, is largely a product of necessity and convenience," and points out that another theory postulates "native words are prone to replacement by shorter words from the donor language." A look at the above list seems to suggest that, to a large extent, it is true for the Catholic Bohemian Germans of Ellis, Kansas, that English loanwords were acquired into the dialect out of necessity and convenience or simply to borrow a new concept. For example loanwords such as sink or granary may exemplify this aspect of borrowing. Neither a sink nor a granary had probably been introduced prior to the departure of Catholic Bohemian Germans from Bukovina. Thus they borrowed these words because there was no equivalent in their dialect when they encountered them later in the United States. However, a borrowing like the word *cousin*, a kinship term, might exhibit a certain proneness by the dialect speakers to replace a word inherent to the dialect by a loanword from the primary language, for the simple reason that it is shorter. Although this dialect has a vocabulary term to express this kinship relation,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Haugen (1953, 93 -94) arrives at the conclusion that English loanwords are acquired much more slowly in the areas of church and family life.

/gfvIsto kInt/ Geschwisterkind 'a sibling's child', the English borrowing is used much more frequently. A sentence collected from the main informant in free conversation, underscores this view: /mai kasən, si, main foton sai fveston irə buo, gfvIsto kInt hamo a gsokt/ Mein Cousin, also der Sohn der Schwester meines Vaters, Geschwisterkind haben wir auch gesagt 'My cousin, see, my father's sister's son, we also said Geschwisterkind'.

Most English words were used when the informants responded to English questions that largely revolved around familiar topics, such as cooking, childhood, weddings, and some English loanwords appeared in the picture descriptions. Other English borrowings occurred when the dialect informants translated specific words or phrases from English into their dialect, using the Wenker sentences, the Wisconsin questionnaire or other grammar sentences. Except for discourse markers that naturally were solely produced in free conversation, some vocabulary terms were developed in both settings, in free conversation as well as in the translation exercises. Borrowings occurring in the Wenker translations consisted of nouns, *cake, yard, farmer, pasture,* and also of some verbs, *to act, to behave, to hire*.

Seventy-six of the 133 English words, or 57%, were produced in free conversation, 33 words, or 25%, were composed translating English sentences and vocabulary items into their dialect, while 24 words, or 18%, were created in both types of dialect interviews. The fact that about one-fifth of these English words were produced in both translation and free conversation, for example the words *farmer* and *yard*, which in NHG would correspond to *Bauer* and *Garten* respectively, indicate that the informants either do not recall the German word and substitute an actual loanword from English for it, or use it so frequently that it comes easily to mind. According to Clausing (1986, 144) "high frequency words in the *donor* language are those most likely to replace native vocabulary." The main informant gives a fitting explanation for the use of the word *farmer* : /mIr hamo gsokt nor formo, mIr hamo nIt gsokt bauo/ Wir haben nur gesagt Farmer, wir haben nicht geesagt Bauer 'We only said farmer, we did not say Bauer'. Although the German language has the words *Fluß* and *Bach* to describe a river or a creek respectively, the word *creek* is adopted by the Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans instead because of geographic and other place names; in the case of Ellis, *Big Creek* runs right through the middle of town.

Furthermore, the use of a borrowing by more than one speaker of the dialect and its adaptation into the phonological and morphological system provides clues to the acceptance of the loanword. <sup>8</sup> Most of the English words collected in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German have been adapted to the sound system and the grammar of the dialect. Some borrowed terms, however, are not adapted into the morphological system. These are nouns that were only recently adopted from the primary language and do not have a counterpart in the dialect, such as *diabetic*, *bloodsugar*, *real estate*, *insurance*. Some loanblends in which "the borrower imports part of the foreign model and replaces part of it with something already in his own language" (Fischer Arends 1989, 122) were collected for the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect. Thus we find nouns which combine German and English lexemes and mixed verbs: <sup>9</sup>

- /broutkrams/ Brotkrümel 'breadcrumbs'

- /holtsflor/ Holzboden 'wooden floor'

- /port tipr/ Verandatür 'porch door'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Fischer Arends (1989, 121) in her discussion on *The Central Dakota Germans* writes: "A language that is intact and strong takes in foreign words and assimilates them into its own sound system, and they then become 'loan words.'"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Bender (1980, 82) in his account of a Low German dialect in Nebraska calls these noun compounds *hybrid compounds* and states that in hybrid formations the first or the second part of the compound can be English.

- /bæorumtior/ Badezimmertür 'bathroom door'

-/IANIN VUSD/ fließendes Wasser 'running water'

- /fensdrot/ Stacheldraht 'barbed wire'

- /kantrtveç/ Landweg 'country road'

- /merplbcm/ Ahornbaum 'Maple tree'

-/ainəpu[n/ einschlagen 'to push in'

- /vɛkəmuvo/ wegziehen 'to move away'

- /ausimuvp/ ausziehen 'to move out'

One loanblend occurred with a German suffix morpheme: /titfərm/ Lehrerin 'female teacher'. One loan translation was created that was based on an English model: /vusp[tot/ 'Watertown'. Two loan translations of verbs have been collected of which

the first one was based on an English sample sentence: /austarnt/ hat sich ergeben 'turned out'; /uforufo/ anrufen 'to call up'. Two loan tranlations of a different type

with interference from English were also produced: 10

/mitaus/ ohne 'without': /er ist impoin mitaus sults unt pfefp/ Er i $\beta$ t die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer 'He always eats eggs without salt and pepper'

/den veç / auf diese Weise 'that way': /unt des hot si koltn firn summ den veç / Und das hat sich so den ganzen Sommer gehalten 'And it kept that way the whole summer'

There are several ways of borrowing English loanwords. The first form of borrowings are vocabulary terms that essentially show no adaptation into the sound system of the dialect:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Bender (1980, 81) calls this loan translation an idiomatic loan that imitates a foreign expression with or without English morphemes.

/mir hamo aft gmuvt trigou kaunti af a fam/ Wir sind später ins Trego County gezogen auf eine Farm 'Later we moved to a farm in Trego County'

/In der olt kantri bin i gven/ Ich bin in dem alten Land (in der alten Heimat) gewesen 'I was in the Old Country'

The words *county* and *country* are most likely old borrowed terms, because they are used consistently. The political idea of dividing land into counties did not have a counterpart in German in the eighteenth century when the Catholic Bohemian Germans left the Bohemian Forest for Bukovina. And the semantic concept of the phrase "Old Country" only refers to countries immigrants to the United States originated from.

Another loanword, *railroad*, the Catholic Bohemian Germans may have adopted very early into their dialect, because the Kansas Pacific Railroad was the main employer in Ellis, when the immigrants arrived. This borrowing, however, exhibits German phonemes when incorporated in the dialect, but in English conversation the informants apply the English phonemes to it:

/er oprvat of dp relərot/ Er arbeitet bei der Bahn 'He works for the railroad'

However, one informant sometimes incorporated the English pronunciation to the word *road* when translating an English sentence into the dialect, as the following example shows:

/mir vountmo in a kloon farmroud/ Wir wohnen an einem kleinen Landweg 'We live on a small country road' Other loanwords incorporate the English pronunciation. These words retain their English meaning, but they have been assimilated into the Catholic Bohemian German phonology. The following words are good examples: /bogi/ Buggy, Einspänner 'buggy'; /mot/ (Rasen)mäher 'mower'; /ftor/ Laden 'store' <sup>11</sup>; /but[tp[ap/ Fleischer 'butcher shop'.

Some English loanwords may contain a different semantic meaning for an individual speaker of the dialect. The following example consisting of hybrid formations for the English word *countryroads* demonstrates the phenomenon, where one informant associates the vocabulary item with the surrounding farms, while the other informant does not :

/di famrotn hant flim oits/ /di kantriveçon hant ets fleçt/ Die Landwege sind jetzt schlecht 'The countryroads are bad now'

The use of either the dialect word or the English counterpart for the same vocabulary item by an individual dialect speaker may suggest a correlation with high/low frequent usage of that word. The following sentences serve as good examples for the difference in usage by the individual informant:

/si hot fmultsrnjln gmoxt/ /si hot dounats boku/ Sie hat Krapfen gebacken 'She made doughnuts'

Many English loanwords are adopted into the phonological and morphological system of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect. Although most of these nouns show the English inflectional suffix /s/ as a plural marker in the plural formations,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> English verbs and nouns starting with the English phoneme /st/ are assimilated into the Catholic Bohemian German sound system. However, the English phoneme is not accepted and becomes /ft/: /ftor/ Laden 'store'; /fpino/ drehen 'to spin'.

Informant 1 and Informant 2 added the nasal suffix /n/, one of the plural markers in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect, to borrowed nouns whose singular forms end either in the voiceless alveolar stop /t/, the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, or in the uvular /r/. The following list displays the plural formations of those nouns produced by these dialect speakers:

Plural:		
/kam/	Autos	'cars'
/ʃtərn/	Läden	'stores'
/fɛnsn/	Zäune	'fences'
/∫etn/	Schuppen	'sheds'
/rotn/	Straßen	'roads'
	/karn/ /ʃtərn/ /fɛnsn/ /ʃetn/	/karn/ Autos /ʃtərn/ Läden /fɛnsn/ Zäune /ʃetn/ Schuppen

Several functional verbs form another category of English borrowings into the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect. These verbs are thoroughly adapted to the morphological system of the dialect. The verbs are transformed by using a German prefix in a separable verb or by adding the prefix /g/ to the past participle. In addition the conjugation of borrowed verbs is fully morphologically adapted into the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect.

The most frequently produced verb *to use* appears in the infinitive, in the first and third person singular, in the imperative, as well as in the past participle. The following examples illustrate the thorough incorporation of that verb into the dialect:

/i kant ən nogl jusn/ Ich könnte einen Nagel gebrauchen 'I could use a nail'

/i jus fir fœl tsaiç dɛs garlık solt/ Ich benutze Knoblauchsalz für viel Zeug 'I use garlic salt for a lot of things'

/er just blauə fnaitstipxn/ Er benutzt nur blaue Taschentücher 'He only uses blue handkerchiefs' /jus den klopnp rais!/ Nimm den kleinen (kurzen) Reis! 'Use the little (short) rice!'

/uksn hant nit men gjust/ Ochsen werden nicht mehr gebraucht 'Oxen are not used anymore'

The borrowed verb to move occurred with two different German adverbial prefixes: /vekəmuvt/ wegziehen 'to move away'; /ausimuvt/ ausziehen 'to move out', and was also altered with a /g/ prefix to fit the present perfect tense:

/mir hamp m ftot gmuvt/ Wir sind in die Stadt gezogen 'We moved to town'

The verb to call occurring conjugated in the first person singular may be a

technological borrowing along with the verb to phone that was used in the infinitve:

/i kol dɪ ʃpɛto/ Ich rufe dich später an 'I will call you later'

/ven nit, kon so af di rosi basl fond/ Wenn nicht, kann sie Tante Rosi anrufen 'If not she can call aunt Rosi'

Other English verbs appearing as past participles are commercial borrowings,

such as *to hire* and *to rent*. The following samples show their incorporation into the dialect:

/si hamant con karert tson drefn/ Sie haben ihn zum Dreschen eingestellt 'They hired him for the threshing'

/er hot des lont forent don on jemont/ Er hat das Land an jemanden vermietet 'He rented out the land to someone'

Other past participles in the verb list with a/g/ prefix were the following:

/gekt/ benommen 'acted'; /gre fant/ rationiert 'rationed'.

Most English verbs assimilated into the morphology of the dialect were produced as infinitives. In accordance with the verbal morphology of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect the infinitive suffix is produced either with the nasal /n/ or with /p/ depending on the stem-final consonant:

/klinp/	putzen	'to clean'
/∫pino/	drehen	'to spin'
/plaun/	pflügen	'to plow'
/katn/	(Gras) mähen	'to cut'
/kuləveiton/	anbauen	'to cultivate'
/vat∫n/	hüten , schauen	'to watch'
/bo0on/	stören	'to bother'
/fiksn/	bereiten	'to fix'
/tatʃn/	anfassen	'to touch'
/rekordn/	aufnehmen	'to record'

It is evident from the samples above that English verb loanwords tend to be completely morphologically acquired into the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect. The informants do not hesitate at all when using a borrowed verb. This may indicate that an individual speaker is not aware of incorporating an English loan and is subconsciously integrating it into the word order of the dialect.

Discourse markers serve as a good indicator for determining to what degree the English language intruded into the mind of a dialect speaker subconsciously. As stated above, the high frequency of words from the primary language most likely leads to a replacement of a corresponding word in the native vocabulary. However, a speaker's character comes into play with reference to the frequency of use of such markers in conversation. Using the verbal discourse marker *you see* in final position, the speaker wants confirmation from the listener and introduces new information in initial position.

The following samples from Informant 2 illustrate this use:

/si hot ən amerikanı kairat, ju si/ Sie hat einen Amerikaner geheiratet, siehst du 'She married an American, you see'

/ovo si, des get vlos ets enlis/ Aber sieh, das geht jetzt alles auf Englisch 'But see, everything is in English now'

The interjection *well* is another discourse marker frequently produced by

Informant 2. This marker has different discourse functions. It primarily occurs

initially when Informant 2 responds to a question:

/wel, si, do is goor niks tsu tuon gven/

Also, sieh, da ist gar nichts zu tun gewesen 'Well, see, there was nothing to do'

/vœl, hant fibr gven siŋp/

Also es sind vier gewesen, die gesungen haben 'Well, there were four singing'

Another verbal discourse device produced by the dialect informants is you

know, which depending on its position in the sentence, seeks confirmation from the

listener, has an emphatic meaning, or is used as a floor-holding device when delaying a

thought:

/mamaliga unt [troberts, ju nou, mit [metn amo/

Mamaliga mit Erdbeeren, weißt du, und Sahne drin 'Mamaliga with strawberries, you know, and whipping cream'

/i bin diseibəlt, ju nov/ Ich bin behindert, weißt du 'I am disabled you know' In contrast the German discourse marker *gell*, a tag question which signals confirmation from the listener and is commonly used in southern Germany, apppears frequently in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. This interjection is only replaced by its English counterpart *right*, when the conversation is in English. This may suggest that this tag is so deeply engrained in the subconscious mind of the dialect speaker that it is triggered automatically, when the conversation is held in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. The following examples show its usage:

/do tuont sis vusp tsun fon an brune, goel?/

Da tun sie das Wasser aus einem Brunnen (hoch)ziehen, gell (nicht wahr)? They pull up the water from a well there, right?'

/des hant birlo, gœl?/ Das sind Beeren, gell? 'These are berries, right?'

The phrase *I don't know* was produced several times while informants

described pictures or hesitated in making a response:

/des is, ai downt now, vos des is/ Das ist, ich wei $\beta$  nicht, was das ist 'That is, I don't know what it is'

/i bin mit den esn, ai dount nou, i bin reçt tsipri/

Ich bin mit dem Essen, ich weiß nicht, ich bin recht zierig (penibel)' 'With food, I don't know, I am rather fussy'

The main informant had the least English interference of all the other

informants in this study in free conversation. Unlike the other informants, he did not produce the phrase  $I \, don't \, know$ , but rather used the dialect equivalent /i vors nrt/. He also used English discourse markers as fillers for speech pauses and would use the emotional interjection *shucks*, when he could not remember a particular word in

German he needed to describe a picture: /des Is a,  $\int aks$ , i vobs a nIt/ Das ist ein, verflixt, ich weiß auch nicht That is a, shucks, I don't know'.

There does not seem to be any logic determining when, how, and why which English loanword was adopted into the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect. It is probable that more English interference takes place when a dialect informant talks about topics involving new concepts, such as technology and commerce. But in conversations that revolve around family, religion and also to a great extent around life on the farm, English borrowings are produced much less or not at all.

Even with the gradual cultural, as well as linguistic acculturation to the Englishspeaking environment, some Catholic Bohemian Germans still hold on to their identity by maintaining customs ranging from family functions to farming. However, the remembrance of other traditions, such as the baptism by Christian names, the old custom of having a wake in the family home, or the blessing of baskets full of eggs in church at Easter, has vanished, because they fell out of practice. But other vivid memories like those of Christmas customs and childhood still linger on. <sup>12</sup>

Although their recollection of these customs is often sketchy and details have faded, greetings and wishes, as well as anecdotes memorized in Catholic Bohemian German, that were an integral part of their culture and tradition, can still be recalled by some of the dialect informants. These sayings are recited from memory without hesitation and are linguistically unique in that they do not show any English interference. The main informant recalls a toast for drinking, which illustrates this well. One person toasts to the other by stating: /so IS s lebən/ So ist das Leben 'Such is life', and the other person who is being toasted says: /trɪŋ gsunt/ Trink

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Informant 1 and Informant 2 related these customs to the author. For a discussion on Catholic Bohemian German religious practices in Bukovina, see Welisch (1988, 21-28). And Mirwald (1989) devotes a book to describing the customs and traditions of the Catholic Bohemian Germans from Bukovina in great detail. Furthermore, Windholz (1996, 75-86) discusses Catholic Bohemian German culture and customs that they retained in Ellis County, Kansas.

gesund 'Drink healthily'. Their everyday salutations were tied in with their religious faith. <sup>13</sup> For example when they entered someone's house they would greet them by saying: /gelopt sar jesus kristus/ Gelobt sei Jesus Christus 'Praise be to Jesus Christ', and the person being greeted answered: /In eviçkait amən/ In Ewigkeit, Amen 'In eternity, amen'. <sup>14</sup> Another tradition were the New Year's wishes. Here their belief was also not far from their mind when they wished each other a happy New Year. The following examples are two versions rendered in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German by two different informants:

i vinj dir a gliksceliks naiss joor, a guots lem, a lons lem unt evigs gliksclikait/

Ich wünsche dir ein glückseliges neues Jahr, ein gutes Leben, ein langes Leben und ewige Glückseligkeit 'I wish you a happy New Year, a good life, a long life, and eternal happiness'

/i vin $\int$  a glikseliges naies jobr, a long lem, gsonthait unt a himelraic/

Ich wünsche dir ein glückseliges neues Jahr, ein langes Leben, Gesundheit und ein Himmelreich

'I wish you a happy New Year, a long life, health and a Kingdom of Heaven'

Children also learned New Year's wishes by heart often driven by the incentive

of receiving a coin afterwards. The following saying was collected from the main

informant:

/i vınf dır a glıksœlıks naıəs jopr, s krıskındl mıt di krausənə hopr, a gupts lem, a lons lem, a guldərən dif mıt a glosl vaï, brotnə fif. unt sul der her unt frau lustı saı/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The main informant also recalled some anecdotes that his mother had told him. See the appendix for a selection of anecdotes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Informant 5 related this greeting to the author.

Ich wünsche dir ein glückseliges neues Jahr, das Christkind mit dem krausen Haar, ein gutes Leben, ein langes Leben, einen goldenen Tisch mit einem Glas Wein. Der Herr und die Frau sollen lustig sein

'I wish you a happy New Year, the Christ Child with wavy hair, a good life, a long life, a golden table with a glass of wine. May the lord and the lady be jolly'

Sometimes they had short sayings that did not contain any words of their

religious faith, but it was rather meant to wish for badness in a facetious manner,

according to the main informant: /oft hamo aux gvin [on fir [leçtiçkait/ Oft

haben wir auch Schlechtigkeit gewünscht 'Often we also wished for badness'. The

following two sayings were collected from the main informant and Informant 2

respectively:

/i  $vin\int dir$ , i vods nit vos, hinton ofo sitst a hos. graif in di tojen, gip mo vos! nim en besensteel unt hau con mir aus!

Ich wünsche dir, ich weiß nicht was, hintern Ofen sitzt ein Has'. Greif in die Tasche, gib mir was! Nimm einen Besenstiel und hau ihn mir hinaus!

'I wish you, I don't know what, a hare is sitting behind the oven. Reach into your pocket, give me something! Take a broomstick and chase it out!'

/vinj =, vinj =, vors nit vos, hinton ofo sitst a hos. af do beg rent a maus. mit den besen haut sis aus/

Wünsche, wünsche, weiß nicht was, hintern Ofen sitzt ein Has'. Auf der Bank sitzt eine Maus. Mit dem Besen haut sies aus

Wishing, wishing, I don't know what. A hare is sitting behind the oven. A mouse is sitting on the bench. She chases it out with a broom'

In Bukovina, as well as in Ellis County the Catholic Bohemian German

community life centered around the church. Their faith had a great impact on how they

conducted their everyday life, especially during periods of religious observations, such

as the time of Advent, the period before Christmas. During this time the Catholic

Bohemian Germans were not allowed to go dancing, attend shows or parties, nor celebrate weddings. During Lent, the fasting period before Easter, they could not schedule or attend social events and had to cover all mirrors in the house with black fabric, which was lifted again on Easter. In addition they had to abide by a strict dietary schedule and were not supposed to eat meat on Wednesdays and Fridays, and only eat one full meal a day during Holy Week (*Karwoche*). Praying was an essential part of their faith, and sometimes involved a whole ritual process. Children were taught all prayers in German, usually by their mother. Informant 2 recalled that every night she and her younger siblings had to kneel down in front of their mother's bed and she would lead the prayer. When they attended instruction lessons in preparation for holy communion, they had to learn all prayers in English, as well as the church catechism.

Sermons at St. Mary's, the Catholic church in Ellis, were held in German until the 1950s. The prayer books were in German too. Informant 2 still keeps such a prayer book that belonged to her mother: /i hon a gəbɛtbioxl in daitʃ fon mama/ Ich habe ein Gebetbuch auf deutsch von Mama 'I have a prayer book from mom in German'. According to the informants in the 1930s the priest started alternating every Sunday, holding the sermon in English or German. Fewer and fewer people in the congregation retained an active knowledge of German so that in later years only a part of the homily was held in German, while the other part was in English. When the main informant came back to Ellis in 1945 after World War II had ended, a German sermon was only held one Sunday a month until it finally ceased in the 1950s. The third generation of Catholic Bohemian Germans never had a sermon in German.

A correlation can be drawn between the gradual decline in the use of German in St. Mary's church and the inscription of bible verses and commentary in German on gravestones or on memorial cards that were handed out at the wake in church. <sup>15</sup> While commentary on tombstones and memorial cards was in German until the 1950s, English was used in the later years. <sup>16</sup>

Bible verses and commentary are in Standard German, what the Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans call: /des is no do  $\int rrft/$  Das ist nach der Schrift 'That is according to the written (language)'. The following German inscription on a tombstone in rhyming verse reads:

42 Jahre lebten wir zusammen in Freuden und in Not. Jetzt haben wir das Verlangen zu bleiben beim lieben Gott.

'For 42 years we lived together through joy and distress. Now we have the desire to stay with the beloved Lord'  $^{17}$ 

Carman (1974b, 3) in his account on the Ellis Bukovinian Germans writes about the church usage of German in the Catholic and the Lutheran church. Referring to the Catholic church of St. Mary's he notes: "The pastor who came in 1952 rarely used German, but when the 'Hail Mary' was in German he received a vigorous response." This underscores the fact that many Catholic Bohemian Germans, and most likely other ethnic German groups worshipping in that church, first learned and memorized their prayers in German. When attempting to elicit some German church

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This information is based on copies of memorial cards that were given to the author by one of the informants. In addition, the author took pictures of gravestones with German inscriptions when visiting the Catholic and the Lutheran cemetery in Ellis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The same phenomenon can be observed at St. John's cemetery, the Lutheran cemetery north of Ellis. Carman (1962, 4) in his printed settlement notes on Ellis Bukovinian Germans notes that while 10% of the tombstone inscriptions at St. John's cemetery were in German between 1920-1929, the percentage rose to 52% in the 1930s, and became slightly higher, 55% between 1940-1949, it dropped to 0% in the early 1950s. Carman's settlement notes from the field and printed notes are archived as the J. Neale Carman collection at the University of Kansas Archives in the Helen F.Spencer Research Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> This inscription is on the gravestone of the grandparents of Informant 8.

prayers from the main informant, he recited the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the

*Creed* hardly with any hesitation at all. <sup>18</sup> The prayers are as follows:

## The Lord's Prayer

/fatər unsər, der du bist in himəl. gəhailikt verdə dain namə. tsu uns komə dain raiç. dain vilə gəfeə im himəl als aux auf erdən. gip uns hait dain brot. fergip uns unserən fuldigərn, fir uns niçt in fersuçuq, sondu erlesə uns fon ibəl. amən/

Vater unser, der du bist im Himmel. Geheiligt werde dein Name. Zu uns komme dein Reich. Dein Wille geschehe im Himmel als auch auf Erden. Gip uns heute dein Brot. Vergib uns unseren Schuldigern, führ uns nicht in Versuchung, sondern erlöse uns vom Übel. Amen.

'Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us today your bread. Forgive us our trespassers, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.'<sup>19</sup>

## Hail Mary

/gəgrisət saist du, mari. du bist fol der gnodon. der her ist mit dir. du bist govenedait unter den varborn unt govenedait ist di fruxt dainos laibos, jesus. hailigo maria, mutor gotos, bit fir uns armo sindor jetst unt in der [tunt unsoros todos. cmon/

Gegrüßet seist du, Maria. Du bist voll der Gnaden. Der Herr ist mit dir. Du bist gebenedeiet unter den Weibern unt gebenedeiet ist die Frucht deines Leibes, Jesus. Heilige Maria, Mutter Gottes, bitte für uns Sünder jetzt und in der Stunde unseres Todes. Amen.

'Hail to you, Mary. You are full of mercy. The Lord is with you. You are the Blessed Virgin among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us poor sinners now and when we die. Amen.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Informant 2 also recited the Lord's Prayer, but hesitated a lot.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The informant combines two lines of the Lord's Prayer. The English translation reflects it.

#### Creed

/ıç glaubə den fatər, den metiçən jepfər unt amngəborən son, unsərn hern, der empfaŋən ist fon hailigən gaist. unt ist gəboren fon maria, di juŋfrau, gəlitən untər pontius, kraitsikt, gəjtərbən unt bəgrabən. apgəjtigən tsu der helə, on dirtən tagə auferjtandən fon den totən, aufgəfarən in den himəl tsu der reçtən tsu den metiçən fatər. don komən virt tsu nçtən ləbendiçən unt di totən. iç glaubə den hailiçən gaist, amə gəmamə kristkatolijə kirxən, den aplas des sinəs, flaijəs unt evigəs leben. amen/

Ich glaube an den Vater, den mächtigen Schöpfer und eingeborenen Sohn, unsern Herrn, der empfangen ist durch den heiligen Geist. Und ist geboren von Maria, der Jungfrau, hat gelitten unter Pontius, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben. (Er ist) abgestiegen zu der Hölle, am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten, aufgefahren in den Himmel zu der rechten des mächtigen Vaters. Dann wird er kommen, zu richten die Lebenden und die Toten. Ich glaube an den heiligen Geist, an eine christkatholische Kirche, an den Ablaß des Sinnes, des Fleisches und an das ewige Leben. Amen. 'I believe in the Father, the almighty creator and in his begotten Son, our Lord, who was conceived through the Holy Spirit. And he was born by the Virgin Mary, has suffered under Pontius, was crucified, died, and buried. He descended to Hell, has risen from the dead on the third day, ascended into

Heaven to sit to the right of God Almighty. Then he will come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, in one Catholic Church, in indulgence of the senses, the flesh and in eternal life. Amen.'

It is immediately obvious that these prayers were learned by heart in Standard German. Linguistic features that characterize NHG differ from the phonological and morphological system of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect can be observed.

Morphologically for example, the main informant does not only pronounce inflectional endings, such as the final /2/ in the first person singular, which is omitted in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect: /Iç glaub2/ Ich glaube 'I believe', or the

third person singular marker /t/ in the conjugated form of to be: /ISt/ ist 'is', but also adds the final palatal voiceless fricative / $\varsigma$ / to the first person singular personal pronoun, which is lost in the dialect: / $I\varsigma$ / Ich 'I'. Past participles have a ge - prefix and thus are not omitted if the verb stem begins with an obstruent, and also in a verb stem beginning with the glottal fricative /h/ the consonant is realized: /gəhaIlIkt/ geheiligt 'hallowed'; /gəborən/ geboren 'born'. The case distinction of the genitive is made in set phrases with a genitive noun and pronoun inflections: /mutər gətəs/ Mutter Gottes 'Mother of God'; /in der ſtunt unsərəs todəs/ In der Stunde unseres Todes 'at the hour of our death'.

Phonologically there is no vocalization of /r/ word-medially and word-finally: /fergIp uns unseren ſuldIgern/ Vergib uns unseren Schuldigern 'Forgive those who trespass against us'. Falling diphthongs are not produced and monophthongs appear instead: /kiorxen/ Kirche 'church'. Furthermore, MHG <ei> does not change to /oD/ and /oI/ in words such as: /flaIʃ/ Fleisch 'flesh', /gaIst/ Geist 'spirit'; /haIIIgen/ heiligen 'holy'. There is also no phonological change in the Catholic Bohemian German dialect, probably because these words are clerical words that in conjunction with faith take on certain meanings. <sup>20</sup> The word for meat , referring to animal meat, is used in Wenker sentence 30 and translated by the informants as follows: /vifcel pfunt flaIſ vœlst?/ Wieviel Pfund Fleisch willst du haben? 'How many pounds of meat (sausage) do you want?'. However, the NHG word Brot 'bread', which if pronounced in church prayers retains the monophthong /o/ from MHG <ô>, but changes to the diphthong /ou/ in the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect: /brout/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Kubitschek (1927, 19) highlights that the NHG words *Fleisch* 'flesh', *Geist* 'spirit' and *Kaiser* 'caesar' did no change from MHG <ei> to /op/ and /or/ in Catholic Bohemian German because of their affiliation with church and office.

Although sermons in German at the Catholic church of St. Mary's in Ellis stopped some forty years ago, and German prayers that were memorized in childhood are not included in church functions anymore, speakers of second generation Catholic Bohemian German may still recall a prayer or two in German. They would likely pray it by themselves, isolated without the "echoing" support of the congregation. Thus, intercommunicational exchange does not take place anymore between speakers of German in church, nor is there other church-related linguistic development.

This is somewhat analogous to the state the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect is in. The dialect speakers who remain speak to each other in their dialect or they must talk to themselves.<sup>21</sup> They are isolated from other speakers of the dialect in other areas of the world, for example in Germany, and consequently cannot share linguistic developments that take place in their dialect or in German for that matter.

The Catholic Bohemian German dialect did not develop linguistically after the original Catholic Bohemian German settlers left their homeland in the Bohemian Forest in the nineteenth century to colonize Bukovina, where they managed to keep their linguistic identity. When they later emigrated to the United States, Canada, and Brazil, their dialect was intact and the original speech was maintained. This is what Fischer Arends (1989, 120) calls a petrifaction of the language. She writes: "This can be attributed to a tendency of petrifaction that generally takes place in the language and in other cultural behavior, of isolated speech communities ...."

However, this preservation of dialect features includes a lexicon of words whose usage nowadays is often restricted to rural Austro-Bavarian dialects or is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Several dialect informants said that they talk to themselves in their dialect, for example, with relation to errands they have to do, such as going shopping.

obsolete. The following list provides a selection of categories by semantic fields from this rich repertoire that is unique to the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect: <sup>22</sup>

/trent/ Erde 'soil, ground'				
$\rightarrow$	: Bohemian German, with a metathesis			
	occurring between the vowel $\epsilon$ and $t$ <sup>23</sup>			
lamo/ schmelzen 'to melt'				
$\rightarrow$	: Bavarian; Latin origin: lenis (weich 'soft')			
/optnt/ Abort 'privy'				
$\rightarrow$	: Austrian; MHG: ab(e)trit			
/hefəl/Tasse 'cup'				
$\rightarrow$	: Austrian; MHG: haven (Topf, 'pot')			
/kɔpə/ Eimer, Kübel 'bucket'				
$\rightarrow$	: Bavarian: Kübe, Küwe; MHG: kübel, Latin: cûpa			
/tsegp/ Korb 'basket'				
$\rightarrow$	: Bohemian German, also Bavarian usage			
/rain/ irdener Kochtopf, Bratpfanne 'earthenware pot, pan'				
$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian; MHG: rîne, rinne			
/[pepdl/ Stecknadel 'stick pin'				
$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian: Sperl			
/hovon/ Hafer 'oats'				
$\rightarrow$	: Bavarian; MHG: habere			
/kukuruts/ Mais 'corn'				
$\rightarrow$	: Austrian, Bohemian German; Slavic loanword of Turkish origin			
/kre/ Merrettich 'horseradish'				
$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian, Bohemian German; Czech origin			
/∫mɛtn/ <i>Sahne</i> 'cream'				
<b>→</b>	: Bohemian German; loanword of Czech origin			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The term Austro-Bavarian refers to the vernacular in Bavaria and mostly in Upper Austria. Bohemian German refers to the Austro-Bavarian dialects in the Bohemian Forest in near proximity to the Czech border.

the Czech border. <sup>23</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 23) for an explanation of this phenomenon. Kollmer (1985, 73) points out that this form is Bohemian German.

/umorkn/ Gurke 'cucumber' : Austrian, Bohemian German; loan based on Austro-Bavarian: Gummer (Latin: cucumis) and Czech: okurka /fisoln/ grüne Bohne 'string bean' : Austrian; Greek origin; MHG: fasôl /opvas/ Erbse 'pea' : Austrian, Bohemian German; MHG: areweiz /oklaum/ pflücken, auflesen 'to pick' : Austro-Bavarian, Bohemian German; MHG: klûben /[JItlə/ in Fett gebackenes Gebäck, 'deep fried pastries' : Diminutive, Austrian, Bohemian German; also NHG: (Holz)Scheit 'log'; MHG: schît /bro[kə/ Kröte 'toad' : Austro-Bavarian: Broz/Proz, related to NHG: Protz 'swank' /gœlsn/ Stechmücke 'mosquito : Austrian; MHG: gelsen (schreien 'to shout') /okuln/ umbringen, verderben 'to kill' : Bohemian German; MHG: keln, koln /harrisl/ Heuschrecke 'grasshopper' : Bohemian German; MHG: rîsen, rüezel /tsoxt/ Sau, Zuchtschwein 'sow' : Austro-Bavarian; MHG: zuht /berno/ Eber 'boar' : Austro-Bavarian; MHG: bêr /tsauk/ Hündin 'female dog' : Austro-Bavarian, Bohemian German /tsumpl/ Schnuller 'pacifier' : Austro-Bavarian: Zuzl, zuzeln: to suck -> MHG: sûgen /gogotsn/ gackern 'to cackle' : onomatopoetic, Bavarian, Bohemian German; MHG: gâgem /indrukto/ wiederkäuen 'to chew cud' : Austro-Bavarian; OHG: itarucken

/bıç/	$\rightarrow$	: Bavarian: bicka (kleben 'to glue'); MHG: bech, pech
		(Pech 'tar')
/gnaʊʃn/	<b>→</b>	: onomatopoetic, North Bavarian: gnaunzn ( <i>murren</i> ) 'to grumble'
/nadl/, /ne	dl/ Großmutter	, Großvater 'Grandmother, Grandfather'
	<b>→</b>	: Bohemian German, from Austro-Bavarian; with metathesis of $/n/$ and the vowel and the epenthetic consonant $/d/$ , MHG: ane
/taftet/, /ta	fdodn, taftot/	' ( <i>Tauf</i> )pate, ( <i>Tauf</i> )patin 'Godfather, Godmother'
,,	→	: Bohemian German, also North Bavarian; OHG: tôto (masc.), tôta (fem.)
/tato/ Papa	'dad'	
	<b>→</b>	: affectionate form for 'father'; Bohemian German; from Austro-Bavarian: Tatl, Datl ( <i>Greis</i> 'old man') Indoeuropean origin; MHG: tateren
/gomotsn/	<i>gähnen</i> 'to ya	awn'
	<b>→</b>	: Austro-Bavarian, Bohemian German; MHG: ginen, genen
/kampln/ k	ämmen 'to co	omb'
	$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian, Bohemian German; MHG: kember
/sı toməln/	sich tummeln,	sich beeilen 'to hurry up'
	$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian; MHG: tumeln
/tsam/ Träi	<i>ien</i> 'tears'	
	$\rightarrow$	: Austrian-Bavarian, MHG: zaher
/mosn/ Nar	be 'scar'	
	$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian: Maser; MHG: mâse
/bɪŋl, bɪŋkl	l/ Beule, Bünde	<i>l</i> 'bump on the head, bundle'
	$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian; MHG: biule
/laıçt/ Beerd	digung 'funer	al'
	$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian: Leich; see also NHG <i>Leiche</i> 'dea body'
/haison/ be	<i>esuchen</i> 'to vi	sit'
	$\rightarrow$	: Bohemian German, literally: in die Häuser gehen 't walk into someone's house'
/okentan/ a	<i>anzünden</i> 'to I	light'

/iorto/ Dienstag 'Tuesday'				
$\rightarrow$	: Bavarian; loan translation derived from the Greek God Ares: Áreos heméra, the day of Ares			
/pfinsto/ Donnerstag 'Thursday'				
$\rightarrow$	: Bavarian; loan translation based on the Greek number pémpte heméra, the fifth day of the week			
/ferdn/ voriges Jahr 'last year'				
<b>→</b>	: Austro-Bavarian; MHG: vert, vernet (adverb); also MHG: virne alt 'old'; virn Firn, Altschnee 'firn'			
/endv/ früher 'earlier'				
$\rightarrow$	: Austrian; MHG: (comparative of) balde (adverb)			
/aft/ dann, danach 'afterwards'				
$\rightarrow$	: Austro-Bavarian; MHG: after (adverb)			

This selection of distinct dialect words reveals an Austro-Bavarian heritage and reflects a preservation of many words as well, whose usage has become obsolete nowadays or is restricted to rural dialects. Like their phonological features, these vocabulary items can be traced back historically to OHG and/or MHG. <sup>24</sup> In addition, this word chart also shows that when the Catholic Bohemian German settlers left their homeland in the Bohemian Forest for Bukovina they already spoke mixed Bavarian dialects which they kept when colonizing the former Austrian province. These dialects are mainly distinguished phonologically. In the struggle among the quite divergent linguistic forms in the new settlements of Bukovina, the Catholic Bohemian German dialect retained features that are mainly associated with Central Bavarian, but also show reflexes of the Central/North Bavarian interference zone. The linguistic history of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect and consequently its geographic determination of places in the Bohemian Forest where the original settlers in Bukovina came from will be the examined in chapter 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See chapter 4 for the phonology of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect

#### Chapter 6

# Linguistic History and Dialect Geographical Origin of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German Dialect

The dialect speakers of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis, Kansas, call themselves Bohemian Germans and their dialect /dart  $\int Deutschböhmisch$ 'German Bohemian'. <sup>1</sup> The name shows evidence of the fact that these immigrants to west central Kansas, who emigrated there from Bukovina, originated in Bohemia. It is known that they came from a region in western Bohemia called the Bohemian Forest, which nowadays stretches across the border between Germany and the Czech Republic. This region is adjacent to the Bavarian Forest in Southern Germany (see map 10). <sup>2</sup>

The ancestors of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans were mainly glass blowers and timber workers, who were involved in farming as well when they settled in Bukovina. The immigrants to Ellis, Kansas, came mostly from Karlsberg, Fürstenthal, and Buchenhain (Poiana Micului) to Kansas.<sup>3</sup> The dialect informants in this study are descendants of the emigrants from Fürstenthal and Buchenhain (Poiana Micului).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See chapter 2 on the historical account of the Bukovina Germans in Ellis. Furthermore, see Rein (1996, 27-36) on the general history and the immigration of German settlers to Bukovina.

<sup>3</sup> See map on the German settlements in Bukovina reprinted from Franz Lang (1963-64, 49) in chapter 2. Rein (1996, 40-41) also mentions these settlements from which the Catholic Bohemian Germans set out to emigrate to Kansas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See also chapter 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This information was related to the author by her informants when asked directly where their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents were born.

In the late 1920s Kubitschek (1927, 5) noted that the dialects of the Bohemian Forest are Bavarian dialects. <sup>5</sup> Supporting this view, Franz Lang (1933, 629) in his account on language and language use of the different settlements in Bukovina, stated that the Catholic Bohemian German settlers came from villages in the central and upper Bohemian Forest. Their main source of income was from glass blowing industries and forest farming. He maintains that they speak "bair[ische] Mischmundarten," that is mixed Bavarian dialects. Lang supports his view by pointing out that these German settlers from Bohemia did not only speak mixed Bavarian dialects because they originated in different places of the Bohemian Forest, but also because the inhabitants of these villages for the most part had already spoken mixed dialects in Bohemia. The reason why they had mixed dialects is found in the fact that these villages were settled by Germans from different parts of Bavaria and Austria at different times.

If one nowadays surfs the internet for towns and regions in the Bohemian Forest, the information retrieved supports this geographical view. Besides data on Bavarian and Bohemian history, one finds facts on the history of glass blowing and timber industries in the majority of towns and villages in the Bohemian Forest, on both sides of the border, as well as in the Bavarian Forest. Places with glass production, for example, were usually abandoned, once the wood was used up and people moved on to other locations. Glass blowing, which in some areas dates back to the thirteenth century and is older than the timber industries, was most likely introduced into the Bavarian Forest from the Salzkammergut in Austria to Bohemia.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 6-7) for a differentiation of three major geographical dialect areas, the lower, central, and upper Bohemian Forest. He also maintains that the border area between the upper and the central Bohemian Forest separates Northern Bavarian from Central Bavarian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Throughout his book Kubitschek (1927) describes in detail the settlement history of the Bohemian Forest. He mentions that the Bohemian Forest was first inhabited mostly by forest farmers (*Freibauern*). Later on, as early as the 14th century, woodcutters, glassblowers, and other farmers from Upper German (UG) dialect regions settled there and founded villages. Different areas of the Bohemian Forest were colonized during various time periods. According to Kubitschek (1927, 54) most of the upper Bohemian Forest, for example, was not cleared and populated by farmers, glassblowers and

In addition to this information there are linguistic features that give valuable clues as to the places in the Bohemian Forest where the families of the modern descendants of the Catholic Bohemian Germans originated. Based on phonological, morphological, and lexical evidence the attempt is made in this chapter to find a more exact determination of the area in the Bohemian Forest, where the speakers of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect originated. In addition to the determination of the dialect area, some conclusions will also be drawn on a dialect mixing in the speech of these settlers. The Catholic Bohemian German dialect shows features of Central Bavarian with an interference of North Bavarian characteristics. <sup>7</sup> The phonological, morphological, and lexical data gathered in the dialect interviews with the informants is compared to data found in such publications as Kubitschek (1927), Wiesinger (1989), the *dtv-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache (dtvA)*, the *Deutscher Sprachatlas (DSA)*, and the *Deutscher Wortatlas (DWA)*.

For the classification of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect within a major German dialect area, traditional dialect isoglosses are used. These geographical boundary lines determining dialect regions are based on consonantal phonology systematically researched by the DSA.<sup>8</sup>

timber workers from Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate region until the time of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). See also Kleindorfer-Marx (1996) for an array of essays on how history, culture, and economy shaped the lives of people living on the banks of the river *Regen* in the southern part of the Upper Palatinate. The headwaters of the *Regen* are located in the Bohemian Forest around Markt Eisenstein (Zelezná Ruda). Wood cutting and glasswork were two of the main sources of income for people in the area near the border. Kleindorfer-Marx (1996, 7) mentions names of traditional glassblowing communities in that area such as Regenhütte, Ludwigsthal, and Theresienthal, along with the town of Zwiesel, which is known as *Glasstadt*, "the city of glass."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See chapter 4 on the phonological system of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. Furthermore, see Kubitschek (1927) on dialect distinctions from a phonological, morphological, and lexical perspective. The information provided in this chapter will support his conclusion, as well as Lang's view that the ancestors of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans already spoke a mix of Bavarian dialects when they left the Bohemian Forest to settle in Bukovina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> DSA also carried out a subclassification of German dialect areas based on vowel phonology. The German dialect divisions are represented on a map in the dtvA, 230-31, based on research carried out by the DSA. The labeling of German dialect boundaries referred to in this chapter are mostly based on these sources, as well as on the DWA maps that show regional lexical differences for certain New High German (NHG) words. In addition, regional dialect distinctions for Bavarian dialects in the

The dialect can be identified as Upper German (UG) because it does participate completely in the second sound shift, a pronunciation difference between the Germanic voiceless stops p, t, and k, and Old High German (OHG) voiceless fricatives and affricates (p)f, (t)s, and (k)ch. This phonological phenomenon separates the Low German dialects (LG) north of this boundary from the High German dialects south of the line. In between LG and UG are the Middle German dialects (MG) that partially participated in the second sound shift. <sup>9</sup> The northern isogloss delimiting MG and UG from LG is defined by the *maken/machen* 'to make' boundary. The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect realizes the intervocalic /k/ as the corresponding fricative /x/: /moxto/ machen 'to make'. MG and UG are also south of the *ik/ich* 'I '(1st. Pers. Nom. Sg. Personal Pronoun)' isogloss. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German shifts word-final /k/ to /q/: /ratq/ reich 'rich'.

The two northern isoglosses that separate UG dialects from MG dialects are marked by the *Appel/Apfel* 'apple' isogloss and the *Pund/Pfund* 'pound' isogloss. Like all UG dialects Ellis Catholic Bohemian German has shifted the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ to the corresponding affricate /pf/ in intervocalic and word-initial position: /epfl/ *Äpfel* 'apples'; /pfont/ *Pfund* 'pound'.

A further subclassification of the UG dialects can be made. The *euch/enk* 'you (old dual form, 2nd Person Plural Pronoun, Dative and Accusative)' isogloss, which runs roughly from south of Chemnitz to the east of Nürnberg and southwest of Innsbruck, Austria, divides the West Upper German dialects (WUG), namely Alemanic and East Franconian, from the East Upper German dialects (EUG), the Bavarian

Bohemian Forest are mainly based on a detailed map by Kubitschek (1927, n.page) showing the various linguistic boundaries that divide each area from the other.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See the dtvA, 62-63 for a detailed description of these phenomena. Wolff (1990, 59-61) also explains the second or High German sound shift.

dialects. <sup>10</sup> The Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis falls in the EUG dialect group with the use of  $/\epsilon \eta$  / euch 'you'.

Within the EUG dialect region, Bavarian dialects are divided into three subgroups ranging from north to south, North, Central, and South Bavarian. These subgroups are distinguished by the *gnecht/kchnecht* 'servant' isogloss which separates South Bavarian from Central Bavarian and North Bavarian to the north. South Bavarian is considered to have thoroughly completed the second sound shift, because it shifted Germanic /k/  $\rightarrow$  OHG /kch/. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German falls north of this linguistic boundary, for example: /knedl/ Knödel 'dumplings'.

A further subclassification that distinguishes South Bavarian from Central and North Bavarian is the *Binnenhochdeutsche Konsonantenschwächung* or the Central High German consonant lenition. <sup>11</sup> North and Central Bavarian as opposed to South Bavarian, for example, do not show a pronunciation difference between the voiceless stops p, t, k and their voiced counterparts b, d, and g. The consonant lenition is mostly consistent in Central Bavarian. <sup>12</sup> The consonant lenition is not consistently realized in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German. For example, word initial t- in words

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See dtvA, 92 for the eucl/enk isogloss. Wiesinger (1989, 439) defining the geographical dialect area of Bavarian dialects mentions the fact that up to the end of WW II the linguistic border of Bavarian dialects ran through the middle of west and south Bohemia. He gives a list of places included in that region that are nowadays Czech. Zehetner (1985, 54-75) gives a complete analysis of the geographical dialect areas of Bavarian. He divides Bavarian into three subgroups. South Bavarian, which he refers to as "Alpenbairisch," that is Alpine Bavarian, is primarily concentrated in the Austrian Alpine regions of Tyrol, Carinthia, Styria, and the southern edge of Burgenland. Central Bavarian is called the "Donau-Isar-Bairisch" or the Danube-Isar-Bavarian, because it defines the dialects in that river region, along the Munich-Vienna axis. The third subgroup, North Bavarian, is commonly referred to as "Oberpfälzisch," Upper Palatine, because it is located in that region north of the Danube, as well as in the northern Bavarian Forest. Surrounding Central Bavarian are transition or interference zones where linguistic features of neighboring dialects are intermixed. Harnisch (1983, 2) outlines the dialect boundary of the northern Central Bavarian transitional zone "etwa vom Dreieck Ingolstadt - Furth im Wald -Eisenstein," that is around the triangle of Ingolstadt, Furth im Wald, and Eisenstein. In addition, Wiesinger (1989, 438-519) and Rowley (1989, 417-37) summarize the Central and South Bayarian dialect areas and the North Bavarian dialects respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See dtvA, 148-49 for a detailed explanation of the Central German consonant lenition and a map showing the extent of this lenition within Central Germany.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The consonant lenition is a part of what Kranzmayer (1956, 97) calls "mittelbairische Lautverschiebung," that is the Central Bavarian sound shift.

such as getan 'done', tot 'dead', is inconsistently lenited and both forms are used: /to/, /do/; /tout/, /dout/. Medial t- is unshifted or lenited, such as : /buto/ Butter 'butter'; /bladl/ Blatt 'leaf'. While there is no lenition of word-initial k-, intervocalic or word-final k- is often lenited after a nasal: /kroŋ/ krank 'sick'; /trŋŋ/ trinken 'to drink'. <sup>13</sup>

Another type of lenition, the vocalization of /l/ to /i/ is a distinguishing characteristic of Central Bavarian in relation to North Bavarian as well as South Bavarian and other German dialects where the liquid is retained after vowels. <sup>14</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian German shows retention of /l/: /bceltl/ *Bildlein* 'little picture'; /[ul/ Schule 'school'; /sults/ Salz 'salt'.

Furthermore, the vocalization of /r/ after vowels, which leads to a diphthongization of the preceding vowel is also a typical characteristic of Central Bavarian. <sup>15</sup> This characteristic is also realized in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German: /mip/ wir 'we'; /fupt/ fort 'away'; /fupk/ stark 'strong'; /mep/ mehr 'more'. <sup>16</sup>

By examining the vowel isoglosses, the potential place of origin of Ellis Catholic Bohemian German can be determined more precisely. The traditional *DSA* vowel isogloss *brouder/bruader* 'brother' is the northern dialect boundary of Central Bavarian distinguishing it from North Bavarian.<sup>17</sup> It runs roughly from west to east, from south of Nürnberg and north of Regensburg to the Czech border north of

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  See also the consonantal phonology in chapter 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Zehetner (1985, 56) displays a map showing the extent of *l*-vocalization in Central Bavarian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Wiesinger (1989, 459) and Rein (1991, 16) define the *r*-vocalization as a dialect feature for Central Bavarian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> There is a strong tendency to vocalize |r| after vowels in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German, but there is still a little *r*- coloring present.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See dtvA, 146 for a map of this isogloss.

Waldmünchen. <sup>18</sup> This isogloss marks the major distinction between the falling diphthongs (*fallende Diphthonge*) typical of Central Bavarian and the reversed diphthongs (*gestürzte Diphthonge*) identifying North Bavarian dialects. The Middle High German (MHG) falling diphthongs  $\langle uo \rangle$ ,  $\langle ie \rangle$ , and  $\langle iie \rangle$  <sup>19</sup> remain falling diphthongs in Central Bavarian and South Bavarian and are realized as /utb/ and /itb/ respectively. In North Bavarian , however, these falling diphthongs are reflected as the reversed diphthongs /ou/ and /ɛI/. <sup>20</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian German exhibits both, falling diphthongs, as well as reversed diphthongs for certain words. <sup>21</sup> The following examples illustrate this: /fuos/, /fous/ *Fu* $\beta$  'foot'; /brittle. *The Brief* 'letter'; /kitb/, /kɛI/ Kühe 'cows'.

The MHG diphthong  $\langle ei \rangle$  appears as  $\langle op \rangle$  in all Bavarian dialects in words such as  $\langle tsvop \rangle zwei$  'two' and  $\langle op \rangle Ei$  'egg'. In North Bavarian it is, however, raised to  $\langle oI \rangle$  in polysyllabic words.<sup>22</sup> The raising of this diphthong is a chief characteristic of Ellis Catholic Bohemian German. Thus the NHG words *Seife* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Each dialect speaker realizes either falling diphthongs or reversed diphthongs for the same word. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers whose ancestors came from the village of Buchenhain (Poiana Micului) in Bukovina realize the falling diphthongs in their speech, while those dialect informants with ancestors from Fürstenthal, Bukovina, pronounce the reversed diphthongs:

Buchenhain	Fürstenthal	· · · ·
/kud/	/kou/	Kuh 'cow'
/kiv/	/kei/	Kühe 'cows'
/fups/	/fous/	Fuβ 'foot'
/fips/	/feis/	Füße 'feet'
		5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Wiesinger (1989, 450) and Rein (1991, 17) attribute the different realization of MHG <ei> to /ɔ1/ to North Bavarian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See DSA (1926, vol. 1). Furthermore, see Zehetner (1985, 64) for a good overview on the extent of this isogloss, as well as other traditional vowel isogloss criteria for the upper and central Bavarian Forest.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The Middle High German (MHG) vowels are given in a phonemic transcription followed by a grapheme as seen in normalized transcription.
 <sup>20</sup> See the vowel phonology in chapter 4. The reversed diphthongs, sometimes also called toppled

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See the vowel phonology in chapter 4. The reversed diphthongs, sometimes also called toppled diphthongs (*gestürzte Diphthonge*), are apparently opposite to the falling diphthongs, because they were "umgekippt," that is toppled (Zehetner 1985, 65). See Schirmunski (1962, 231-32) for a discussion of reversed diphthongs in North Bavarian and in other German dialects. In addition, Lang (1933, 629) attributes the occurrence of both, falling diphthongs and reversed diphthongs, as being the primary evidence for the mixture of the dialects spoken by those settlers in Bukovina who originated in the upper and central Bohemian Forest.

'soap', Weizen 'wheat', and Mädchen (Maidlein) 'girl' are realized respectively as /soifo/, /voits/, and /moidl/.

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German mostly exhibits the retention of /e/ in Central Bavarian from MHG monophthongs  $<\hat{e}>$  and  $<\hat{e}>$ , which appear diphthongized to  $/\epsilon_I/$  in North Bavarian. The dialect speakers say, for example: /ve/ weh '(it) hurts";  $/\int e/$  schön 'beautiful', but evidence the distinguishing North Bavarian diphthong  $/\epsilon_I/$  for NHG Schnee 'snow':  $/[n\epsilon_I/$ .

A further typically North Bavarian feature is the diphthongization of the MHG long monophthongs  $\langle \hat{o} \rangle$  and  $\langle \hat{a} \rangle$  as  $\langle \Im U \rangle$ . While MHG  $\langle \hat{o} \rangle$  also developed into a diphthongal pronunciation in Central Bavarian, MHG  $\langle \hat{a} \rangle$  and  $\langle a \rangle$  are raised and backed to  $\langle 0 \rangle$  and  $\langle \Im \rangle$ . Ellis Catholic Bohemian German displays the vowel features of Central Bavarian, such as: /tout/ tot 'dead'; /grous/ groß big, tall', and /blosn/ blasen 'to blow'; /soŋ/ sagen 'to say'.<sup>23</sup>

Based on the vocalic and consonantal criteria, the dialect features described above that predominate in the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect can mainly be associated with Central Bavarian, although they show North Bavarian interference.

The morphological data found in the dialect tend to support the conclusion that the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German primarily retains Central Bavarian features with an interference of North Bavarian.

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German utilizes the diminutive suffix /l/ based on the MHG suffix *-lîn* with its corresponding NHG suffix *-lein*. This is a common dialectal realization within the Upper German dialect region: /leçl/ Loch 'little hole'; /boeltl/ Bildlein 'little picture'.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the MHG long vowels <ô> and <â> see Zehetner (1985, 65), Wiesinger (1989, 450), and Rowley (1989, 417). Rein (1991, 17) calls the raising and backing of MHG <â> Verdumpfung.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See dtvA, 157 for the distribution of the diminutive suffixes in German.

A distinct morphological feature of Central Bavarian is the vocalization of the suffix -en to the vowel /D/ in nouns, infinitives, and past participles. Here it depends on the stem-final position, usually after /f/, /k/, /x/, and after nasals. Otherwise the final nasal is retained. <sup>25</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian German employs this lenition of the final syllable: /kɑfp/ kaufen 'to buy'; /ofp/ Ofen 'oven'; /broxp/ gebrochen 'broken', but /putsn/ putzen 'to clean', /fptsceln/ erzählen 'to tell'. However, final -en is vocalized after a vowel in some verbs. This is typically a North Bavarian dialect feature: /baup/ bauen 'to build'; /ʃraɪp/ schreien, sprechen 'to shout, to speak'. <sup>26</sup>

The past participle of strong and weak verbs is prefixed by g-. In a substantial part of the UG dialects (excluding most of the South Bavarian ), as well as in LG dialect areas the prefix is lost before plosives. This is also attested in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German: /gfunu/ gefunden 'found'; /gret/ geredet 'talked'; /glesn/ gelesen 'read'; but: /broxn/ gebrochen 'broken'; /tron/ getragen 'carried'; /kcft/ gekauft 'bought'. <sup>27</sup>

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German can also be classified with UG dialects which implement apocope of NHG word-final -*e*. Examples in the dialect are the first person singular present tense with a zero allomorph: /i mox/ ich mache 'I make'; /i heŋ/ ich hänge 'I am hanging'. Another example of apocope which is a common feature of the dialect is the loss of the NHG final -*e* with the singular and plural of nouns: /hos/

 $<sup>^{25}</sup>$  DSA (1926, vol. 3-4) displays the dialect areas for the vocalization of the suffix -en in the NHG infinitive trinken 'to drink'. Within the EUG dialect region its northern boundary is roughly near the city of Furth im Wald. See also the distribution of /ofo/ Ofen 'oven' on map 4 in Gütter's (1971) Nordbairischer Sprachatlas.

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  Zehetner (1985, 66) attributes this dialect feature to North Bavarian.

 $<sup>^{27}</sup>$  See *dtvA*, 158 for syncope or apocope of the past partiple prefix in German dialect areas. In additon, Keel (1981) discusses syncope and apocope in German dialects.

Hase 'rabbit'; /vis/ Wiese 'meadow'; /gens/ Gänse 'geese'; /jtrimpf/ Strümpfe 'socks'. <sup>28</sup>

The first person plural present tense verb ending is /-mo/ in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German. The suffix is a reduplication of the first person plural pronoun /mr/ wir 'we': /mro vofmo/ wir waschen 'we are washing'; /mrr esmo/ wir essen 'we are eating'. This suffix predominates in Central and South Bavarian, while the first person plural present tense is the same as the infinitive in North Bavarian.<sup>29</sup>

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German preserves the MHG ending -(e)nt in the third person plural present tense of verbs. While the third person plural ending is the same as the infinitive in North Bavarian, the inflectional ending -(e)nt is retained in Central Bavarian. <sup>30</sup> The following table shows the third person plural present tense ending of verbs in MHG and their corresponding forms in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German (CBG):

MHG	<u>CBG</u>	
<sie stânt=""></sie>	/si ∫tenənt/	sie stehen 'they are standing'
<sie sitzent=""></sie>	/si s1tsənt/	sie sitzen 'they are sitting'
<sie tuont=""></sie>	/si tuont/	sie tun 'they are doing'

Finally, Ellis Catholic Bohemian German utilizes the third person singular dative pronoun  $\epsilon_{DM}$  ihm 'him' in the dative case for the NHG dative and accusative reflexive pronoun *sich*:

/sai brundn voel com bau tsvon fene naie haisn in dann jot/ Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen. 'His brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses in your yard'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Zehetner (1985, 55) attributes this dialect feature to be a characteristic of all Bavarian dialects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Rowley (1989, 431) lists this form as a distinct dialect marker for "the southern dialects."

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$ \_DSA (1926, vol. 1) shows that this form occurs in the southern Bavarian dialect region south of Furth im Wald. Rowley (1989, 430) discusses the inflectional endings of the verb in North Bavarian.

The distribution of /epm/ is attested sporadically within some UG dialect regions (see map 11). It also occurs in a small area in the Bohemian Forest on the border to the Czech Republic. It stretches roughly from Waldmünchen to Waldkirchen, comprising Central Bavarian and the Central and North Bavarian transitional zone. <sup>31</sup>

Just as with the phonological data, the morphological data gathered for Ellis Catholic Bohemian German seem to provide dialect features which are mainly associated with Central Bavarian, but also show characteristics of the Central and North Bavarian transition zone.

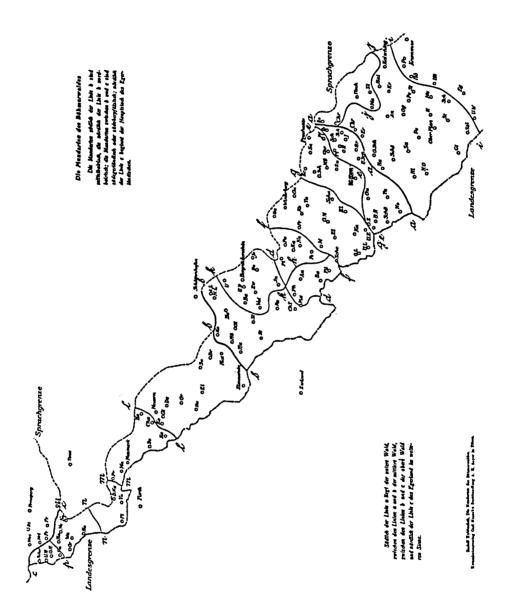
However, for a more exact determination as to the potential linguistic settlement in the Bohemian Forest from where the ancestors of the Catholic Bohemian Germans of Ellis originated, it is important to compare the dialect with Kubitschek's (1927) dialect distinctions by way of various *Linien* (lines), as he calls them. They often serve as linguistic boundaries that divide geographical dialect areas from each other (see maps 8-9): Each line delimits different phonological realizations of certain words. <sup>32</sup>

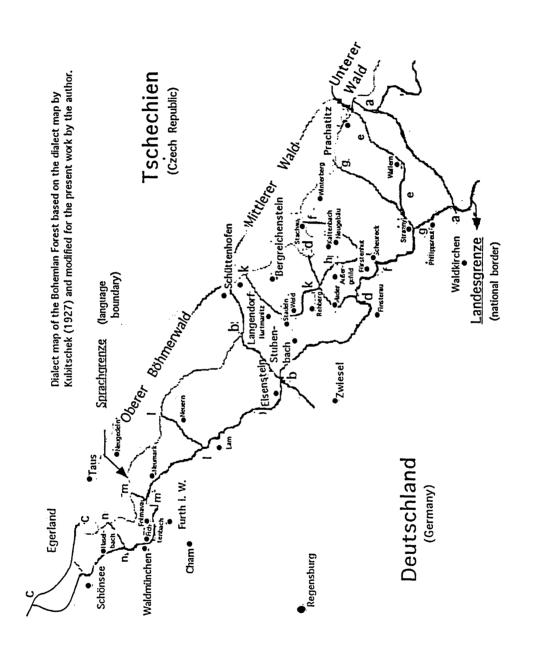
Line *a*, which is located in the southern Central Bavarian dialect region, separates the lower Bohemian Forest (*Südböhmen* or southern Bohemia) from the central Bohemian Forest. It runs approximately from Prachatitz (Prachatice), south of Wallern (Volary) to the border. The dialects of the lower and central Bohemian Forest are considered "mittel- oder donaubairisch," that is Central or Danube Bavarian.

<sup>See dtvA, 155 for the distribution of the third personal singular pronoun for the NHG reflexive sich. The use of this pronoun is based on OHG, where the dative reflexive was formed by using the third person singular personal pronoun</sup> *imu*, *iru*. Wenker sentence 33 shows the usage.
<sup>32</sup> Kubitschek (1927) bases his dialect distinctions by comparing the different vowels to Middle High German vowels, and the consonants to those of Germanic. In addition, he provides lexical data that differ in various parts of the Bohemian Forest.

# Map 8

Dialect Map of the Bohemian Forest. Reprinted from Kubitschek (1927).





Map 9

They show Central Bavarian features such as the falling diphthongs. <sup>33</sup> However, line *a* separates certain phonological features realized in the lower Bohemian Forest from others in the central Bohemian Forest. The New High German (NHG) word *Dorf* 'village', for example, is realized as /doIf/ south of line *a*, and is pronounced /doDf/, north of line *a*. <sup>34</sup>

Line b, which runs roughly from Schüttenhofen (Sušice) to south of Markt Eisenstein (Zelezná Ruda) and Bayrisch Eisenstein, separates the central Bohemian Forest from the upper Bohemian Forest. Kubitschek (1927, 49) calls it the "donaubairisch-oberpfälzische Grenzlinie," that is the Danube-Bavarian (Central Bavarian) and Upper Palatine boundary. Thus, it is the dialect boundary between Central Bavarian to the south and North Bavarian to the north. The dialect region between lines b and c already shows Upper Palatine, that is North Bavarian features, such as the reversed diphthongs. However, Central Bavarian interference is still rather strong. <sup>35</sup>

Line c, which starts north of Taus (Domažlice) near Bischofteinitz (Horšovsky Týn) and runs roughly northwest to Eslarn, is within the North Bavarian dialect region. The dialect areas south of line c still show some Central Bavarian features. Line c separates the southern Upper Palatinate from the Egerland. <sup>36</sup>

Between these three lines are other linguistic boundaries. Between lines a and b, in the central Bohemian Forest, are the linguistic boundaries d, k, f, h, g, and e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 26) for a complete list of words.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 54).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Kubitschek (1927, 58) contends: "Jenseits der Grenzlinie c [...] beginnt der Hauptstock des Egerländischen." In addition, see Kubitschek (1927, 11-12) for a definition of the three major geographical dialect areas. Furthermore, see Gradl (1895) on a phonological description of the area north of line c, commonly referred to as *Egerland* or *Westböhmen* (western Bohemia).

Kubitschek (1927, 27) calls the dialects in that region "ausgesprochene Mischmundarten," that is definite mixed dialects. <sup>37</sup>

Line *d*, which runs roughly south of Bergreichenstein (Kašperské Horý) to Mader (Modrava) and south of it to the border, is the linguistic boundary between northern Central Bavarian (between *d* and *b*) and southern Central Bavarian (between *a* and *d*). <sup>38</sup> While it serves as the northern boundary for the vocalization of /l/ to /i/, North Bavarian dialect features already occur north of it. Kubitschek (1927, 33) writes: "Mit der Linie d beginnen starke Einwirkungen der oberen Gegenden und die ersten Anklänge an das Nordbairische," that is a strong dialectal influence of the dialects of the upper central Bohemian Forest and the upper Bohemian Forest along with North Bavarian dialect features start with line *d*. Later in his study Kubitschek (1927, 59) also refers to the dialect areas between lines *d* and *c* as "eine Einheit," that is as a unity with regards to phonology. Only the MHG vowels <ie>, <ue>, <ue>, and <<>> are realized as what is regarded as Upper Palatine or North Bavarian vowel features.

Line k is found between b and d. It separates the "Bergreichensteiner Mundarten," that is the dialects in the area of Bergreichenstein (Kašperské Horý), east of it, from those of Stubenbach (Prášily) and Langendorf, west of it (Kubitschek 1927, 33). While the dialects in the Bergreichenstein area are essentially Central Bavarian, the dialects around Stubenbach and Langendorf reflect a mixed dialect, "eine donaubairisch-oberpfälzische Mundart," that is a Danube-Bavarian - Upper Palatine dialect (Kubitschek 1927, 34). <sup>39</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 27-34 and 49-54) for exact geographic determination of these lines in the central Bohemian Forest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Kubitschek (1927, 49) writes: "Die Linie d scheidet den mittleren Wald in die oberen und in die unteren Mundarten."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Kubitschek (1927, 34) points out that most villages around Bergreichenstein were founded in the 14th and 15th century and not many new settlements were established later. The area around Stubenbach and Langendorf, on the other hand experienced an influx of many new settlements from the

Line f starts approximately north of Winterberg (Vimperk) and goes south of Finsterau. This is the northern boundary for phonological features as well as for some lexical forms, typical for the lower Bohemian Forest. <sup>40</sup>

Line *h* between the lines *d* and *f* is the boundary between the villages Außergefild (Kvilda) and Fürstenhut (Knizeci Plane) to the west of it and Kaltenbach and Neugebäu, east of it. <sup>41</sup> These areas were linguistically primarily influenced by neighboring Central Bavarian and show vocalization of /1/.

Line g starts south of Winterberg, continues on north of Wallern (Volary) and runs roughly to Philippsreut. It marks the southern boundary of the vocalization of /1/, while the dialect boundary d makes up the northern boundary of this Central Bavarian dialect phenomenon. The dialect region between g and a retains the liquid /1/.

Line e goes from Prachatitz, where it comes together with the dialect boundary a, to south of Wallern (Volary) and intersects with line g at the border to Bavaria. It integrates the "Wallerer Mundart," which shows dialect features of the lower Bohemian Forest. and has phonological changes that are unique to the area around Wallern (Kubitschek 1927, 51).

Between lines b and c are the dialects of the upper Bohemian Forest that are differentiated by the dialect boundaries l, m, and n. <sup>42</sup>

Line l runs roughly from north of Neuern (Nýrsko) southwest to north of Lam. The lines l and b delimit different dialects, such as the dialects of the Eisenstein

Upper Palatine and the Danube-Bavarian regions in the 18th century. This development led to a mixing of dialects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Kubitschek (1927, 33) writes: "Mit der Linie f hören die meisten unterländischen Erscheinungen, auch zahlreiche Wörter, die noch vom Unterlande herüberreichen, auf."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 64-66) for the exact geographic determination of these lines. He also writes: "Die Mundarten des oberen Waldes sind einheitlicher als die des mittleren Waldes," that is the dialects of the upper Bohemian Forest are more uniform than those of the central Bohemian Forest (Kubitschek 1927, 57).

region. <sup>43</sup> This area marks the natural border between Danube-Bavarian and Upper Palatine dialects. Although North Bavarian dialects start here, some lexical forms and the falling diphthong /up/, typical for Central Bavarian, prevail. <sup>44</sup>

Line m starts south of Taus and west of Kdyně (Neugedein) then north of Neuern and goes to the border near Furth im Wald. Between lines l and m certain diphthongs become monophthongs as in neighboring Bavaria. <sup>45</sup>

Finally, line n is southwest of Taus (north of line m) and runs roughly to Folmava. It separates two villages, Fichtenbach south of it, and Haselbach north of it.

Based on Kubitschek's dialect distinctions described above, a place of origin in the Bohemian Forest for the Bukovinian Catholic Germans of Ellis can be more accurately determined. With respect to phonological data the following conclusions can be drawn.

A common feature for most of the upper, the central, and the lower Bohemian Forest is the replacement of /s/ to /h/ in the plural verb forms of the verb  $/s\alpha/$  sein 'to be' through levelling. <sup>46</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian German shows this feature as well: /si hant/ sie sind 'they are'.

Line d is the northern boundary of the vocalization of /1/ to /i/, a Central Bavarian characteristic, which occurs in the dialect areas between lines d and g. As mentioned above, Ellis Catholic Bohemian German does not vocalize this liquid.

While there is a loss of /n/ in verbs such as NHG *nähen* 'to sew', *mähen* 'to mow', *krähen* 'to crow' south of line d, it is restored north of this line and also in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 57).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 60-61).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> See also Kubitschek (1927, 57). Line m separates the dialects of the Neumark region from the dialects of the villages around Taus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 24).

area around Kaltenbach. <sup>47</sup> This nasal is retained in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German:  $/n\alpha n/$ ,  $/m\alpha n/$ , and  $/kr\alpha n/$ .

Furthermore, north of line *d* West Germanic (WG) /d/ is lost in the NHG past participles *gefunden* 'found', and *gestanden* 'stood'. <sup>48</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian German shows this loss: /gfuno/, /gftono/.

Medial OHG /t/ is lenited before or after the liquid /l/ in the area around Fürstenhut and Außergefild and then north of line d. <sup>49</sup> This phonological feature occurs in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German with medial /t/ unshifted or lenited: /blcdl/ Blättlein 'little leaf'; /kultn/ gehalten 'held (past part.)'; /bedlp/ Bettler 'beggar'.

While bilabial /b/ is lost in NHG *Herbst* 'fall', south of line f, it occurs again north of this dialect boundary or it shows a velar stop. The latter is exhibited in Elllis Catholic Bohemian German, which pronounces the word as follows: /hiorkst/.

WG /k/ is lost word-finally in most words in the dialects of the lower Bohemian Forest, as well as in those of the lower central Bohemian Forest. The consonant is retained as /c/ or /x/ in the dialects north of dialect boundary *d*. <sup>50</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian German employs the spirant word-finally: /raux/ Rauch 'smoke'; /lox/ Loch 'hole'; /bic/ Kaugummi 'chewing gum', except for NHG *Milch* 'milk': /mtl/.

WG /g/ is retained word-finally in certain words south of line *d*, but it is lost in the dialects of the upper central Bohemian Forest and upper Bohemian Forest south of line *c*. <sup>51</sup> In Ellis Catholic Bohemian German most informants realize the consonant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 44).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 45).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 45-46).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 24, and 46).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 24, and 46).

word-finally in the NHG words *Pflug* 'plow', *Weg* 'way', and *Krug* 'pitcher': /pfluox/, /veç/, /kruox/. <sup>52</sup>

In the dialects of the upper central Bohemian Forest and also around Kaltenbach and Außergefild, north of line f, in certain words WG /h/ is either retained as a fricative or lost word-finally. For example, the NHG word *nahe* 'near' as the fricative /x/, while it is lost in the words *Truhe* 'casket' and *zehn* 'ten'. This dialect feature occurs in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German: /nauxot/, /trup/, /tsep/.

The velar fricative is omitted in the NHG past participle gebracht 'brought' in the central Bohemian Forest north of line a, as well as in the dialects of the upper Bohemian Forest south of line n. <sup>53</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian German shows the loss of the velar fricative or realizes this particular word as a strong past participle: /brot/, /bronp/.

The NHG directional prefixes *her*-, denoting coming, meaning the motion toward the speaker, and *hin*-, denoting going, meaning the motion away from the speaker, indicate the direction or location of the speaker. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German exhibits, for example, forms with initial *h*- lost: /aInD/ *herein* 'inside'; /aInI/ *hinein* 'inside'; /aUSD/ *heraus* 'outside'; /aUSI/ *hinaus* 'outside'. These forms are found north of line g. <sup>54</sup>

NHG *jetzt* 'now' occurs as  $/\varepsilon ts/$  or  $/\varepsilon ts/$  in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German. This phonological realization is mostly north of line *d*.

Line k, which lies between b and d, separates the dialects of the area of Bergreichenstein, east of it, from those of Stubenbach and Langendorf, west of it. The dialects in the Bergreichenstein region, as well as the dialects in the lower central

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> The main informant pronounced NHG *Pflug* with a spirant, but deleted it in the singular and plural of NHG *Krug*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 46).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 47).

Bohemian Forest, south of d, exhibit the falling diphthongs in/and un/a, a chief characteristic of Central Bavarian. The dialects around Stubenbach and Langendorf show a use of both, falling diphthongs and reversed diphthongs. <sup>55</sup> While the Upper Palatine or North Bayarian realization of MHG  $\leq ie > and \leq ie > to /EI / predominates$ over the realization of the falling diphthong /in/, the pronunciation of the falling diphthong /up/ for MHG <uo> occurs much more frequently than the reversed diphthong /ou/. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German realizes both, the falling diphthongs, as well as the reversed diphthongs for certain words, depending on the informant. The following words illustrate this phenomenon: /kup/, /kov/ Kuh 'cow'; /kip/, /kei/ Kühe 'cows'; /fups/, /fous/ Fuß 'foot'; /fips/, /feis/ Füße 'feet'. <sup>56</sup> Furthermore, the falling diphthong /up/ occurs much more frequently in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German than the falling diphthong /ip/. <sup>57</sup> The following words, which have a Central Bavarian pronunciation and also occur in all the dialect areas south of line c in the upper Bohemian Forest, are also exhibited in the Catholic Bohemian dialect of Ellis: /muoto/ Mutter 'mother'; /bruodo/ Bruder 'brother'; and /gupt/ gut 'good'. Other words showing this Central Bavarian feature are also accounted for in the area of Eisenstein and Seewiesen (Javorna) until south of line l. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German also shows this phenomenon. Examples are: /tsup/ zu 'shut'; /blupt/ Blut 'blood'; /fupdon/ füttern 'to feed'; /bup/ Bub 'boy'. 58

MHG <ie> from OHG <iu> appears as the diphthong  $/\sigma$  in most parts of the central Bohemian Forest, as well as in dialect areas of the lower Bohemian Forest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 41-42).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> See maps 13, 14, and 15 in Gütter (1971) on the distribution of MHG  $\langle ie \rangle$ ,  $\langle ie \rangle$ , and  $\langle uo \rangle$  respectively in North and Central Bavarian. One informant pronounced the singular of NHG *Kuh* as /kuo/, but used both forms, the falling diphthong and the reversed diphthong for its plural: /kio/, /kei/. However, his parents realized these MHG vowels differently.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Kubitschek (1927, 61) asserts "daß sich die uv-Formen zäher behaupten als die iv," that is the uv-form is more tenacious than the iv-form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> See maps 16 and 17 in Gütter (1971) on the distribution of MHG <uo> in the NHG words gut, Mutter, Bub, Bruder, and Blut in North and Central Bavarian.

south of *a*. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German employs this diphthong: /torf/ tief 'deep'; /florn/ Fliege 'fly'.

However, in the area around Stubenbach and Langendorf, west of line k, and also around Kaltenbach and Neugebäu, east of line h, as well as in the dialect areas in the upper Bohemian Forest between lines b and n, the NHG words *teuer* 'expensive'; *neu* 'new'; *heute* 'today', and *Feuer* 'fire' show the diphthong /aI/, an Upper Palatine or North Bavarian dialect feature, for MHG <iu>. <sup>59</sup> This vowel change appears in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German: /taro/, /naI/, /haInt/, /faIo/.

The MHG vowels  $\langle ie \rangle$  and  $\langle iie \rangle$  occur lowered to the diphthong  $/\epsilon D/$  before nasals in the central Bohemian Forest, north of *a*, and in the dialect areas of the upper Bohemian Forest reaching south of line *n*. <sup>60</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian German realizes this diphthong:  $/\epsilon DM/$  *ihm* 'him'; /neDMDt/ *niemand* 'no one'.

In Ellis Catholic Bohemian German MHG  $\langle ei \rangle$  is raised to  $\langle DI \rangle$  in polysyllabic words:  $\langle VOIIts \rangle$  Weizen 'wheat';  $\langle SOIIf \partial \rangle$  Seife 'soap'. This vowel change is exhibited in the dialect areas of the central Bohemian Forest. Its occurrence increases in the upper central Bohemian Forest, and in the upper Bohemian Forest, north of b.

In those areas of the Bohemian Forest MHG <ei> occurs as  $/\Im$  / between lines a and d before nasals. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German shows this dialect feature with the nasal being lost in most words:  $/\int t \Im / Steine$  'stones';  $/\Im / einige$  'some'; /kui/ keine 'no (plural)'. <sup>61</sup>

In the dialects north of line f the MHG vowels  $<\hat{a}>$ , <a>, and  $<\hat{o}>$  occur as /o/ with the final nasal lost in such words as NHG *Mann* 'man' and *getan* 'done

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 42 and 61).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 58).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> The New High German (NHG) word *keine* is also realized as /k om/in the dialect. This raising of the diphthong before a nasal is attested in the dialect areas between lines d and b. See Kubitschek (1927, 43 and 61).

(past part.)'. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German also shows the rounding of these vowels: /mo/, /to, do/. <sup>62</sup>

MHG  $<\hat{o}>$  is otherwise realized as the diphthong  $/\hat{o}u/$  between lines a and g and d and b. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German realizes this vowel feature, such as: /brout/ Brot 'bread'; /rout/ rot 'red'; /grous/ groß 'big'.

Between lines e and f the MHG vowels  $\langle \hat{a} \rangle$ ,  $\langle a \rangle$ , and  $\langle o \rangle$  are realized as /u/, and /u/ before /l/ in certain words. Some dialect informants show this change in the realization of these vowels: /ulta/ alt 'old', /ftul/ Stall 'barn', /suln/ sollen 'to be supposed to'. <sup>63</sup>

In Ellis Catholic Bohemian German the MHG vowels  $\langle \hat{a} \rangle$  and  $\langle a \rangle$  appear as the rounded vowels  $\langle 0 \rangle$  and  $\langle 0 \rangle$ . The following examples illustrate this:  $\int \text{fot} / Stadt$ 'city'; /mosn / Narbe 'scar';  $\langle 0f \rangle Affe$  'monkey'; /noxt / Nacht 'night'. This is also characteristic of dialects in the upper central Bohemian Forest, north of line d, and in the upper Bohemian Forest, reaching to south of line c. <sup>64</sup>

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German exhibits the tense unrounded vowel /e/ for MHG < $\hat{e}$  in words such as NHG gehen 'to go' and stehen 'to stand' with the final -n being lost: /ge/,  $/\int te/$ . The dialects in the upper Bohemian Forest north of lineb display this characteristic, but shows the diphthong  $/\epsilon I/$  for NHG Schnee 'snow':  $/\int n\epsilon I/$ . This realization of the MHG vowel is typical for most parts of the Upper Palatine dialect region between lines b and c.<sup>65</sup>

MHG  $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$  is realized as  $\langle \tilde{e} \rangle$  in the upper central Bohemian Forest north of the line *d*. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German shows this dialect feature:  $\langle \tilde{e}ps \rangle$  etwas 'something';  $\langle pf \tilde{e} f v \rangle$  *Pfeffer* 'pepper';  $\langle f \tilde{e} t s n \rangle$  *Fetzen* 'rag'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Some informants realized the NHG word Mann with the mid back lax rounded vowel /ɔ/ followed

by the final nasal. Kubitschek (1927, 35) describes this difference in pronunciation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 35).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 38-39 and 59).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 60).

Between lines d and b the MHG vowels  $\langle i \rangle$ ,  $\langle \hat{e} \rangle$ ,  $\langle \hat{e} \rangle$ ,  $\langle \hat{e} \rangle$ ,  $\langle \hat{e} \rangle$ ,  $and \langle \hat{u} e \rangle$  appear as the front rounded vowel  $/\infty$  when influenced by the liquid /1. Ellis Catholic Bohemian German shows this dialectal feature: /goelp/ gelb 'yellow'; /moel/ Mehl 'flour': /si voelnt/ sie wollen 'they want'.

MHG  $\langle \hat{u} \rangle$  and  $\langle ou \rangle$  appearing mostly as |au| is common through out the Bohemian Forest region. North of line *a* both MHG vowels change to the monophthong  $/\alpha$ / before /m/. <sup>66</sup> These changes occur in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German: /haus/ Haus 'house'; /glaum/ glauben 'to believe'; /bam/ Baum 'tree'; /tramp/ träumen 'to dream'.

MHG  $<\hat{u}$  becomes  $/\alpha$  before /1 south of line d, and is realized as  $/\beta$  north of d. Both vowel variations occur in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German: /mcl/, /mol/ Mund 'mouth'.

A distinct morphological feature of the dialect areas south of line d is the vocalization of the NHG prefix ver- to /fp/. <sup>67</sup> This vocalization is reflected in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German: /fploisn/ verlieren 'to lose'; /fptsceln/ erzählen 'to tell'.

The lenition of the suffix -en to /p/ in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German is a common feature in the dialect areas south of line c: /kofp/ kaufen 'to buy'; /bokp/ backen 'to bake'. 68

The features described above, based on Kubitschek's findings in 1927, supports the observation that that in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German, just as with the traditional isogloss criteria, Central Bavarian dialect features predominate with reflexes of the Central and North Bavarian interference zone. The data lead one to conclude that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 41).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 43) and DSA (1926, vols. 3-4).
<sup>68</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 61-62).

the ancestors of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans most likely came from villages in the dialect areas between lines d and b, in the northern central Bohemian Forest. In addition, the dialect shows a considerable amount of dialect features that appear in the dialect regions north of line f and south of line l. Beyond that Ellis Catholic Bohemian German also shares a few vowel features that are common in the areas of the central and upper Bohemian Forest between lines a and c.<sup>69</sup>

The lexical data gathered in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German interviews provide a list of dialect words that support the geographical determination of the place of origin of the Catholic Bohemian Germans of Ellis in that particular region of the Bohemian Forest. Many of the dialect words found in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German are common for most dialects in the Bohemian Forest, but some words are only used in certain regions. However, Kubitschek (1927, 47) states that because of their central location the dialects in the central Bohemian Forest are mostly prone to acquire words from the neighboring dialect regions to the north, in the upper Bohemian Forest and to the south, in the lower Bohemian Forest. This acquisition of words from dialect regions to the north and to the south of the central Bohemian Forest is also evident in the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect.

The following selection of lexical items primarily based on Kubitschek (1927)  $^{70}$  and the *DWA* support an original location of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect in the area of the upper central and lower upper Bohemian Forest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans know for the most part, where in Bukovina their ancestors came from, but hardly anyone knows their place of origin in the Bohemian Forest. The family genealogy of the main informant reveals that his maternal great-grandfather was born in Rehberg (Srni). This village is located west of line k. It belongs to the dialect area of the villages of Stubenbach and Langendorf (see map). This finding suggests that the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German roots are traced to the area described above. Furthermore, see Lang's (n.d., 43) genealogy profile of Catholic Bohemian German families in the Ellis area.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> In his study on the individual dialects in the Bohemian Forest Kubitschek (1927) enumerates frequently used words that differ in various parts of the Bohemian Forest. He not only shows the phonological distinction of words in relation to the different lines, but also lists vocabulary items with different etymology.

# Mädchen 'girl'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers use the word /moldl/ Moidl, which occurs north of line f and south of line b, and then appears again in the dialect region north of line n. In the dialect areas south of line f it is realized as Mensch, while it is Deandl between lines b and n, <sup>71</sup> the latter being the dominant word in Central and South Bavaria (dtvA, 166; DWA vol.4).

### (Tauf)pate 'godfather'; (Tauf)patin 'godmother'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German words are /taftet/ and /taftot, tafdodn/ respectively. These words appear north of line g across the central Bohemian Forest, but they are diphthongized in the upper Bohemian Forest to *Deid* and *Doudn* (*dtvA*, 170-71, *DWA* vol. 4) (see map 12). <sup>72</sup>

### Großvater 'grandfather'; Großmutter 'grandmother'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German forms /**ned**!/ *Großvater*, *Opa* 'grandfather', /nadl/ *Großmutter*, *Oma* 'grandmother', inserting an epenthetic consonant /d/ between the vowel and the syllabic /l/, are consistent with the realizations in the upper Bohemian Forest region between lines b and n. <sup>73</sup> In the EUG dialect region the form /andl, anl/ is attested. (*DWA*, vol. 21).

### ihr 'you (2nd person plural)'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German  $/d\epsilon s/$  or  $/d\epsilon s$  tsvot/ commonly occurs in the upper Bohemian Forest, south of line *c*, and is also used in dialects of the upper central Bohemian Forest, north of line *f*.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 47, 49 and 63).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 48).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 63 and 66). Mirwald (1988, 123) also lists these vocabulary items. Ringseis (1994, 30) enumerates the EUG forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 64).

### Begräbnis 'funeral'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German word for funeral /larçt/ is attested south of line d. <sup>75</sup> This word predominates in the UG dialect region (*DWA* vol. 4).

### Flachs 'flax'

The dialect regions north of line d uses the word /floks/ for NHG *Flachs* 'flax', while /hot/ is only found south of that line. The Ellis Catholic Boheman German speaker says /floks/. <sup>76</sup>

#### Hemd 'shirt'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers say /hɛmət/, a dialect word widespread among Bavarian and Austrian dialects. However, the older word *Bfoad* is also used and commonly found throughout the Bohemian Forest south of line c. <sup>77</sup> North of line c the form becomes *Hem*. <sup>78</sup>

### etwas 'something'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German  $|\epsilon ps|$  is attested north of line e and is not shared with the dialects in the lower Bohemian Forest, where |vos| is used instead. <sup>79</sup>

#### töten, zerbrechen 'to kill, to smash'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German /okuln/ has this word in common with the dialects of the upper Bohemian Forest. It also occurs in the dialect areas north of line g. <sup>80</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 49). The dialect speakers pronounce NHG Begräbnis with the final alveolar stop -t.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 49).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Ringseis 1994) lists both forms for NHG *Hemd*. Jungmair (1989) in his dictionary on upper Austrian dialects also enumerates both forms adding that the word /pfood/ is an older term.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 63).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 48).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 48). Mirwald (1988, 126) lists it in his glossary of Bavarian Bohemian Germans from Bukovina.

### melken 'to milk'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German form /tsardln/ is common in the upper

Bohemian Forest, but reaches to the north of line f. <sup>81</sup>

nur 'only'

In Ellis Catholic Bohemian German this adverb occurs as  $/\int et/$ . It is attested north of line *d*. <sup>82</sup>

#### gerade 'straight'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German form /gret/ is commonly found north of line d,

while it occurs as Kschled south of d. <sup>83</sup>

#### Pferd 'horse'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers use the word /ros/, which is the dominant form in the Bohemian Forest, south of line l and north of line f.<sup>84</sup> This form is also

found in the Bavarian dialects and the south Alemanic dialects

(dtvA, 210). 85

#### Donnerstag 'Thursday'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers say /pfinstp/, a form that is common throughout the Bohemian Forest, south of line c.<sup>86</sup> It is also common in North Bavarian and the western part of Central and South Bavarian (dtvA, 189).

### Frühling 'spring'

The Ellis Bohemian German word /frijod, froijod/ occurs north of line n. It occurs in large parts of Central Bavaria and in other pockets in South Bavaria (dtvA, 190;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 48).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 49). Ringseis (1994, 198) in his Neues Bayerisches Wörterbuch attributes it to North Bavarian

<sup>83</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 47).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 53 and 64-65).

<sup>85</sup> See also DSA (1926, vol. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 64).

DWA, vol. 16). It is known as Auswärts in most of the Bohemian Forest, north of line e and south of line n.  $^{87}$ 

#### Gurke 'cucumber'

While Ellis Catholic Bohemian German uses /umurkn/ like many dialect speakers of Central Bavarian in upper and lower Austria, the word Gurka is more attested in the Bohemian Forest dialect regions (dtvA, 225). 88

### Karotten 'carrot'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German word /gcelbo ruom/ occurs in most dialects of the southwestern part of Central Bavaria (dtvA, 204).

#### Merrettich 'horseradish'

Forms like Ellis Catholic Bohemian German /kre/ are very common in the EUG dialect region and along the entire area to the east (dtvA, 226; DWA, vol. 17).

#### Sahne 'cream'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German form  $/\int m \epsilon t n/t$  is found in the upper and central

Bohemian Forest along the area on the border to the Czech Republic (dtvA, 222; DWA,

vol. 5) (see map 12). This word is a loanword from Czech: smétana.

#### Schwiegersohn 'son-in-law'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers say / [vigosu/ with the final nasal being

lost. This form is common in Central Bavarian (dtvA, 169; DWA, vol. 6).

#### sich beeilen 'to hurry up'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speaker says tom a dt as an imperative. This form is found throughout the Bohemian Forest and along the border in Bavaria, where it is primarily a Central Bavarian feature (dtvA, 176; DWA, vol. 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> See Kubitschek (1927, 48).
<sup>88</sup> Mirwald (1988, 142) lists this word for NHG Gurke.

### schimpfen 'to scold'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German form / [entn/, with the liquid being replaced by anasal is attested throughout the Bohemian Forest as schelten (DWA, vol. 2). 89

### wiederkäuen 'to chew cud'

This word is realized in Ellis Catholic Bohemian German as /ipdrukp/ with metathesis of the vowel and the alveolar stop /d/. This form is widespread in the Bohemian Forest. In Bavaria the form *itarucken* occurs (*dtvA*, 200; *DWA*, vol. 2).

#### sprechen 'to speak'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German speakers use the form /ren/ which is commonly used in the UG dialect region. However, the word / fram/ occurs for the NHG words sagen, schreien 'to say, to shout'. This word is attested in a small speech pocket around Eisenstein reaching to approximately north of line d (dtvA, 176) (see map 11).

#### gackern 'to cackle'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German /gogotsn/ is found in the upper and central

Bohemian Forest as well as in upper Austria. There are occurrences of similar forms in most parts of the UG dialect region (DWA, vol. 15).

#### Heuschrecke 'grasshopper'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German realizes this word as /harrisl/, a dialect word found in the Bohemian Forest area around Eisenstein and south of it (DWA, vol. 2).

### irdener Topf 'earthenware pot'

Forms of Ellis Catholic Bohemian German /hefp/ are attested in the upper and central Bohemian Forest area as well as in the UG dialect areas (dtvA, 228; DWA, vol. 9). 90

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Mirwald (1988, 134) lists the form with the nasal.
<sup>90</sup> Mirwald (1988, 112) lists this word as well.

### Tasse 'cup'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German word /hefəl/ is found in the upper and central Bohemian Forest and is common in Bavarian dialects as well (*DWA*, vol. 18).

#### Stecknadel 'stick pin'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German / $\int p \in p dl$ / with an epenthetic /d/ before the syllabic /l/ is shared with dialects in the central Bohemian Forest and in the southwest central Bavarian dialect area (dtvA, 227; DWA, vol. 4).

### voriges Jahr 'last year'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German form /ferdn/ is consistent with the form used in large parts of the UG dialect region (dtvA, 180; DWA, vol. 16).

#### gestern abend 'last night'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German /geston af noxt/ is widespread in the entire Central Bavarian dialect region (dtvA, 182).

weinen 'to cry'

The Ellis Catholic Bohemian German word /flend/ occurs in the upper and central Bohemian Forest dialect regions as well as in large parts in the southwest of Central Bavarian dialect areas (DWA, vol. 20).

#### Tränen 'tears'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German /tscrn/ is attested in the central and upper Bohemian Forest. Forms of the word are found in the Bohemian Forest dialect areas along the entire border to the Czech Republic (*DWA*, vol. 20).

### Augenbraue 'eyebrow'

The occurrence of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German form /auŋbrant/ is attested in the central Bohemian Forest dialect region and in the southwestern part of Central Bavaria (*DWA*, vol. 20).

### Mütze 'cap'

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German form /haum/ is shared with other Bavarian dialects in the Bohemian Forest and in dialect regions of upper and lower Austria as well as in parts of Styria (dtvA, 218; DWA, vol. 12).

In a final analysis, in conjunction with the phonological data and the corroborating morphological data the lexical analysis presented suggest firmly a dialect homeland of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans in the upper central and lower upper Bohemian Forest. Although a few inconsistencies remain, for example the dialect area for NHG *Gurke* 'cucumber', the dialect features described for Ellis Catholic Bohemian German occur most often in Central Bavarian interspersed with North Bavarian. However, even the inconsistent lexical items illustrate their commonality with Central Bavarian. Given the settlement and resettlement of the original settlers in the Bohemian Forest from the neighboring Central Bavarian, Upper Palatine and Austrian dialect regions, the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect can be determined as a mixed North/Central Bavarian dialect showing evidence of its proximity to Austria and also to the Czech linguistic area in its lexicon.

With respect to the versatile immigration history of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans differences in their dialects could be expected when they emigrated to the villages of Fürstenthal and Buchenhain (Poiana Micului) in Bukovina. While the colonists to Fürstenthal most likely originated in a dialect area where the Upper Palatine or North Bavarian dialect feature of reversed diphthongs (*gestürzte Diphthonge*) dominated, the main dialect feature of the settlers to Buchenhain were the falling diphthongs (*Falldiphthonge*). <sup>91</sup> The immigrants to west central Kansas from these

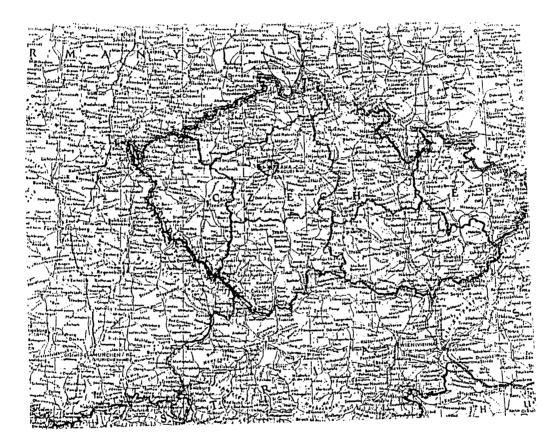
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Those dialect informants who realize the reversed diphthongs all have in common that at least one parent was from the village of Fürstenthal in Bukovina. Three of the dialect speakers whose fathers were from Buchenhain said that they learned to speak like their mothers. In later years their father would conform with the mother's way of speaking.

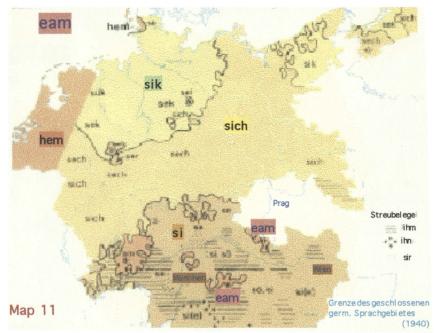
two villages in Bukovina carried their way of speaking with them whose origin lies in the Bohemian Forest.

7

# Map 10

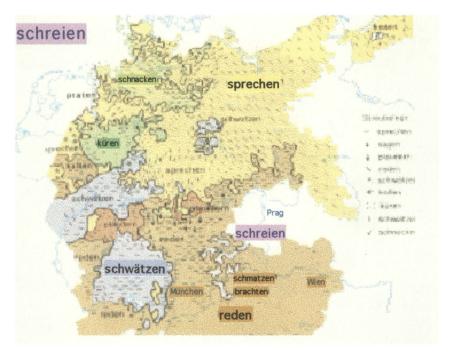
Geographical Map showing the border between the Czech Republic and Germany (Bavaria) along with the Bohemian Forest (*Böhmerwald*) and the Bavarian Forest (*Bayerischer Wald*). Reprinted from National Geographic Atlas of the World (1995).





Reflexivpronomen ("Sein Bruder will *sich* zwei schöne neue Häuser bauen") (Wenker sentence 33)

Reprinted from dtv-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache (König 1992, 155).



Die Bezeichnungen für *sprechen* Reprinted from dtV-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache (König 1992, 176).



Die Bezeichnungen für Patin

Reprinted from dtV-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache (König 1992, 170).



Reprinted from dtV-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache (König 1992, 222).

### Chapter 7

Linguistic Decay of Ellis Catholic Bohemian German, and Revival of the Heritage Awareness among the Bukovina Germans of Ellis, Kansas

There is a great concern that the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect is dying out with the older generation, as language loyalty is rapidly vanishing among the Catholic Bohemian Germans. The decline in the dialect and its impending obsolescence is reflected in the following speech sample by Informant 2 where she voices her concern for the loss of her dying language:

/i frai ofto s daitfe kimt veke. di hamant ule daitf kint. ont mir hamo ule daitf kint kot. di celton hant do gftoorm mit do daitfn fprox, si, ovo eits di jinon, des is niks meo/

Ich schreie (sage) oft, das Deutsche kommt weg. Die haben alle Deutsch gekonnt. Und wir haben alle Deutsch gekonnt gehabt. Die Eltern sind da mit der deutschen Sprache gestorben, sieh, aber jetzt die Jüngeren, das ist nichts mehr.

'I often say the German is going away. They all spoke German. We all were able to speak German. The parents died with the German language, see, but now the younger ones, there is nothing there.'

With the dialect no longer being transmitted from generation to generation as the primary language for communicating, the Catholic Bohemian German dialect is facing its rapid demise. Brenzinger and Dimmendaal (1992, 3) in their discussion on the social contexts of language death in East African languages write: "A language is considered to be extinct when there is no longer a speech community using the

language." This is echoed by Huffines (1989, 211) in her research on Pennsylvania German, where she maintains that "for immigrant and minority languages in the United States, language death is an almost inevitable outcome of contact with American English." However, Dorian (1981, 114) in her book *Language Death* states that with the death of a language: "it may happen that the last speakers of that language are fully fluent and remain in perfect control of the phonology, lexicon, and grammar of their mother tongue."

Ellis Catholic Bohemian German no longer has a cohesive speech community that uses the dialect. The dialect speakers for this study generally show enough command of the dialect in order to converse with siblings, relatives, or with some other Catholic Bohemian Germans in town, but do not use the dialect systematically. However, a handful of speakers have a high degree of fluency in their dialect and are still capable to carry on extended conversations in their German dialect on a variety of topics. They do not show signs of halting or simplification in the language. Furthermore, they are fully competent and comfortable in switching back and forth from English into the dialect. However, they portray the last speakers of that dialect who have this perfect control of the phonology, lexicon, and grammar of their mother tongue.

With regard to the ultimate demise of the dialect, social, cultural, and economic dependence on the surrounding mainstream American society plays a crucial role in the linguistic decay of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect as a minority language. <sup>1</sup> This chapter deals with the impact linguistic acculturation has on the imminent language death of the dialect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Born (1994, 13) in her description of the East Franconian dialect in Frankenmuth, Michigan, points out that linguistic minorities typically have weak cultural ties, are dependent on the social and economic system as well as on the values and behavioral patterns of mainstream society, and show bilingualism without diglossia. On the next page Born (1994, 14) defines the minority status as "the transition period between strict separation from mainstream society and linguistic assimilation."

J. Neale Carman visited Ellis on August 20, 1953, as part of his field research to trace the linguistic history of foreign immigrant settlements in Kansas.<sup>2</sup> He was interviewing a local resident, born 1885, who came to Ellis as a young child, about his German heritage when another man in his forties came by to ask him something. Carman wrote in his field notes: "When he came in [he] started to speak German, shifted to English when he saw me." <sup>3</sup> Carman interviewed several speakers that day. Most of them said that their children could all speak the language, but none of their grandchildren did. They would understand, but would not answer in German. At that time, according to Carman all those over 25 or 30 could speak German then.

In June of 1964 Carman also visited Ellis and interviewed several people again about their use of German. One informant said that "he and his wife talk German for secrecy only," another speaker told him that "parents do not really have a conversation in German anymore and just mix words in," and a third informant added there is "more and more tendency not to use German in home" and concluded that "grandparents are more lenient with grandchildren than with children [about not speaking German]."

These statements, some ten years later, suggest that the use of German in the home had gradually declined. The number of Ellis residents of German heritage actively speaking German in their everyday life has been steadily waning in the past thirty years since Carman's last visit to Ellis. Based on the 1990 census, the only census that specifically lists foreign language use in Kansas communities, Ellis County, which includes the towns of Ellis, Hays, Victoria and original Volga German settlements such as Schoenchen, Pfeifer, and Catherine, counted 26,004 residents with 2,319, or 8.9% of those residents age five and over claiming to speak German at home.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  This field research is the basis for Carman's three volume study on Foreign Language Units of Kansas from 1962 and 1974.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The field work notes are archived as the J.Neale Carman collection at the University of Kansas Archives in the Helen F. Spencer Research Library.

88 of those bilinguals, or 0.3% indicated Austrian to be their single ancestry. And 13,074, or 50.3% of the population of Ellis County reported German as the single ancestry. This is 50.6% of the county claiming single Austrian or German heritage. Thus, 17.6%, or roughly one-third of those claim to still speak German at home.

At the same time, the town of Ellis had a population of 1,900 with 166, or 8.7% of those residents age five and over indicating that they spoke German at home. Fifty three inhabitants, or 2.8%, marked Austrian to be their single ancestry, while 892, or 47%, checked German . This means that out of the whole population of Ellis 49.8% reported single Austrian or German heritage. Thus, 17.6%, or roughly onethird of those claim to still speak German at home.

Those residents of Ellis County as well as the town of Ellis, who claim to have single Austrian or German ancestry, make up half of the population in that area. However, only roughly one-third of them still habitually uses German at home. This means that two-thirds, or twice as many, do not speak the language at home anymore. This result that German, and therefore Catholic Bohemian German, has declined considerably, underscores Carman's findings on his last visit to the Ellis community. German, and for that matter, the Catholic Bohemian German dialect, is no longer being transmitted from parents to their offspring as the primary language.

Another indicator for the emotional distancing from their German heritage and therefore for the decline in language loyalty may be the fact that currently the majority of young residents in Ellis opts for Spanish instead of German as their foreign language elective in high school. <sup>4</sup> However, there is no way of knowing, on the one hand, how many of those children descended from the original Austrian or German settlers of the town of Ellis, and on the other hand, to what extent multiple ancestry plays a role in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This information is based on a phone call the author made to the Ellis School District on March 5, 1998.

this development. The fact remains, though, that the Catholic Bohemian German dialect is not being passed on anymore to the third generation of Kansas-born descendants and beyond.

Since good non-farm jobs are scarce, many Ellis high school graduates, who live in town or on farms in the near countryside, have been leaving town to move to Hays, which is located twelve miles east of Ellis. They either find a job in Hays or attend college there or elsewhere in the country. <sup>5</sup> This change in demographics for economic reasons already started after World War II when the Ellis community could not sustain all young people of large families. <sup>6</sup> Thus, these people were exposed to English, the majority language of the mainstream society. <sup>7</sup>

Assimilation into the mainstream of America was fast, though it progressed more slowly with children of rural farmers. This is reflected among the dialect informants for this study. None of the dialect speakers, who are either first or second generation Kansas-born Catholic Bohemian Germans, actually live in Hays. Most of them grew up on rural farms, but none of them still lives on the original homestead. Informant 1 has moved to Ellis from his rural farm in recent years. Three informants have lived in Ellis for a long time, and four other informants still live on farms outside of Ellis. The other informants left the Ellis area when they got married. One of them lives in Ness City, while the other two reside in WaKeeney. However, with Hays being the major city in west-central Kansas, it provides the main medical facilities,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In an information brochure on Ellis, Kansas, the town describes itself as being "a peaceful community surrounded by rural farmland and just minutes from Hays, the major city in northwest Kansas."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Windholz (1996, 85) notes that this outmigration of young people raised since World War II was characteristic for communities in western Kansas. He writes: "Western Kansas did not have sufficient job opportunities for the young people of large families. A large outmigration occurred to major cities in other states."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Huffines (1989, 211) in her research on Pennsylvania German contends: "The promise of social and economic advancement proffered by mastery of English eventually overcomes the most fervent of language loyalty intentions."

elderly care, business transactions, legal services, and major shopping opportunities. For all these engagements English is the primary language of communication.

When the dialect informants grew up on often isolated rural farms, both first and second generation dialect speakers, would hardly ever go to town unless they were going to church on Sundays. Most farmsteads were located many miles away from town, and mobility was limited to walking, and riding a horse or buggy. Many families were self-sufficient. The father of a family would take the buggy or walk to town for many miles to do business. Sometimes he worked on the railroad to supplement the family income. On his way home he usually bought fifty pound burlap sacks of wheat flour, which was used for baking bread and other pastries at home. Pigs were slaughtered and their meat was smoked and canned for the winter. Frugality was a trait among most of the families. There was no electricity, running water, or indoor plumbing and water for baths in the summer was heated by the sun in a big wooden tub in the yard outside. In many cases children had to collect cow chips in the summer for burning, while in the winter wood and coal were used. <sup>8</sup> In some families burlap sacks were sewn into dresses for the young girls, and children often walked barefoot in the summer, because the one pair of shoes they owned had to be stored away for fall and winter. 9

During harvest season usually the men of several families got together and harvested the wheat. They harvested not with any tractors or trucks, but rather with

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  Informant 4, a first generation Kansas-born Catholic Bohemian German, related this information to the author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Informant 2, a first generation Kansas-born Catholic Bohemian German, relates that she and her sisters not only had to share one pair of shoes and take turns wearing them for church, but also often times these shoes did not fit anymore when fall came. Informant 5, a second generation Kansas-born offspring, recalls she only had a pair of shoes and a dress. Clothing as well as underwear was made for them by an aunt.

horses. The wheat was cut and turned with a fork, and corn was shelled by hand. <sup>10</sup> At the same time, the women mostly stayed on the farm, milked the cows, cooked for the numerous harvesters or took water out to the crew. Every aspect of daily life for these men and women was conducted in German and their dialect served them adequately in their daily lives. In fact many female Catholic Bohemian German settlers never learned English, partly because they were the ones running the farm while it was a husband's responsibility to deal with business. Many hands were needed on the farm, and the hard economic life made school education for young people a lesser priority. Sporadic school attendance was common among children of the first two generations of Kansas-born offspring. A lot of the immigrant parents themselves had not attended school regularly and kept their children at home if their help was needed. Some girls, for example, had to stay home from school twice a week to do the laundry, and others were sent to school every other week. <sup>11</sup> This made it more difficult for them to become conversant in English. Most children did not acquire any English speaking skills until they went to school.

A clue as to the degree in which strong ethnic ties were once felt among Catholic Bohemian Germans was the firm social structure. Young children were expected to show respect for adults in the immediate family and in the community. While they had terms of endearment for calling their parents and grandparents /tato/ *Papa* 'daddy'; /nedl/ *Opa* 'grandpa'; /nodl/ *Oma* 'grandma', they politely addressed their aunts and uncles with /bosl/ Base, Tante 'aunt', and /fetp/ Vetter,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See anecdote c3. Windholz (1996, 79) describes in detail the wheat harvest of the early Catholic Bohemian German farmers. With mechanized farming in later years a cookshack was pulled along with the threshing machine. A woman was hired to cook for the harvesters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This information was related to the author by two dialect informants of the first generation of Kansas-born Catholic Bohemian Germans.

*Onkel* 'uncle'. <sup>12</sup> This behavior fostered the feeling of being a part of the family or the German ethnic community as a whole.

In addition, the familiarity with each other was expressed by a system of nicknames. These were used to tell members of their large families apart. <sup>13</sup> The father customarily passed on his name or his brothers' names to his sons. His children were identified by adding his name to theirs. For example, Informant 1 recalls that he is the *Jaken Martin*, because his father's name was Jakob. His uncle was named after his father and then was simply called *der Bua*, that is 'the boy'.

This autonomous way of living was further strengthened by the social network that existed among the extended family that was usually considerable in size. Before modern technology, such as the TV, entered their lives, relatives visited each other on Sundays. People socialized more, and according to Informant 2 they would get together with relatives or neighbors and played cards. German would be the language they used: /des is ulss dait gven, des is kortn poeln gven ovel/ Das ist alles Deutsch gewesen, das ist immer Kartenspielen gewesen 'That was all German, that was always playing cards.'

Major social events involved the immediate and extended family. Weddings were usually held at the bride's or bridegroom's parents' home and a baptism, or wake for a family member at home was solely a family affair. Marriages among Catholic Bohemian Germans, between cousins, for example, were often encouraged. <sup>14</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The children continued using these polite forms of address as adults. One informant calls her aunt, for example, /rost basl/ *Tante Rosi* 'aunt Rose'. Another Catholic Bohemian German resident of Ellis relates that she was taught to address the neighbor, who was the grandmother of a friend, as /nodl basl/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The custom of nicknames follows an old system dating back to the Bohemian Forest. Mirwald (1988, 34-38) discusses this system in detail and points out that these names or combinations thereof were not only used to identify someone, but also served as last names. See also Windholz (1996, 81) who gives examples of nicknames of Ellis Catholic Bohemian Germans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Most dialect informants for this study are related to one another. Furthermore, a resident of Ellis told the author that when she first came to Ellis and married a Lutheran "Swabian" German from

The cohesive structure and continuous contact among family members and extended family helped the conservation and active support of the Catholic Bohemian German dialect. This type of living as a close knit group lasted for a little more than one generation. <sup>15</sup>

With the launching of the automobile after World War I, some families bought a model-T car. Whereas early on, when there was no transportation and it was a big chore for farmers to go 12 miles to Hays to conduct business there, they now enjoyed more mobility to travel further than to church or to town or even to engage in business ventures in Hays. Siblings were allowed to take turns driving the car and going further from home and to Hays or elsewhere, where English was largely the dominant language.

In time, intermarriage took place with Volga Germans and English-speaking neighbors. <sup>16</sup> Through marriage siblings dispersed and moved away from the family farm and from the town. In many cases siblings and members of the extended family began only visiting each other on rare occasions. Furthermore, the loosening of ties of Catholic Bohemian Germans to the community through intermarriage brought with it a gradual decline in family ties. This was even more felt, once their parents, a common bond between siblings, passed away. In addition, intermarried couples stopped teaching their children German language skills, because the partner often never learned

Bukovina she found out quickly that everybody was related to everybody else. People would constantly "expect" her to know them, since they were in one way or another related to her husband. <sup>15</sup> One informant who was born in the mid 1920s said she and her siblings only went to town for

church and catechism lessons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Windholz (1996, 80) states, for example, although both groups of settlers from Bukovina, the Catholic Bohemian Germans and the Lutheran "Swabian" Germans, coexisted amicably in Ellis, as they had done in Bukovina, socializing and marriage among them were discouraged. In addition, Dreiling (1976, 96) in his centennial history of Volga-German settlements in Ellis and Rush counties in Kansas writes: "The Volga German descendants have intermingled broadly with the Austrian and Irish descendants who constitute sizable segments of the Ellis community."

German at all. As a result the Catholic Bohemian German dialect was no longer protected and eventually weakened and decayed.

Already at the turn of the century it became more and more difficult to resist the pressure of the surrounding English speaking environment. <sup>17</sup> Some Catholic Bohemian Germans got involved in town activities and politics and others were involved in trade. Some farmers realized, for example, the benefits of a more cost-efficient grain market by participating in a farmers organization. <sup>18</sup> For these aspects of life, the use of English became a necessity. <sup>19</sup> The result was that almost every first and second generation speaker of Ellis Catholic Bohemian German became bilingual, using their vernacular at home and with relatives and switching to English for trade and for many other spheres of daily life.

Their German dialect was adequate when the first Catholic Bohemian German families along with Lutheran "Swabian" Germans came to the Ellis area as early as 1887. <sup>20</sup> The German settlement was already established by 1877 with Reich Germans and Volga Germans. <sup>21</sup> A second wave of families from Bukovina arrived and settled in Ellis at the beginning of the twentieth century. <sup>22</sup> This influx of emigrants from Bukovina as well as of other German speaking immigrants provided a base for the preservation and sustenance of German and motivated people to continue

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Windholz (1996, 79) mentions that in 1896 a Catholic Bohemian German was an alternate delegate to the Democratic convention for the state of Kansas. He notes: "In less than five years, the leaders of the Bohemian Catholic families were involved in town activities and Democratic Party politics."
<sup>18</sup> Windholz (1996, 84) writes about the farmers organization: "They benefitted by sharing in train carloads of supplies ordered at significant cost savings. A member was sent out to other parts of the country to negotiate loads of potatoes, cabbage, and other products."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Carman (1974a, 164) notes that German ceased very early to be the language for business.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> On the first page of his printed field notes on the Ellis Bukovinian Germans Carman writes: "They were first primarily a compact rural group [...], but they were at an early date also living in the town of Ellis (98 born in Austria in Hamilton Township in 1895; 24 in town)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The Reich Germans had emigrated to the United States mostly because of economic reasons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Carman writes on page 2 of his field notes that "in 1902 a trainload arrived at once." The father of Informant 1 arrived in Ellis, Kansas, in 1887 and his mother in 1901. Both parents of Informants 2 and 3 came in 1901.

speaking the language. When the immigration of German speakers stopped, the use of German receded. <sup>23</sup>

With the gradual decline in German language use the desire to maintain cultural identity through the use of their German dialect subsided. This is reflected in the responses of every Catholic Bohemian German dialect informant, born after 1920, who grew up speaking German at home. When asked whether they preferred English to German in their daily life, the answer was unanimously English. <sup>24</sup> They say it is more natural to speak English. They only resort to their Catholic Bohemian German dialect if they speak with older aunts and uncles. They communicate mostly in English, even with siblings and cousins, unless they want to convey a joke or an anecdote, or quote things their parents and grandparents used to say. The German of other Catholic Bohemian Germans in their age group is often confined to some words or phrases learned by heart in childhood. At gatherings such as family reunions, those few people who can still carry on a conversation in their Catholic Bohemian German dialect often take every opportunity to use it. Many times they have to switch to English with others who have never learned to speak the dialect. Anecdotes and jokes have to be either translated or just retold in English.

Catholic Bohemian Germans loved music and dance. Songs for all occasions, such as New Year's songs, were handed down through the generations and are remembered by some people. <sup>25</sup> Dances were popular among the Catholic Bohemian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Huffines (1989, 211) states that "without the support of continued immigration from the language homeland, the number of fluent interlocutors gradually decreases, and eventually no social context remains in which it is appropriate to speak the minority language."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The dialect informants, born before 1920, unanimously responded that they do not mind speaking either, English or German. In fact they preferred speaking German and thought it was easier talking at times, but they objected that they had to speak English to those around them who have forgotten to speak the German language or simply do not want to use it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> However, the teaching of traditional folk songs differed from family to family. Informant 2, when asked about traditional Catholic Bohemian songs, responded by saying: /gsoŋl nor di dartfn, mir dartfbemifn nt/ Gesänge [hatten] nur die Deutschen,, wir Deutschböhmen nicht 'Only the Germans had songs, we German Bohemians did not'

Germans and families often had a music instrument. <sup>26</sup> Despite the loss of traditional songs and dances, such as the bridal dance (*Brauttanz*), a few songs are sung and dances are performed at gatherings of the Bukovina Germans to help them recapture some of their heritage. Traditional folk dances that are often accompanied by short repetitive verses, such as the *Pauline Dance*, are sometimes performed at special events. However, the lyrics are translated into English so that participants can sing along. This music and dance usually plays a role in gatherings by Bukovina Germans and is a reminder of the cultural heritage they all share. <sup>27</sup>

At one time there were bands, sometimes made up of members of an extended family, that would perform at dances and other events. Membership in these bands, as well as in dance groups, has been steadily declining for some time. However, some bands in the Ellis area are composed of people of German background, such as Bukovina German or Volga German. They play at social events, such as the Bukovina German gatherings. <sup>28</sup>

Paulina do you love me? Paulina do you care? Paulina if you love me Be my wife so fair.

One of the members of the dance group, a Catholic Bohemian German resident of Ellis sang and performed some dances for the author during an interview in March 1995. She would sing the lyrics in German. The original words for the *Pauline Dance* go as follows:

Paulina, hast mich gern? Paulina, hast mich gern? Paulina, hast mich gern? Willst du mein Weib werden?

<sup>28</sup> One of the dialect informants is a member of such a band called *The Ellis County Dutchmen*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Informant 2 relates that they owned an organ at home. However, this music instrument stood in the /ekstrən  $\int tum/die Extrastube$  'extra living room', that was only used for special occasions. She and her siblings were not allowed to enter it at other times to play the organ.

 $<sup>^{27}</sup>$  At an Appreciation Polkafest in Ellis on February 26, 1995, to celebrate the musical heritage of the area, some Bohemian German dances were performed by a dancing group especially founded for this occasion called *The Bukovina German Dancers*. The handouts had instructions to the dances as well as verses to the songs that were in English. The lyrics to the dance *Pauline Dance* appeared on the handout as follows:

Later generations are usually not interested in preserving their heritage through maintaining or reviving folk songs and folk dances.<sup>29</sup> This aspect of their cultural heritage will lose its importance with the passing of the older generation and will be lost.

Along with changes in the socio-economic structure of the community the Catholic parish ceased using German in church services in the early 1950s and all schools exclusively taught in English. All these factors contributed to the German language attrition. <sup>30</sup>

The Catholic Bohemian Germans who settled in Ellis were all Roman Catholic. <sup>31</sup> Upon arrival in Ellis, they joined the local St. Mary's church, that had been organized from people of various backgrounds in 1886, not long before the first wave of immigrants came from Bukovina. <sup>32</sup> Besides Catholic Bohemian Germans, the congregation consisted of other elements, such as Volga German, and Irish. The Catholic Bohemian Germans integrated easily into the community. This was partly due to the fact that they were already accustomed to an ethnic mixture of people in Bukovina. <sup>33</sup> Catholic services had been established by Father Fogarty, an Irish priest, who served the congregation until 1893. After that St. Mary's was served by Capuchin monks of German descent from Victoria. <sup>34</sup> The church mass was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> One Catholic Bohemian German informant maintains that it is simply impossible to get younger people interested in learning traditional folk dances.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Seliger and Vago (1991, 3) write that "the domain relationships of the languages can change such that the host or first language is weakened by the increasing frequency of use and function of the second language." Similarly, Born (1994, 13-14) states: "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."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Dreiling (1926, 84) provides a list of members of the congregation at St. Mary's at that time. It shows the names of many Catholic Bohemian Germans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See Dreiling (1976, 96).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Carman writes on page 2 of the printed field notes on Ellis Bukovinian Germans: "Linguistically the Bukovinan Germans were on arrival rather ferociously German because of the competition in Europe, but also because of it they were accustomed to the idea of bi-or multi-lingualism." <sup>34</sup> Sac Carman on page 2 of the printed field notes on Ellis Bukovinan Germans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> See Carman on page 3 of the printed field notes on Ellis Bukovinan Germans.

conducted in Latin until the 1960s. The sermons and readings were in German until the 1950s. In the 1930s, preaching in German was every other Sunday and later limited to once a month, until it finally ceased altogether. At the time of Carman's last visit to Ellis in 1964, he was told that the Catholic priest never preached in German.

The parochial school was converted to a public school during World War II and changed its status back later to a parochial school. Religious instruction in the parochial school was always in English, since the time of World War I, probably partly in response to the anti-German sentiment that developed between the two World Wars. All but one of the informants in this study attended a rural school and only went to St. Mary's for religious education. All of them entered school after 1919 when Kansas prohibited the use of German in public schools by state law and made English the language of instruction. <sup>35</sup> The rural schools were not consolidated with the town schools until after World War II.

Although many Catholic Bohemian Germans had learned their prayers and catechism in German, a lot of them were not trained in reading and writing Standard German. This fact, along with the hard demands of running a farm and the growing anti-German hysteria might have been the reasons why the German press did not have an impact on language maintenance among the Catholic Bohemian Germans of Ellis. Hardly anybody subscribed to a German newspaper. <sup>36</sup>

When the first Catholic Bohemian Germans came to Ellis, they had come from Bukovina along with Lutheran "Swabian" German settlers. The two groups went their separate ways when they arrived in Kansas, but they coexisted well when they had to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See 1919 State of Kansas Session Laws (352).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Fishman et al. (1978, 52) discussing the distribution of the ethnic press between 1910-1960, write: "The linguistic distribution of non-English dailies has changed considerably since 1910. At that time 54% were published in German alone. By 1960 German dailies accounted for only 7% of the total." Fishman et al. (1978, 52-54) also state: "The sharp decline is noticeable as early as 1920 ... and can be attributed, in large part, to anti-German sentiments that were widespread during World War I and subsequently." Informant 2 recalls her mother having a German newspaper for a short while.

While the Lutheran "Swabian" Germans usually engaged in farming north of the city of Ellis and stayed on their land, the Catholic Bohemian Germans, who settled south of Ellis, integrated quickly into the ethnically diverse Catholic community in Ellis. The ethnic German communities were generally tolerant of each other. <sup>37</sup>

However, with the animosity from English-speaking neighbors in response to the two World Wars, the pressure grew for acculturation into the American mainstream society. Catholic Bohemian Germans went out of their way to show their patriotism, for example by volunteering for army service in the war. <sup>38</sup> More and more parents stopped teaching their children their dialect. This trend continued during and after World War II. Informant 2 attests to this development, she says: <sup>39</sup>

/mai bub sai kindb kinent nit dait fren. es get bles enli f/
Meinem Jungen seine Kinder (die Kinder meines Sohnes) können kein Deutsch reden. Es geht alles auf Englisch.
'My son's children cannot speak German. Everything is in English.'

Another reason why parents stopped passing on their German dialect to their offspring was the fact that, a lot of times, most Catholic Bohemian Germans, as well as other ethnic Germans could be easily identified as German speaking by their accent or "brogue" in English. <sup>40</sup> This must have been very troubling to young Catholic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> One informant remembers that her grandmother's neighbors, who were Catholic Bohemian German, Volga German, and Reich German, all spoke German with each other. No one paid any attention to the different dialects they were speaking and every one was mixing various words.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> See Windholz (1996, 84). Informant 1 spent most of his military service in Germany in the Second World War. He recalls that his knowledge of the language was put to use during his stay. <sup>39</sup> Informants 1, 2, and 11 each passed on their dialect to their second generation Kansas-born offspring. They understand and speak it as well, but limit the active German language use to conversations with their parents. Informant 2 admits: /es is ovo hoort, ven er so mit di enlifn baronont, si. i ret ovo dait mit eom/ Es ist aber hart, wenn er so mit den Englischen beieinander [ist], sieh. Ich rede aber Deutsch mit ihm 'It is hard, though, when he is together with the English, see. But I talk German with him.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Carman, in his settlement notes on Ellis Bukovinian Germans quoted an interviewee who claimed that most people have a brogue and that "some Germans have an inferiority complex and won't associate with others." Furthermore, one informant reminisces that when she went to school, her

Bohemian German children. As a result, many second-generation Kansas-born Catholic Bohemian Germans decided not to pass on their dialect to their children. <sup>41</sup> The fluent speakers gave in to the overwhelming pressure of the English language and in time accepted more and more English words and influences into their language. It is, therefore, not surprising that Catholic Bohemian German dialect informants, born after 1920, prefer English to German. As a result there is only a limited pool of dialect speakers left as potential informants.

By assimilating into the socio-economic and cultural system of the Englishspeaking American mainstream, the Catholic Bohemian Germans have prospered economically and advanced in education. Most young descendants have left Ellis to continue with their education or to pursue other non-farm job opportunities.

While the Catholic Bohemian German dialect can still be heard occasionally in Ellis, it is usually spoken by older people. The dialect is no longer being spoken in many homes, much to the regret of a few who still speak the dialect fluently and remain in perfect control of their mother tongue. They have become accustomed to having English spoken around them, they have adopted the language and the socio-economic structure, but they have not lost the desire to maintain their cultural identity through their German language. They are determined to maintain it among themselves at least. Informant 2 expresses her determination as follows:

/mit mir get di daitʃə ʃprox ins grop/ Mit mir geht die deutsche Sprache ins Grab 'I will be buried with the German language'

teacher, who was of German background, remarked that a lot of the pupils had a 'tell tale' accent and were encouraged to speak English properly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> None of the third-generation Kansas-born Catholic Bohemian Germans is able to speak the dialect. However, some quotes or words passed down through generations still prevail.

Spoken German language skills, which for many years served the ethnic German groups of Ellis adequately, are on the verge of extinction. However, the German language left its mark on the structural use of the English of many descendants of these settlers, who still compose a large percentage of the Ellis community today. Thus, loan translations, such as their use of the English "It is all" for the dialect phrase  $/\varepsilon s$  IS ol/*Es ist alle*, in the sense of 'It is all gone', are common. They are fading reminders of the linguistic German heritage of Ellis.

Thanks to the participants in this study, descendants of the Catholic Bohemian German settlers who came to Ellis will be able to listen to recorded tapes of this unique dialect of their ancestors. These are not only archived for them, but they are also preserved as a part of the rich German-American heritage.

#### Revival of Heritage Awareness among the Ellis Bukovina Germans

A common history was never documented for the Catholic Bohemian Germans, as well as the Lutheran "Swabian" Germans. Younger generations began to lose interest and knowledge of their ancestors heritage. To offset this trend some interested Bukovina Germans decided to form the *Bukovina Society of the Americas* in 1988, to promote recognition of the history of the Bukovina Germans and preserve their heritage, in addition to genealogical research. The Bukovina Society Headquarters (see picture 3 at the end of the chapter) in Ellis, Kansas, is located in a historic church building in the midst of downtown Ellis. The building was once the First Congregational Church, founded in Ellis in 1873. The Society has a museum where artifacts from Bukovina German immigrants are displayed. The Aurochs, the Bukovina coat of arms, serves as the logo for the Bukovina Society (see picture 4). Anyone with an interest in the Bukovina heritage can become a member. Members receive a quarterly newsletter with information on ancestral news on Bukovina and heritage related web sites. The newsletter was first called *The BULLetin* and changed its name to *The Bukovina Society of the Americas Newsletter* in 1994 (see insert on the back cover). Ethnic cooking recipes, anecdotes or folk songs translated into English are often included as well. The Bukovina Society has its own home page <sup>42</sup> and is affiliated with similar international societies, such as the *Associação Alemã-Bucovina de Cultura* (Association of Bukovina German culture) in Rio Negro, Brazil, and the *Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen* in Munich, Germany. A Bukovinafest is held annually every summer in Ellis with presentations on the ethnic heritage and history on the Bukovina Germans, as well as a festive program that recaptures their cultural heritage, such as a reenactment of a traditional wedding (see insert on the back cover).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The home page of the *Bukovina Society of the Americas* is: http://members.aol.com/L.Jensen/bukovina.html

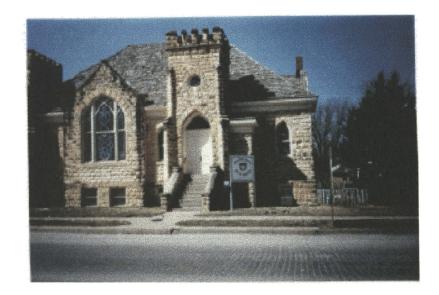


Figure 4 Bukovina Society of the Americas Headquarters and museum



Figure 5

Ellis, Kansas

The Aurochs, the Bukovina coat of arms The Aurochs is the extinct wild ox of northern Africa, Europe, and western Asia. Reprinted from the Bukovina Society of the Americas brochure.

### Appendix 1

### Fieldwork Forms and Questionnaires

## Wenker Sentences - English/German<sup>1</sup>

- In the winter the dry leaves fly around in the air.
   Im Winter fliegen die trockenen Blätter in der Luft herum.
- It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will get better again.
   Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.
- Put coals in the stove, so that the milk will start to boil soon.
   Tu Kohlen in den Ofen, daß die Milch bald an zu kochen fängt.
- 4. The good old man broke through the ice with his horse and fell into the cold water.Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durchs Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.
- He died four or six weeks ago.
   Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.
- The fire was too strong. The cakes are burnt black on the bottom.
   Das Feuer war zu stark. Die Kuchen sind ja unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.
- 7. He always eats eggs without salt and pepper. Er ißt die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer.
- 8. I told it to the woman and she said she wanted to tell it to her daughter too.

Ich bin bei der Frau gewesen und habe es ihr gesagt, und sie sagte, sie wollte es auch ihrer Tochter sagen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Wenker sentences constructed by the German dialectologist Georg Wenker in 1876, were translated into English by Ilse Vogel Shire and William Keel in 1980.

- My feet hurt so much; I believe, I walked them off.
   Die Füße tun mir sehr weh. Ich glaube, ich habe sie durchgelaufen.
- 10. I don't ever want to do it again.Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder tun.
- 11. I'm going to hit you over the head with a wooden spoon, you monkey! Ich schlage dich gleich mit dem Kochlöffel um die Ohren, du Affe!
- 12. Where are you going? Should we go with you? Wo gehst du hin? Sollen wir mit dir gehen?
- The times are bad.
   Es sind schlechte Zeiten.
- My dear child, stay down here. Those mean geese will bite you to death. Mein liebes Kind, bleib hier unten stehen, die bösen Gänse beißen dich tot.
- 15. You learned the most today and were well-behaved. You may go home earlier than the others.

Du hast heute am meisten gelernt und bist artig gewesen. Du darfst früher nach Hause gehen als die anderen.

16. You aren't big enough to drink a whole bottle of wine. You have to grow some more first and get bigger.

Du bist noch nicht groß genug, um eine Flasche Wein auszutrinken. Du mußt erst noch etwas wachsen und größer werden.

17. Go, be so good and tell your sister she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother and clean them with a brush.

Geh, sei so gut und sag deiner Schwester, sie solle die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Bürste rein machen. 18. If only you had known him! Things would have turned out differently and he would be better off.Hättest du ihn gekannt! Dann wäre es anders gekommen, und es täte besser um

ihn stehen.

19. Who stole my basket of meat?

Wer hat mir meinen Korb mit Fleisch gestohlen?

- 20. He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing; but they did it themselves.Er tat so, als hätten sie ihn zum Dreschen bestellt. Sie haben es aber selbst getan.
- 21. Who did he tell the new story to? Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt?
- 22. One has to shout loudly. Otherwise he doesn't understand us. Man muß laut schreien, sonst versteht er uns nicht.
- 23. We are tired and thirsty. Wir sind müde und haben Durst.
- 24. When we got home last night, the others were already lying in bed and were fast asleep.

Als wir gestern abend zurückkamen, da lagen die andern schon im Bett und waren fest am schlafen.

- 25. The snow at our place stayed on the ground last night, but it melted this morning. Der Schnee ist diese Nacht bei uns liegen geblieben., aber heute morgen ist er geschmolzen.
- 26. Behind our house stand three beautiful little apple trees with little red apples. Hinter unserem Hause stehen drei schöne Apfelbäumchen mit roten Äpfelchen.
- Couldn't you (all) wait a moment for us? Then we will go with you.
   Könnt ihr nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten? Dann gehen wir mit euch.

- 28. You mustn't be so silly.Ihr dürft nicht solche Kindereien treiben.
- 29. Our mountains aren't very high. Yours are much higher. Unsere Berge sind nicht sehr hoch. Die euren sind viel höher.
- 30. How many pounds of sausage and how much bread did you all want? Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wieviel Brot wollt ihr haben?
- I don't understand you (all). You must speak a little louder.
   Ich verstehe euch nicht. Ihr müßt ein bißchen lauter sprechen.
- 32. Didn't you (all) find a piece of white soap for me on my table?Habt ihr kein Stückchen weiße Seife für mich auf meinem Tische gefunden?
- 33. His brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses in your yard. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen.
- 34. That word came straight from his heart! Das Wort kam ihm vom Herzen!
- 35. They did the right thing! Das war recht von ihnen!
- 36. What kind of little birds are sitting up there on the little wall? Was sitzen da für Vögelchen oben auf dem Mäuerchen?
- 37. The farmers had five oxen and nine cows and twelve little sheep. They brought them to the village to sell them.Die Bauern hatten fünf Ochsen und neun Kühe und zwölf Schäfchen vor das Dorf gebracht. Die wollten sie verkaufen.
- 38. All the people are outside today in the field and mowing.Die Leute sind heute alle draußen auf dem Felde und m\u00e4hen.

- 39. Go on, the brown dog won't hurt you.Geh nur, der braune Hund tut dir nichts.
- 40. I drove with the people back there over the meadow into the grain field. Ich bin mit den Leuten dahinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren.

# **<u>DWA</u>** Questionnaire <sup>1</sup>

	Dialect Form	Standard German	English
1.		Ahom	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	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
34.		Fliege	housefly
35.		Frosch	frog
36.		Frühling	spring
37.		Gabeldeichsel	forked thill
38.		gackern	to cackle
39.		gähnen	to yawn
40.		Gänserich	gander
41.		Gänschen	gosling
42.		Genick	neck
43.		Gießkanne	watering can
44.		Glühwürmchen	lightning bug

<sup>1</sup> The two-hundred-word list of the DWA Questionnaire was translated by William Keel in 1984.

	a	
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 (Kartoffeln)	to hill up (potatoes)
51.	Hagebutte	rose hip
52a.	Hahn	rooster
52b.	Henne	hen
53.	Böttcher	barrel maker
55. 54.		
	Klempner	tinsmith
55.	Stellmacher/Wagenmacher	wainwright
56.	Tischler	cabinetmaker
57.	Töpfer	potter
58.	Schlachter	butcher (slaughterer)
59.	Fleischer	butcher (preparer)
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. 70	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
70. 77.	Kamille	chamomile
78. 70	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 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.	(Wasch)lappen	washcloth

0.7		
95.	leer	empty
96.	leihen	to loan money
97.	Lerche	lark
98.	Libelle	dragon fly
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	
107.	Mütze	mosquito
		cap
109.	Mutterschwein	sow
110.	nachharken	to rake hay
111.	Nachharke	hay rake
112.	Nachmittag	afternoon
113.	Narķe	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
121.	Pflaume	
		plum to plan
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
		hoar frost
137.	Rauhreif	
138.	Regenwurm	earthworm
139.	Reifen (am Faß)	barrel hoop
140.	Rinde (des Nadelbaumes)	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)

140	0 1	1
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
157.		son-in-law
	Schwiegersohn	
159.	Schwiegertochter	daughter-in-law
160.	Schwiegervater	father-in-law
161.	Seil (aus Hanf)	rope (hemp)
162.	Sperling	sparrow
163.	Spinngewebe	cobweb
164.	Stachelbeere	gooseberry
165.	Star	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
172.		
	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
180.		wren
	Zaunkönig	
188.	Ziege	goat
189.	er hat den Brief zerrissen	torn up (a letter)
190a.	voriges Jahr hat es -	last year
190Ь.	- 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. 194b. 194c.	- erst gab es Tränen - - dann weinte - - das Mädchen nicht mehr	tears cried (tears) girl
195a.	Junge, halt den -	boy
19 <b>5</b> b.	- 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 - zwischen den Häusern	between

## **Grammar Questionnaire**

#### Auxiliary Verbs

- 1. haben to have
  - Present: Singular: I have you have she has he has
  - Plural: we have you have you have (formal) they have
- 2. <u>sein to be</u>

# Present:

Singular:	I am you are he is she is
Plural:	we are you are you are (formal) they are

# <u>Past:</u> I ł

I had you had she had he had

we had you had you had (formal) they had

## Past:

I was you were he was she was

we were you were you were (formal) they were

#### Subjunctive forms

I wish I were there.

I wish I had money.

I wish I stayed at home.

I wish I could leave.

I wish I had to leave.

I should leave now.

I would like to leave now.

If I had to I would go home ...

## Passive

The farmer was shot. Were the cows milked last night? Are the cows being milked now? The barn is being cleaned. The barn was cleaned yesterday. Was the grain harvested last summer? Is the farmhouse being painted? Was the soil plowed last spring? The soil is being plowed every year. Were the cows and pigs fed by the farmer's wife?

## Verbs

Present Tense:	sein	haben	tun		
I/You/He/She/It/We/You (Pl.)/They					
Sentences: I am a farmer (male/female).					
	I am a housewife.				
I have a toothache.					
I do the housework.					
	I do the cooking.				
Simple Past Tense	e: sein	haben	tun		
I/You/He/She/It/We/You (Pl.)/They					
Sentences:	I was a farmer last year.				

I was a housewife last year. I had a toothache two days ago. I did the housework yesterday.

I did the cooking yesterday.

Present Perfect:		sein	haben	tun	
I/You/He/She/It/We/You (Pl.)/They					
Sentences:	I have been a farmer for three years. I have been a housewife all my life. I have had a toothache for a week. I have done all the housework. I have done all the cooking.				
Past Perfect:		sein	haben	tun	
I/You/He/She/It/We/	You (Pl.)/They				
Sentences:	I had been a farmer before I moved to Ellis. I had been a housewife before I moved to Ellis. I had had a toothache before I went to the dentist. I had done all the housework before you came. I had done all the cooking before I went to church.				
Subjunctive Pres	ent:	sein	haben	tun	
I/You/He/She/It/We/You (Pl.)/They					
Sentences: I would be healthy if I had my medicine. 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 happy if I had had a vacation. 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 cutting the bread. (schneiden) He/She cut the bread.

He/She is riding the horse. (reiten) He/She rode the horse.

# Class II

He/She is offering money. (bieten) He/She offered money.

He/She is shutting the window. (schließen) He/She shut the window.

He/She is deceiving me. (betrügen) He/She deceived me.

Class III He/She is finding the cat. (finden) He/She found the cat.

He/She is drinking fresh milk. (trinken) He/She drank fresh milk.

He/She is swimming in the lake. (schwimmen) He/She swam in the lake.

Class IV He/She is helping me. (helfen) He/She helped me. He/She is dying. (sterben) He/She died.

He/She is taking the car. (nehmen) He/She took the car the day before yesterday.

#### Class V

I/He/She is eating a bowl of soup. (essen) I/He/She ate a bowl of soup.

I/He/She is reading the Bible. (lesen) I/He/She read the Bible.

I/He/She sees the priest. (sehen) I/He/She saw the priest.

# Class VI

I/He/She is inviting you to come to Hays. (einladen) I/He/She invited you to come to Hays.

I/He/She is driving to town. (fahren) I/He/She drove to town.

I/He/She is growing fast. (wachsen) I/He/She grew fast.

## **Class VII**

I/He/She is sleeping in the bed. (schlafen) I/He/She slept the whole day.

I/He/She is catching a deer. (fangen) I/He/She caught a deer.

I/Hc/She is running to church. (laufen) I/He/She ran to church.

# Weak Verbs

He/She says that he/she is married. (sagen) He/She siad that he/she was married.

He/She is working hard. (arbeiten) He/She worked hard.

He/She is yawning. (gähnen) He/She yawned very loudly.

## **Preterite-Present Verbs**

He/She is bringing the flowers. He/She brought the flowers.

He/She knows the teacher. He/She knew the teacher.

He/She wants to sing. He/She wanted to sing.

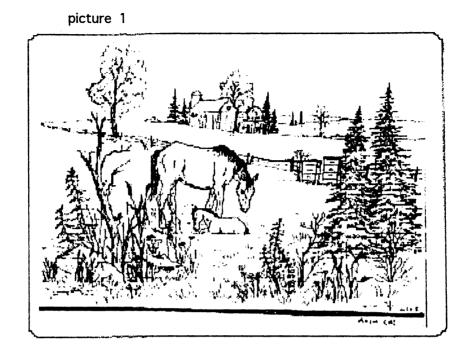
He/She can sing. He/She could sing.

He/She has to sing. He/She had to sing.

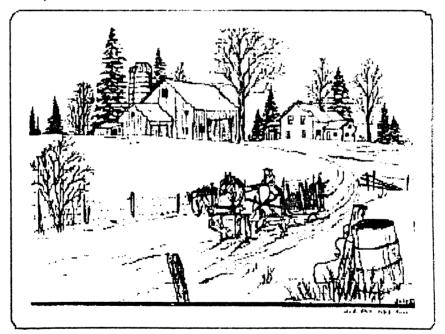
He/She is supposed to sing. He/She was supposed to sing.

He/She likes cabbage rolls. He/She liked cabbage rolls. He/She likes to eat cabbage rolls.

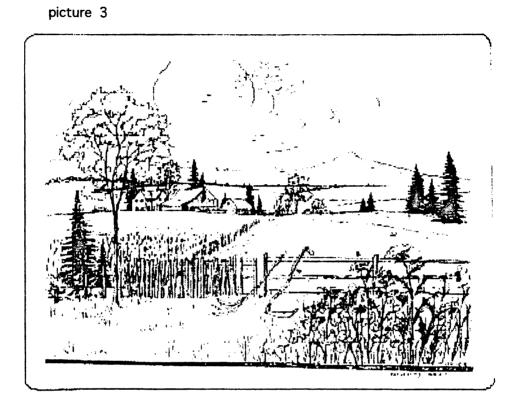
He/She is allowed to sing. He/She was allowed to sing.



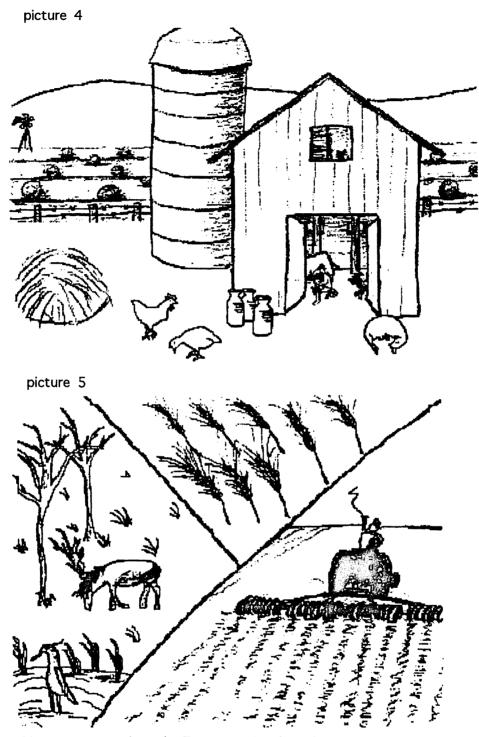
picture 2



These pictures are taken from the Pennsylvania German Calendar, Lancaster, PA (1991).



This picture is taken from the Pennsylvania German Calendar, Lancaster, PA (1991).



The pictures are drawn by Tawney Becker (1994).

#### **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 Catholic Bohemian German dialect of Ellis County, 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 Catholic Bohemian German dialect spoken by descendants of the settlers of Ellis County, 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 Ellis County, Kansas.

Your participation is solicited although strictly voluntary. Your name will not be associated in any way with the research findings. Your interview is identified only by 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 upon signing it.

Sincerely,

Gabriele Lunte Principal Investigator Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures 2080 Wescoe Hall University of Kansas Lawrence, KS 66045-2127 (785) 864-4803

Signature of person agreeing to participate. By signing, you certify that you are at least 18 years of age. With my signature I acknowledge that I have received a copy of the consent form to keep.

#### Date

My dialect interview may be tape-recorded: \_\_\_\_\_ YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO

## Appendix 2

## Selected Transcriptions of Dialect Interviews

## Informants:

	Informant #	Year of Birth	<u>Gender</u>
a.	1	Born 1918	Male
b.	2	Born 1916	Female
c.	3	Born 1907	Male
d.	4	Born 1915	Female
e.	5	Born 1926	Female
f.	6	Born 1922	Female
g.	7	Born 1935	Male
h	8	Born 1928	Female
i.	9	Born 1920	Female

## Wenker Sentences:

- 1. a. Im vinto blost der vint bambladle rumodum.
  - b. In vinto bladln fluigt imo dum in der luft.
  - c. In vinto di bladln hant troko, di flomt m di loft.
  - d. di bledo, di fluŋt herom m di luft
  - e. ... imp dom in der loft.
  - f. uncollected
  - g. m do vinto fluint di trukene bladli ibo rom.
  - h. m vinto di trokn bladln floint in den vint
  - i. In vinto, vens troko is, floigt bladln fon barmon, ont do vint blost si romodom.

- 2. a. sego bolt tsu fnam ofheon. aft virts vido biso vern.
  - b. hots nit bult ofheon fnam, aft virts vido biso vern.
  - c. virt bolt ofheon fnam, s vedo virt biso.
  - d. vens afheat  $\int nam, virts$  biso ge.
  - e. so built dos ets der  $\int nei afhebt, s vedb virt bisb ge.$
  - f. hept fnam af, s veto get feno bult.
  - g. es virt bult afheon fnaim unt virts vido biso vern.
  - h. s virt vol fname ftapm, ont aft virt es vide bise.
  - i. It bult stapm same, ets vede virt vide bise.
- 3. a. lek kuln ami in ofp. mil font tsu kuxp ő.
  - b. mir vermo misn kuln nur in ofo rainətoon, dos mil virt vol tsu kuxo öfonjo.
  - c. hamp de kuln in ofp, dos di mil virt kuxp.
  - d. di kuln in ofo rametoo, dos di mil õfont tsu kuxo.
  - e. firn ofo, do mismo kuln ainotoo, dos mo mil ofkuxo kino.
  - f. tup kuln in ofp, dos mil bult kuxt.
  - g. tuo kouls in do ovo, dos di mil hoos virt vern.
  - h. host fon kuln in ofp raineto, dos de mil sun hops virt.
  - i. i hon ets kuln in ofo ramodo, suln a ets mil bult kuxo do in kiç tsun esn.
- 4. a. der gubte ulte mo is durxs als broxp mit sain ros, unt is ins kulte vusp gfoln.
  - b. der gubte mo is durxs als durxgfoln mit sain ros unt is in des kulte vusp rainegfoln.
  - c. der guota, ulta mon is durxgfoln in als mit sam ros unt is in des kulta vuso gfoln.
  - d. der olte mo hot als broxp unt des ros is amegfoln in kolte vosp.
  - e. der ulte mo is durxs als gfoln, his ros is tsomgfoln in kultn vusp.
  - f. der ulte mo broxt durxs als mit sain ros unt folt ins kulte vuso ame.
  - g. der gubtə ultə mon is durxbroxb tsurtsi ais mit sain ros, er is ins koltə vosb ainəgfəln.

- h. der olto mon is durx des ais broxo, unt des ros is ainogfoln in des kolto voso.
- i. a gupto mon is durxbroxo durxs ais ont same ros is rainegfoln in des kolte voso.
- 5. a. er is g toom seks voxo tsuruk.
  - b. er is gftoom fibr ovo seks voxo tsuruk.
  - c. er is gſtopm fibr ovo seks voxo tsuruk.
  - d. ... fiprə ovo seks
  - e. er is g[topm fibr ovd seks voxd tsuruk.
  - f. er is gstoom seks voxo tsurok.
  - g. er is gstoom fibr o seks voxo tsuruk.
  - h. er is gstoom fior o seks voxo tsuruk.
  - i. er is gstoom fior ovo seks voxo tsurok.
- 6. a. s faier is tsu stork gven, tsu grous. do keik is svorts brent into se.
  - b. des faier is tsu stook gven. keiks sain uie fobrent svoots nto ste.
  - c. des faid voor tsu houx, kuxon is fobrent store.
  - d. s faier is tsu ftook gven, is fobrent fvoots into ste.
  - e. s faier is ts stock gven. der keik is brent gven / int fobrent gven.
  - f. s faier is tsu stopk. der koxp is svopts into se.
  - g. s faier is tsu stook. do keik, er het gents fobrent into ste.
  - h. des faier is tsu hops, eits is mai kek fobrent.
  - i. s faier is tsu ftook. do keik hot si fobrent in ofo / hot si do keik intoriksu fobrent.
- 7. a. er tuot orer esn mitaus sults unt mitaus pfefo.
  - b. er ist uvəl oip mitonə sults ont pfefp.
  - c. er ist imp om mitaus sults unt pfefp.
  - d. er ist oid mitaus sults unt pfefd.
  - e. er ist oid mitaust sults unt pfefo.

- f. er ist mind oin mitaus sults unt pfefo.
- g. der ist imp om mitaus sults unt pfefo.
- h. er ist om mitaus sults unt pfefo.
- i. Er hot imp saine ord gesn mitaus sults unt pfefd.
- 8. a. i hons den var gsokt, unt si hot gsokt, si vælts irond tuxtd son.
  - b. i hons den var gsokt, unt si hot gsokt, i vælts jo mann mordl son/si virts iro tuxto son.
  - c. i hons gsokt tsu den var, ont si hot gsokt, si væl sam mordl son.
  - d. i hons den var geokt, unt si hots iron mordl geokt.
  - e. i hon dos gsokt dos vai, si hot væln ets fotsæln fon iron duxto.
  - f. er hots gsokt tsu der frau, si vælt es tsu irønøn toxto au son.
  - g. i hon tsu den var gsokt, unt si hot gsokt, si vælts a tsu iro tuxto son.
  - h. i hons voeln dos var son, si sults iron mordl son.
  - i. i hon dos gsokt tsu di varvo, unt si hots væln au iro mordl son.
- 9. a. maine fips tubnt so stook ve. i moon, i hons ogonp.
  - b. di fips tupnt mp so ve. i hon mp so dougonp.
  - c. maine fibs tuont so ve. i den, i bin tsu foel gonp.
  - d. mai feis, di tuont so ve, i deŋ, i kon nit meo ge.
  - e. mamə fips tupnt so ve, i deŋ i hən sə upgəkən / gəkt / i bın tsu fœl umpdum gəŋp.
  - f. maine firs turnt ve so stork. i glaup, i hen se folorm.
  - g. mane fips tuent so ve, i den, i hen se ergene.
  - h. maine feis tuont so ve, i den i hon tsu foel gono haint.
  - i. mai feis tuont vei. i den, i bin tsu fœl gono.

- 10. a. i voels nimp mep top.
  - b. i voels nimo meo toore so.
  - c. i voels nimp top vidp.
  - d. i voels nit med tod.
  - e. i voel des nime men top.
  - f. des tuor i nımp.
  - g. i voel es nimo tuo vido.
  - h. des vœl i nit mep topn.
  - i. i voels nimo med tod.
- 11. a. i ver dır om kopf haun; i hau dır ivon kopf mıtn hœltsərən lefl, du of du!
  - b. i hav dır omə om kopf afı mit omən hæltsəriçən lefl, du of!
  - c. i ver di hau ivo dain kopf mit a holtslefl, du of!
  - d. i flo dir ainə hi om kopf mit opn holtsonən lefl, du dümər esəl!
  - e. i ver dir ivon kopf havo mitn lefl.
  - f. i hau dıç on sedl mit hæltsərən lefl, du of!
  - g. i ver diç aufs sed haup mit non spun, du of!
  - h. i ver dir on kopf haun mit den holtslefl, du of!
  - i. i voel com om kopf hav mit non hoeltsonon lefl, du of!
- 12. a. vo gestn hi? sol i mitge mit dir?
  - b. vo gest den hi? sulmo mir mitge mit dir?
  - c. vo gest den du aus? sul mir mit dir mitge?
  - d. vo gest den etst hr? i vœl au mitge.
  - e. vo gest du hi? sul i mitge?
  - f. vo gest den hr? sulnmo mitge?
  - g. vo gest den hi? sol i mitge?
  - h. virst du ge? sol i mitge mit dir?
  - i. vo gest du hi? sulmo mir a mitge?

- 13. a. di tsartn hant hopt.
  - b. tsaitn hant fim.
  - c. di tsartn hant hopt.
  - d. di tsatt is fleçt.
  - e. tsaith hant  $\int Im$ .
  - f. tsait is fleçt.
  - g. tsartn hant  $\int Im$ .
  - h. di tsartn  $\int v \partial hant hopt.$
  - i. tsartn hant tsu hopt.
- 14. a. mai libvəs kint blaip do hermt. di fleçin gens, di vernt di baisn.
  - b. mai guots/liops kint, [...], di ſlimo gens, di baisent di tsu tout.
  - c. mar guots kint, blaip [...]. di voelden gens, di baisent di tsu tout.
  - d. mai kloone kindo, blaipts vek! di gens, di baisent di.
  - e. di kındı, di blaımənt do herint. di gens, di vernt di tsombaisən bis dout bist.
  - f. mar lippst kint, blap  $\int te!$  di besn gens barsent di tsun tout.
  - g. mai klopnes kint, blaip doher. di mine gens virt di baisent tsu tout.
  - h. mai kint, blaip do, di gens vernt di baison.
  - i. mai kint, blaip do rint ! di gens, di vernt di toutbaison.
- 15. a. i hon hait s maiste glernt un hon mi guot benomo. i kon frioro hoomge vi di ondon.
  - b. mir han hait s maiste glernt ont i tuo mi guot omsteeln, i ver hoomge frioro ols di ondon.
  - c. mir hamp glernt hait, dos mir gupt son soln. du konst hopmge fripro den di ondon.
  - d. du host di gupt biheift hait. konst etst hopmge froi.
  - e. du host hait gubt glernt, unt so konst hait frib hobmge, brauxst nit so lon blaim.
  - f. du host foel glernt hart ont host di guot koltn. du host des

hopm friero vi di ondon.

- g. du host merste glernt hart ont voorst foo guot. du konst hoomge frie vi di onde.
- h. hant hosts maiste glemt, dos du start holst. du konst freid hodinge, venst vælst.
- i. host hart so foel glernt. du konst hoom frozeno vez di ondon.
- 16. a du bist nit grous gnup tson trijp / a gontso flosn vaï tsu trijp. du most no mep voksn ont gresp vern.
  - b. i bin nit grous gnub fir a grouse flojn vai, i mus no meb vuksn, dos i gresp ver.
  - c. du bist nit grous gnub, dos du a gonts flasl vai trijp konst. du must erst gresp vern.
  - d. du bist nit grous gnub tson trijp, most erst voksn.
  - e. du bist etst grous gnub tson trijp, konst a houl flass fæl var trijp. du virst gresp unt virst erst grous vern.
  - f. du bist nit grous gnub tson a gontse flosn vai tsu trinp. du most voksn mebr ont most gresp vern.
  - g. du bist nit grous gnub tson vain tson tring, grouse flojn. du most erst voksn, befor dos kribkst.
  - h. du bist nit grous gnup, dos so fœl vain tsun tripp. du must erft no bisp mep vuksn.
  - i. du bist tsu grous fir a gontse flojn of vam, bis d omol gresp virst.
- 17. a. ge, sar so guot unt soks damo sveston, si sul iron ruk fertinan for iro muoto unt tuon no putsn mit oono birstn.
  - b. ge, unt sa so guot unt soks dai svesto, si sul irə nan firtimoxo, irə ves fir irə muoto unt putsn mit opno birstn.
  - c. ge, unt soks danno sveston, dos si nat di kutn fir dan muoto unt putst mit der birstn.
  - d. gei, unt soks dai svesto, si sul des nan firtimoxo, vos dai moma kon si di kutn saubomoxo.
  - e. ge, unt soks daino sveston, si sul den ves nan unt suls fir iro muoto suls mit der birstn raibm.

- f. ge, ont bi so guot ont sokst damp fveston, si sol frorti non s gvont fir fvesto moma ont pots es mit der birftn.
- g. ge, bi guot ont sok dat  $\int vesto$ , si solt di klos son fio dam muoto ont afpotsn mit on bra $\int$ .
- h. gou, sokst dam svesto, si sult erst firtman di ves unt aux di dam mam a birstn jusn.
- i. ge, unt soks daino sveston, du virst es firtman. aft virsto dai moma klino hoelfo mit no birstn.
- 18. a. vens du so epm kent hest, ver s ondost ausgong, er tot foel besor ausse.
  - b. ven i het so epm kent. es het si besør ausgonp kot, unt er var beser ö.
  - c. ven s du venikstens kent hest. [...] aft vors best / er var fæl best.
  - d. vens des kent host, konst es ondos tuo.
  - e. vens du eon erst a bist beso gvist, oles var ondos gven / des voo beser afgven.
  - f. vens du mai mo kent hest, ols var ondos gven ont er bi biso, vo er is.
  - g. vens du nur  $\int o$  hetst den men $\int$  kent. den ver plas gonts ondos do unt er ver besar  $\tilde{o}$ .
  - h. vens du hest den kent, tsattn vornt ondost gven.
  - i. vens eon hes kent. [...] hets es biser austernt, varst fæl biser ö.
- 19. a. ver hot main tsego flai  $\int g(toln?)$ 
  - b. i vondo, ver mai tsego flaif gftoln hot.
  - c. ver hot mai flai f g toln?
  - d. ver hot mai gontsos flai [g[toln?
  - e. ver hot main tsego ful mit g[toln?
  - f. ver hot main kepbl ful flaif g[toln?
  - g. ver hot mo mai flaif g[toln?
  - h. ver hot mai bujl / tsego flaij gjtoln?
  - i. vondo, ver mar tsego hot g[toln mit den flar]?

- 20. a. set hamant st so atgjtelt, vi ven se epn afgnom hedn tson drein; ovp se hamant sælvp to.
  - b. Er hot to, so ven so een karort hot fie tson drefn. si hamant es olop to.
  - c. er hot gmoxt, vens eom [...] drefn.
  - d. hot mon con harert fir di dre mofin; er hots soelvo to.
  - e. Er hot denkt, si hamant even karort firn hults tsun drefn. di hamant neurx selvo to.
  - f. i glaup, di hamant con arkstoelt tsun dresn. di hamants soelvo to.
  - g. der hot gsokt, di hot gekt grot so vi di hamant eon karort fro drefn; ovo di hamants sœlvo to.
  - h. si hamant con kaiert tson dre $\int n$ , ovo aft hamant sis do mitaust com.
  - i. i hon mi denkt det com hamants kaiert fir di dre $\int n$ . unt aft hot os scelbo to.
- 21. a. tsu vem hot er di nar gſrçt fotsœlt?
  - b. ver hot den des fotsælt?
  - c. ver hot er a gfiçt fotsælt?
  - d. ven hot er di stor fotsælt?
  - e. ver hot dir dos fotscelt?
  - f. tsu vem hot er di nançkan gsokt?
  - g. tsu ver hamant di də stor fotsælt ?
  - h. vem host du des fotsœlt ?
  - i. tsu vem hot er di gəssiçtn fotsælt?
- 22. a. du must hoeldo redn, ondos fostet di er nit.
  - b. du must best frai, ovo ven nit, so fostet er om nit.
  - c. du must frai heel, ove er fostet uns nit.
  - d. du must fraid, ops er kept hot, vos si gsokt ham.
  - e. du must frai. er hept di nit ondost.
  - f. du must biso frain, en ondon vi  $\varepsilon r$  foftet uns nit.
  - g. du must laut fraio. pvertst tupt er nit foftep.

- h. du most lauto ren, dos i di fosteno kon. i kon di nit fosteno.
- i. du most fraio, dos er olos fostet.
- 23. a. mir hamp mipt ont duorst.
  - b. i bin ausg[pœlt unt duor]ti.
  - c. i bm mipt ont duorst.
  - d. i bm troko ont duorsti.
  - e. i bin ovo so marot unt duorsti.
  - f. mir sant mipt ont duorst
  - g. mir hamp mipt ont duprft.
  - h. mrr hamp marodt unt duorst.
  - i. i bm marodı unt duorst.
- 24. a. vi mp hant hopmkemp letste noxt, di onden hant fon m bet glen unt se hamant fo gflufe.
  - b. mir hant hoomkemp giston noxt, di ondon hant so in bet gven, hamant gslufp so guot.
  - c. letste noxt, ven mir hoomkemp, di ondon hant son in bet unt slofet.
  - d. giston noxt, ven i hoomkemp bin, hant so ole in bet gven ont gflofo.
  - e. ven bist du hoomkemp geston af noxt? di ondon hant so in bet gven, hamant gslufo.
  - f. ven mo giston noxt hoomkimo, hant di so miot ont do hamant so glufo.
  - g. vi mo hoomkemo bin geston noxt, di ondon ole so ins bet unt hamant fossofto gono.
  - h. ven mo hoomkemo hant letste noxt, di ondon hant fon m bet gven ont hamant fon gflofo.
  - i. vi mp hant hopmkemp giston af noxt, hant ole in bet vide, hamant  $\int o g \int l u f o$ .
- 25. a. do frei is of do trept blim ont is hait frip folait.
  - b. do fnei is of do treot ligoblim ont hait frio is er folait.

- c. do frei is glegn om grunt letste noxt, ovo is fogono hait frio.
- d. do fnei is ligoblim, ont in der froi is olos vek gven.
- e. do frei is on gront g tand giston af noxt, ovo der ets get es holt frid.
- f. do frei is af do treot gftono giston aft noxt ont hait in der frio is er fogono.
- g. do frei is on gront giston noxt gven, ovo hait frei is folamt.
- h. letste noxt do fnei is af do treot gven, ovo er is glaint haint frei.
- i. do frei is of do tred blim giston af noxt, ovo haint frei is s fo glait.
- 26. a. hinton haus stenant drai sena epflbaima mit kloona routa epfl.
  - b. hmton unson haus drai epflbaime gftono mit kloone epfl.
  - c. hınton haus stenant drar sena, kloona epflbam mit kloona, routa epfl.
  - d. hmton haus stet a seno baum mit route epfl.
  - e. hinton haus stenant drai epflbaim mit routa epfl om.
  - f. hinton haus stenant drai guota epflbam mit kloona routa epfl.
  - g. hmton unso haus stept drai sens epflbams mit klopns routs epfl.
  - h. hinton or haus hant drai epflnbom unt hamant route epfln.
  - i. hınton havs stenənt drai senə kloonə epflbaimə mit kloonə routə epfl.
- 27. a. kents ule vootn a vail, aft ge mo mit mit en.
  - b. kents ir a voot a vail fir ons? aft vermo mir mitge mit en.
  - c. konst du a pop minuton vopin? aft genmp mit dir.
  - d. konst a bisl vootn fir mi? aft gen i au mit.
  - e. konst du vootn a vail? aft tatmo rausi ge.
  - f. kinst vootn a minutn fir uns? unt den mir voeln gen mit dir.

- g. konst vootn fir uns? don genmo mit mit du.
- h. konst a bisl vootn? ont aft gen i mit dir.
- i. ven de mol vootst, aft getmo ole hoom.
- 28. a. du de orfst nit so foftæln.
  - b. must nit so dum sa.
  - c. du must nit so dum sa.
  - d. du bist so gsponsi.
  - e. du must nit so dum sa.
  - f. du must nit so foni sa.
  - g. du must nit so gsponsi sa.
  - h. must nit so nari san.
  - i. sa nit so forikt !
- 29. a. di hivəln hant nit tsu houx, de enkon hant foel heço.
  - b. di gəbebrgən/hivəln hant nıt so houx, di eŋon hant fœl heço.
    - c. Unsene hiveln hant reçt houx, dame sai fœl hœge.
    - d. unson hiveln hant so houx, unt dam hant heço.
    - e. unsene hiveln hant nit so houx, vi houx hant den damen?
    - f. unsene gebirgen hant nit hai, di dainen hant foel heçp.
    - g. unso beorgent hant nit tsu houx, di daino hant mats hougo.
    - h. unsənə hivəln hant nıt so houx, daın hant fœl heço.
    - i. di hivəln hant nıt so houx, di eŋon hant fœl heçəno.
- 30. a. vifcel pfont flaif / gmolns flaif vœlst ont vifcel pfont brout vœlst?
  - b. vifcel pfont virft ont vifcel brout vœlst ham?
  - c. vifcel pfunt of vrft unt vifcel brout voelst du ham?
  - d. verfœl flar (sost flar) unt brout vœlst du ham?
  - e. vifœl vorſtflarſ brauxst? vifœl brout host gvœlt?
  - f. vifœl vorſt voln si ont vifœl brot?
  - g. verfœl pfunt fon vurst unt verfœl brout vœlst den du ham?
  - h. verfœl pfunt flarf unt verfœl brout hostn gvœlt?

- i. verfœl pfont of flarf ont verfœl brout host du gvœlt?
- 31. a. i fosten di nit, du must a bisl hœldo ren.
  - b. i foste di/enk nit, must a bisl hœləro ren/mist a bisl lauto ren.
  - c. i foste di nit, du must a bisl hœlo ren.
  - d. i kon di mt foste. re a bisl lauto.
  - e. i fosten di nit. du must laudo ren.
  - f. i foste di nit. du most a bisl srai.
  - g. i foste di nit, du must laudo ren.
  - h. i kon di nit foste. du most hœlo ren.
  - i. i kon di nit heorn. must a bisl hœlo ren.
- 32. a. host du a  $\int tikl$  vaise soife gfund om ti $\int ?$ 
  - b. host a fukl vaise soffe om tif gsen kot?
  - c. host du nit gfund a  $\int tikl$  vaise soife af main ti $\int ?$
  - d. host a varse sorfe gfund on mar dif?
  - e. host du etst di varse sorfe om trj om gfuno?
  - f. host de nit a fukl vaise soife gfund of main tif?
  - g. host du a [ttkl / opne varse sofn gfond of main tt]?
  - h. host du a vaise soife glupo on main tis?
  - i. host a fukl vaise soife gfund on main uf?
- 33. a. sai brubdo vœl  $\varepsilon$  pm tsvai  $\int eng$  haiso baup in opn hof.
  - b. sai brundo voel  $\varepsilon$  dom bau tsvod  $\int ene naie haisd in daind jut.$
  - c. sai brundo voel bau tsvon sena nai haus in daina jut.
  - d. mar brundn voel a  $\int es$  haus baun in mar hof.
  - e. der brundt hot en tsvon nas hausn baut in sams jat ams.
  - f. mai brubdo voel si of toeln tsvai fens haisp in mai jot.
  - g. sai brundn vælt sæget baun tsvon naie hausn in ar jat.
  - h. mai brundo voel tsvon nais haiso baun.
  - i. mai bruodo voelt com tsvoo fene haiso bauo in mai jot.

- 34. a. des is fon ernst kemp / er hots in ernst gsokt.
  - b. des is fo sai hebts kemp.
  - c. des is stook fon sam hebts kemp.
  - d. Is ftrak kemp fon sai hepts.
  - e. des is ovo gret fon sam hebts kemp.
  - f. des is gret fon sain hebts komp.
  - g. es kimt fon hepts hep.
  - h. des is  $\int trak kemp fon his hepts.$
  - i. des kimt gret fon mai hebts.
- 35. a. si hant s reçtə dıŋ to..
  - b. si hamant s reçtə to.
  - c. du hosts reçto to.
  - d. di hants dos reçto dıŋ do.
  - e. hot er dos reçto din do?
  - f. di hamants reçtə dıŋ gmoxt.
  - g. do hot er a reçtə tsaitn to.
  - h. du host reçt do.
  - i. di hamant s reçto to.
- 36. a. vofir a klopne fogl sitst do drom of den drot?
  - b. vos fir fegl sitst om on  $\int top mano?$
  - c. vos fir kloone fegl sitsent auf den kloone brigl?
  - d. vos fir a klopno fegl sitsont on dero vent?
  - e. vos fir a fegl susent do oment af do vent?
  - f. vos fir a klopno fogl do om sitst of do vent?
  - g. vos fir klopne fegl sitsent do drom on do klopno val?
  - h. vos fir klopne fegla sitsent af do vent emot?
  - i. vos fir klopne fegele sitsent of dero klopno vent?
- 37. a. do baud hot finf oksn khot unt nai kid unt tsvælf klodn $\rightarrow$  fof. unt si hants brot ins dodf tsun fokafo.
  - b. do farmo hot finf oksn unt nai kip unt tsvælf klopno

fofele. si hamant di m stot brot tsun fokafo.

- c. do farmos hot finf oksn unt nam kip unt tsvælve klopne fof. si hamants brugp ftot tsun fokafo.
- d. do farmo hot en oks kot unt nam kei unt tsvælf kloone fofs. aft hamants se herbrugp tsun fokafo.
- e. do farmo hot finf stior kot, nai kio, tsvælf... di hamants aməbrot fon də stot tsun fokafo.
- f. do farmo hot nam oksn unt nam kip unt tsvælf klopne jof. di hamants tsun jtot broxt tsun fokafo.
- g. di farmo hamant finve oksn unt nam kio unt tsvælf kloone fof. di hamants tsun vilits brugo tsun fokafo / tsu stot brugo sun fokafo.
- h. do farmo hot finf ros ont noi kei ont tsvælf  $\int of kot.$  si hamants amebrot tsu der  $\int tot tson fokafo. / ont di hot er$ amebrot in doof.
- i. der farmo volt seks oksn, nam kei unt tsvælf klopne jof. di hamants brugo m jtot tsun fokafo.

# 38. a. di latt hant ole draust in foelt hait unt tuont mon.

- b. ole last ole drawst in foelt hast ont tuont mon.
- c. ole last hant in foelt hast ont mont.
- d. di gontsn latt hant draust in foelt hart unt tuont gros fnam.
- e. ole di lait hant ausigento ins lont hait frito unt hamant mot.
- f. ole last hant draust in foelt tson mon.
- g. ole di lant hant draust in foelt hait unt tuont mon.
- h. di lait hant haint ole draust in fœlt unt tuont mon.
- i. Je last hant dravst in foelt ont tuont mon.
- 39. a. ge ju, der braune hunt tubt dir niks.
  - b. ge, ... tupt do nit ve tup.
  - c. ge vekə, der braunə hunt is nit vegməxt.
  - d. ge on, unt der braune hunt, der tat di nit ve.
  - e. ge, der braune hunt, der barst di nit / der virt di nikse tuo.
  - f. ge, der braune hunt virt di nit baisen.

- g. ge, der braune hunt virt di nit baisen.
- h. der braune hunt, der tuot di nit ve.
- i. ge, ge, der braune hunt tupt di nit ve.
- 40. a. i bin mit den lait mitgfoon dol umo in di vis unt aft ins voitsnfoelt.
  - b. i bin mitgfoon mit do lait ... tsurok ... ont aine ins vortsnfœlt.
  - c. i bin gfonn mit di lait ivo di haitro unt in voitsnfœlt.
  - d. i bin hintri gfoon m voitsfælt.
  - e. i bin tsrok gfoon mit di ondon lait ivo pesta ont ms vortsnfilt amo.
  - f. i bin hintri gfoon mit di lait ivos lont in d vis amo.
  - g. i bin mit di lait gfoon ibb di pefta unt di voitsnfœlt.
  - h. i bin mit di lait hintri gfoon in pesta ont aft dodorx bin i in voitsnfœlt.
  - i. i hon gfoon di latt tson [...] ont in voitsnfælt.

#### **Excerpts from Free Conversation:**<sup>1</sup>

#### a1 Anecdote about Good Friday and the Emperor

is in bukovina draust. mam muoto fotscelt.----

hot opnør in kopfraitok in goptn gopvat. do is do kaiso firkemo. Unt do is do kaiso fteoblim. 'no, hai, du bist do fo ult. tuost in goptn no opvatn. host du kei buom?' 'jo, mir han drai.' 'no, vos tuonts den?' 'der opnø is a lero, opno is a mertiro und der opnø is a bedlo.' hot epn do kaiso gfrokt : 'no, vi moonst etst du do?' hot o gsokt : 'do lero,der is a fullero, der tuot kindo lepno. der mertiro, der is a dukto, der mortørt lait. Unt der bedlo, der is a pforo, der bedlt imo um goelt' aft hot epm der kaiso pension gem.

It was out there in Bukovina. My mother told me the story.

Someone worked in the garden on Good Friday. The Emperor came by and stopped. "Oh hello, you are already an old man. You are still working in the garden. Don't you have a son?" "Yes, we have three ." "So, what do they do then?" "One of them is a teacher, another a martyr, and the third one is a beggar." Then the Emperor asked him: "What do you mean?" He replied: "The teacher is a school teacher, he teaches children. The martyr is a doctor. He tortures people. And the beggar, he is a priest. He always begs for money. Afterwards the Emperor granted him a pension.

#### a2 Anecdote about someone called Schneider

do is a reçto, fleçto kerl gven, reçt durxtriom. n fnaido, hamant si eon koisn. sai nomon gven. hot opno gookt: 'den fnaido, ven i eon opmol ervifn tat, vol, do tat i eon so opno ftupm un eon tsubbindn unt ins vuso verfo unt ivo bruk in flus amoverfo.' aft hot er eon opmol ervift. hot eon amogftopt in den sok unt tsubbundn. on veç in ftot is di bruk gven, unt s vuso grund. Is er gond, hot ern trong. is er hikemp af bruk. 'i ftoel eon donido. i ge erft in ftot. i hon a gfeft tsun don

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The placement of punctuation in these excerpts is arbitrary and is used only to separate phrases and sentences.

drin. ven i tsurok kem, aft virf i eon no ins voso raine in sok drin.' is fuort. ont do fnaido, do fleçte kerl, hot gsokt : 'i sul birgomaisto vern ont kon nit lesn ont nit fraim.' ont do is opno firgenjo, hot eon kept. 'jo, i kon lesn ont fraim. i kon birgomaisto vern.' do fnaido gsokt : 'no, los mi auso. ont ge du aine. aft konst birgomaisto vern.' aft hot er eon ofgboudn, der fnaido rauso, ont der ondre aine. ont do fnaido hot eon tsuogboudn ont is fuort. der ondre tsurok kemp fon do ftot, nimt den sok ont virft eon aine do ins voso. hot er en fokeptn ainegvoofn ins voso. do fnaido dofonkemp vido. so fleçt is er gven, eçto durxtriobeno kerl gven.

There was once a rather bad guy, a rather cunning man. They called him the Taylor. That was his name. So someone said: "If I ever catch the Taylor, I would kick him, and tie him up, and throw him into the water, and throw him over the bridge into the river. Later he caught him. He stuffed him into the sack and tied it. The bridge was over the river on the way to town. Then he left and carried him. He came onto the bridge. "I will put him down. First, I am going to town. I have to do some business there. I will throw him into the water when I come back." So he left. And then the taylor, the bad guy, said: "I am supposed to become mayor, but I cannot read and write." And then someone came by and heard him. "I can read and write. So I can become mayor." "Then let me out. You go in. Then you can become mayor." Then the man untied the sack. The Taylor jumped out and he got in. And the Taylor tied the sack and left. Later the other guy came back from town. He took the sack and threw it into the water. He threw the wrong person into the water. The Taylor got away again. He was so bad, a real cunning guy.

#### a3 Anecdote about the boiled egg

hamant tsvop kairot in bokovina draust. -- mit di koxtn oid. -- ont er hot gedn vodxkoxto oid gesn. unt si hot si imp herx koxt kot, imp herx koxt. unt aft vods mol fon ti, hot sis vide koxt kot, vide herxt. hot er gsokt : 'no olto, i hon gsokt, i tot di oid gedn vodxkoxto ham. etst host es vido herxt.' unt si hot gsokt : 'olter i vons nit, vos lous is mit do oin. i hons tsvo stunt koxt unt hons nit vonx krinkt.'

Two people got married out there in Bukovina. -- It is about the boiled eggs. -- And he liked to eat boiled eggs. And she always made hard boiled eggs, always hard boiled eggs. As soon as they were eaten she made some boiled eggs again, hard boiled ones. Then he said: "But woman, I said I would like to have soft boiled eggs. Now they are hard boiled again." She replied: "But man, I do not know what is wrong with the eggs. I boiled them for two hours and they would not become soft."

## a4 Anecdote about life after the wedding

hamant tsvat juge karat do. unt het so dedroment drat fon same komeradn geokt : 'etst is dat herfoft aus. etst virst nit men her geokt hind. etst virt si her geokt in haus.' 'o na, na, is jo nit.' unt en enden tek irgentvon is er afgftendn in de frie, si het kuxt, unt hamant gesn. het si geokt: 'vol etst, du virst etst des gfir vofn. i hen kuxt, etst tud a des gfir vofn!' 'na, des is dat oprbat.' 'na, na, du konst do a hælfe.' unt han a ftratt kemp, hamant gftritn. het si een inten tif amegjokt. is de nexter umekemp, same nexter vælt. sitst er inten tif. 'do hat, du sitst fo inten tif. ves isn leus?' 'i ken sitst in mat haus, vo i vælt.'

Once two people got married. So the man was being razzed by his friends who said: "Your dominance is over now. Now you are not the boss in the house anymore. Now she is called the boss in the house." "No, no, that is not true", he said. And then the next day, sometime in the morning, he got up. She had made breakfast and they ate. Then she said: "Well, now you will do the dishes. I made breakfast, now you can do the dishes.." "No, that is your job", he replied. "No, no, you can also help", she answered. And then they quarreled. So she chased him under the table. Then the neighbor came by to visit. The man was sitting under the table. "Hi, you are sitting under the table already. What is going on?" He replied: "It is my house. I can sit where I want."

#### a5 Anecdote about the sad widow

di hant nit lon kairat gven. is er kron voon unt gftoom. unt glaiç is koarfraito gven. unt si hot gflent. ole eon naigrom. hamant irene fovontn gsokt : 'brauxst nit fleno. du bist do no jun. konst do vido hairotn.' unt si hot gsokt : 'jo, ovo nit for opston.'

They had not been married for long. He fell ill and died. And it was Good Friday. And she cried her eyes out when they buried him. Her relatives said: "You do not need to cry. You are still so young. You could marry again." And then replied: "Yes, but not before Easter."

### a6 <u>slaughtering a pig</u>

svai gſloxt. hamos gſosn, ogſtoxo, des bluot, ausbliot hamot. aft hamos obrent m kuxəthoosn vuso. unt aft ogrupft, aft hamos afkeŋt, ogvuſn, ſe okrətst vido mitn meso. aft hamos ausgnomo, des ſvaiət afkeŋt, okœln ləsn, aft heogſnitn. aft hamos heŋo ləsn a vail, aft hamos aigsultsn in sultsvuso gləsn unt aft hamos grauxt in vinto. unt aft brotn unt gesn. unt in sumo hamos heogſnitn af kloonə ſtikl, heogſpaitlt unt brotn unt in den hefo ainətoo, mit fetn ivoſvemo. unt des hət si kultn firn sumo den veç, hamo in sumo ſvainəsflaiſ kət.

We slaughtered a pig. We shot it, killed it and bled it. Then we poured boiling water over it. Then we cleaned it and hung it up. Afterwards we scraped it nicely with a knife. Then we gutted it, hung up the pig, and let it cool. Then we cut it. We left it hanging for a while and salted it and left it in salt water. In the winter we smoked the meat. And later we also fried it and ate it. And in the summer we cut it into little pieces that we fried. Then we put the meat in a pot layered with fat. And this way it kept until the summer. So we had pork in the summer. mar gebet hot ons onso muoto gleont kot. hamo ons misn ole noxt - di jijon gven - ekstro nidoknion misn fon ir fon bet - si is jo fo im bet blim gven - ont si hot ons forbeto kot. ont do, ets vernmo ovo di erste komunion tsu nemo kot, ets hamo des gebet misn oles enlif leono. des is hoort gven. hamo in di fule gon gven, hamo nit kino enlif ren. si, oles is daitf gon gven. is nit enlif gret voon dohoom, venmo so baionont gven. si, mar bruodo, der vili, drino in do ftot, saine kindo kinent nit daitf ren. mar buo saine kindo kinent nit daitf ren. es get oles enlif. mar buo kon ren. si, es is ovo hoot, ven er so mit di enlifen baionont, si. i red ovo daitf mit com. ven i fraio tuo, i frai, des daitfe kimt veke. mir hamo o ole daitf kint kot. di celton hant jo gftoom mit do daitfn fprox, si. ovo ets di jino, dos is niks meo.

My mother taught us our prayers. Every night we -- the young ones -- had to kneel down in front of her bed. She was already in bed then. She led the prayer. Later we had to learn all the prayers in English for the first communion. That was hard. We attended school and could not speak English. See, everything was in German. We did not speak English at home, when we were together. See, my brother, Willy, in town, his children cannot speak German. My son's children cannot speak German. Everything is in English. My son can speak German. See, it is hard, when he is together with the English-speaking (people), see. I speak German to him, though. When I say something, I say that German is going away. We all were able to speak German. The parents died with the German language, see. But now the younger ones, there is nothing there.

#### b2 <u>Halushki Recipe</u>

i vil do etst tsom, vi i haluski mox. i vil etst flais riçtən, vos tson amətuo. unt do krauthaipl. i vil do aft tsom. dis hant etst haluski, hon i aigvikəlt in krautbladlı. unt vens etst oon esn tuost, etst tuosts ausonont nemp. unt ven mos tsuomoxo, si, tsu- rulno unt aft ainəstumpm in do saitn. tuot des tsomholtn den. des hant etst mainə flaisvirstl. di hon i in letstn vinto moxt, jo, jo. sults unt pfefo, knofələt

b1

poudo unt a tsvifəl fnaiən, nit aməlo. vens a kloos haipl nemo tuost, vos nit tsu grous hon. vail, vens a grous haipln host, must bladln hulbo durxfnain. unt dos must aft tsuerft ins vuso rainətuo, hoos vuso, dos bladln ovo konst tuo. krauthaipln, des mus ins vuso kem, dos sə voox vem unt olə niç don breço. a rındın dra, dos tuost ovofnain, dos des nit tsu dik virt. des hant laiçto tsun ruln, si. ovo vens tsu grous hant, bladln, aft konsts in do mit durxfnain, si.

I want to show you how to make halushki. I will prepare the meat that you put inside the halushkis. And the cabbage. I want to show you that afterwards. These are the halushkis. I wrapped them in cabbage leaves. And if you want to eat one you unwrap the cabbage leaf. And then we close it again, roll it up and push in the ends. This way it does not fall apart. -- These here are my sausages. I made those last winter, yes, yes. Add salt and pepper, garlic powder, and then slice an onion, but do not add it yet. Take a little leaf. Because if it is too big you have to cut it in half. You have to put it in water first, in hot water so that you can take off the leaves. The cabbage leaves have to be softened in water so that they do not break. Just cut off the rind so that it is not too thick. Then it is easier to roll the leaves, see. But if the leaves are too big, you can cut them in the middle, sec.

#### How many do you make?

vort a mol. i mus mol faun. der rais, kept der rais aine. des hon i ules afgfrim. pfefo, sults, des glaiçe tuost, si, unt knofelet sults. unt aft a tsvifel erft ainefnai, vens de si mol airulno tuost, di krauthaipln, si. oriorn, af s flaif tuo unt aft airulno, si. i vil do des mitfiko, des flaif, des i ogriçtet hon. - no nit maine hent etst gvofn. - si, oh, des is a sositf do. unt des is hembergo. ebaut hulvot unt hulvot. men sositf, ven si tsu fet is, vei hembergo, sonst veon si tsu troko, si. tuost nur sults ame. i tuos amol proviorn. tuo i etst knofelet drin, sults, pfefo, unt etst do rais, ausvofn. ei olweis wof mai rais. des must etst kuxo. si, unt do mus jo, lonsom misn s kuxo. den mus i miksn do. Wait a minute, I have to see. The rice is added. I wrote it all down. Pepper, salt, take the same, see, and garlic salt. And afterwards you slice in an onion, when you wrap the cabbage leaves, see. Stir it, pour it over the meat, and then wrap it. I want to give you the meat that I prepared. - But I have not washed my hands.- See, oh, that there is a sausage. And that is hamburger meat. Take about half and half. Take more sausage if the hamburger meat is too fat, like hamburger; otherwise they become too dry, see. Just add salt. I will just taste it. Now I will add garlic, salt and pepper, and then the washed rice. I always wash my rice. That has to cook now. See, that has to, it has to cook slowly. I have to mix that over there.

#### Does it have to be cooked?

dos mus etst afvarmo, kin mos esn. in a boks, hintn in kælo, hot jon kuxt kot. konst mit hoomnemo, konst es seo. sulst afmoxo, ven s aigrult vern, si. - na, do nit, erjt ven sis offæln tuot, erjt ven si s moxo tuot. si, ovo ven sis nit moxo tuot glai, si kon des m friso rainetuo. si, unt i hon no des nit tuon, tsvifel do nit ainetuon, si, dos o frij is, dos des gjmoo is.

It has to be warmed up. Then we can eat it. I had it in a box in the basement. It is already cooked. You can take it home with you. You can see it. You should open up the meat when you want to wrap it in the leaves. See, but if she does not want to make them right away, she can put the meat in the freezer. -- See, and I have not made that yet. I have not added the onion, see. It has to be freshly sautéed.

#### How much meat do you use?

si, vens a sosit j əbaut so grous tupst, vos i don moxo, meorə sosit j vei hembərgo, si. a hembərgo moxts tsu truko, ven tsu fœl drin is. ei em gonj to trai it nau hiə. i tup a vol tsvifəl ainə, dos es opn guptn teist hot. des hamp nit kot in friprən jopn, des hamp nit kot. si, i jus fro fœl tsaiç des garlık solt . si, i hon a des onjon paudər, ovo i tup, tsvifəl kept si ainətup. des tupt mep fleivər moxo. si, dos jmekt mo a, si. si, i hon deŋkt, di virst du ainəjnain. du vœlst es hopmnem, du vœlst es gfripm. i vops nit, vei es hant, ven a tsvifəl gfriprt virt, ven si ro hant, si. vens des moxo tupst, aməfæln. aft konst  $\varepsilon$ s vikəln tup, si.

See, if you use about that much sausage about that. I then use more sausage than hamburger meat, see. Hamburger meat gets too dry, if you use too much. I am going to try it now here. -- I also add an onion so that it gets a good taste. We did not have that in former years. See, I use garlic salt for a lot of things. See, I also have onion powder. But I add, an onion has to be added. It adds more flavor. See, you can taste the difference, see. See, I thought you wanted to add it. You want to take it home, you want to put it in the freezer. I do not know what happens to a fresh onion, when you put it in the freezer. -- When you do that, fill it. Then you can wrap it, see.

#### c 1

ven i bin juŋ gven, hamo kui trektors nit kot, kui traks nit. hamo mitn ros hamo goorvat, fœl goorvat mit n rosnən. hot di ɛontn, ven mo voits gʃnitn ham. aft hamo misn oləs mit der govəl tuo. den voits hamos misn in ʃtok amətuo, aft ven mo fɛotik gven han mit der ɛontn.  $\theta$ rɛʃmaʃin is aft kɛmo unt hamo aft droʃn ən voits. aft hamo ən voits, sunmo gfoon tsu do grɛnii. in vinto oft ham misn fiox fuodon. olə tok ham misn a lət fuodo raməfoon fios fiox unt ros, ju nəu. hamo hoot goorvat kət. hamo koo bæθrum kət, ham misn a bæθ nemo oomol d voxə in a voʃtab. əm ofo hamos miso hitsn, s voso. unt aft in sumo hamo a fasl draus kət mit voso õgfœlt. unt aft dən də sun həts voom gməxt, des voso in fasl. hamo koo fæn nit kət, koo ɛə kəndīʃəniŋ nit kət, koon rɛidiəu nit.

When I was young we did not have tractors or trucks. We worked a lot with horses. We harvested when we cut the wheat. Then we had to do everything with the fork. After harvesting the wheat we had to put it in stocks. Later the threshing machine came, and we threshed the wheat. Then we had the wheat, we took it to the granary. In the winter we often had to feed the animals. Everyday we had to get a lot of feed for the animals and the horses, you know. We had to work hard. We did not have a bathroom. We had to take a bath in a washtub once a week. We had to heat up the water on the stove. And later in the summer we had a barrel outside that was filled with water. And then the sun heated the water. We neither had a fan nor air conditioning, and no radio either.

#### d 1

mir hamp ols gfir rausptup fon fon unt hamp glasn vufn. hamp do kindp gfoutot . aft bin i hopmgfopro, hon mi selvo õglekt. do bin i umpkemp tsu do mari. aft hon i den poli kolt. hon nit gvist, vo er risn is.

We took all the dishes out of the cupboard and washed the glasses. We fed the children. Then I drove home and got changed myself. And then I came over to Mary's. Then I got Paul. I did not know where he was.

#### e1 phone call (with a1)

okei, fedo, si vœlnt visn, op des tat tsu vakini uməfoon. aft brauxənts nit bis elis tsurik ol foon, eŋ tsun afhem. unt tsu do rosi basl hifoon unt aft don sa eŋ do umə drai. umə drai don tsu rosi basl hikemp. nojo, des kents endo hifoon. — virst hifino tsu do rosi? — si hot gsokt, si fmt den veç hi, des is ka problem nit. unt ven nit, kon sə af di rosi basl fond unt aft kents hifoon, vo des is in vakini... okei, olrait. jo, si hot gsokt umə drai. vœlst fo də meri endo ftopm, hə? meri kimt tsu do rosi basl umə aft umə drai. --- nojo, i ver se. i vons a ve, oləs foges i isiə. --- na, di hept en nit af, si hept fo af, vos i sok. rait, di guotn lait. -- nojo, i bin ets sel fo tsvo ftunt do gsitst mit ir. i hon bolt kend fid mir odn nos moxo, for i bin firti gvodn. i hon gsokt, bis i do rosi basl umakemo, si hamant gsokt, es is olrait. aft tuo i di nit vaito boðarn, olrait ðan, gut bai.

Okay uncle, they want to know whether you are driving over to WaKeeney. Then they do not have to drive back to Ellis to pick you up. And you drive to aunt Rosi's, and then you will be there at three. You come to aunt Rosi's around three. -- No, you can drive there later. -- Will you find your way to Rosi's? -- She said she will find the way, it is no problem. And if not she could call aunt Rosi. Then you can drive over to where it is in WaKeeney. Okay, alright. Yes, she said at three. -- Well, I will see. I do not know much either. I easily forget everything. -- No, she does not record him. She records what I say. -- Right, the good people. -- I myself have sat there with her for two hours. I could have almost wetted myself before I finished. I said I thought I would wet myself before I was done. -- They will come over to aunt Rosi's. They said that it is alright. Now I do not want to bother you any longer. Alright then, good bye.

#### i1 The Christ Child story

ven maine kits hant klop gven, di hamant koon vainextn nit kripkt fohep. ven ses kripkt, hamant dis vainextn af next. ont de hamants misn vootn vi me hame gesn ket. ont misnt vootn bis kriskindl keme is. ont so eine next hamants kene nit vootn bis kriskindl keme is. hamant dom gene, ham geekt, op s kriskindl fo keme is. ont de hamant ele des gfune, vos se hens so krein fon kriskindl. ont a fitkl is nit drin gven, hame foftikt ket in de karfet. ont ven me han ainekeme, han se ele kopft, val s kriskindl is fo keme gven. ont der opne hets nit glice, val sai vagl is nit drin gven, ves er het gvælt. aft hame geekt : ' vel, hame ons s kriskindl fojukt, de het ets des vagl nit brone, des virts ons ets fpete brine'. ont aft ne dem hame gesn het, ont aft is famli s kriskindl keme ont het em sai vagl brone.

When my children were little, they did not get any Christmas presents before Christmas. They would get it on Christmas Eve. And they had to wait until after dinner. And they had to wait for the Christ Child to come. And on such a night they could not wait for the Christ Child to come. They walked around and asked whether the Christ Child had already come. And then everyone found what they got as a present from the Christ Child. And one piece was missing that we had hidden in the carshed. And when we came in they all jumped for joy because the Christ Child had already brought their presents. And one of the children was not happy because the toy cart he had wished for was missing. So we said: "Well, we chased away the Christ Child. He did not bring the cart. He will probably bring it to us later." And after dinner the Christ Child finally came and brought him his toy cart.

## Wisconsin questionnaire

## Informants #

a. 1 b. 2

## House and Home

## 1

	-	-
1.	This is the kitchen.	a. des 15 kuxlə. b. dis 15 s kuxl.
	Some houses have two kitchens.	a. UI haist hamant tsvo kuxen. b. UI haist hamant tsvo kuxln.
2.	The stove is in the kitchen.	a. der ofd is in do kuxl drin. b. der ofd is in do kuxl.
	We have two stoves in our house.	<ul> <li>a. mir hamp tsve ofp in unspn haus.</li> <li>b. mir hamp tsve efp in haus.</li> </ul>
3.	Light the fire!	a. kents faiər ő! b. kent du s faio!
4.	The wood is in the stove.	a. des hults is in ofo drin. b. s hults is in ofo drin.
5.	They burned all the coal.	a. di hamant ol di kuln fobrent. b. si hamant olə kuln brent.
6.	The chimney is burning.	a. der rauxraum tunt brenn. b. der raufon tunt brenn.
7.	The oven is hot.	a. der broxphepn is hops. b. der ofphepn is hops.
8.	The window is broken.	a. s fensto is bruxp. b. s fensto is bruxp.
	Their kitchen has two windows.	a. eprə kuxlə hət tsva fenstp. b. eprə kuxl hət tsvo fenston.

1.	Shut the door!	a. mox tiprx tsup! b. mox tipr tsup!
	Both doors are open.	a. ule tsvo tiren hant ufp. b. ule tsvo trom hant ufp.
2.	The doorknob is broken.	a. s tiprx $\int s$ is bruxp. b. s tiprg $\int s$ is bruxp.
3.	The sink is in the corner.	a. də sınk ıs ın ɛk. b. sınk ıs ın ɛk drın.
4.	The faucet is leaking.	a. do bitmo rint. b. []
	There are two faucets.	a. do si hant tsvo bitmo. b. []
5.	This ceiling is high.	a. do dropm is houx. b. dp bodn is houx.
	Not all the ceilings are high.	a. ulə dropms hant nit həux. b. nit ulə badı hant həux.
6.	Where is the footstool?	a. vo is s fuosstceləl? b. vo is der fuosstceləl?
7.	This is my chair.	a. dis 15 mai sesəl. b. dis 15 mai sesəl.
	There are five chairs in the kitchen.	<ul> <li>a. do hant finf sesal in der epr</li> <li>kuxla.</li> <li>b. si hant finf sesaln in dp koxl.</li> </ul>
8.	They are sitting in the living room.	a. di state init sessen in de Rozi a. di sta vlə drin do in der ekstrən stum. a. si sitsənt in do sitsstum drin. / bestə stum
		<u>3</u>
1.	We have one real little room.	a. mır hamo op rext klopnə ∫tum. b. mır hamo a reçtə klopnə ∫tum.

a. UI haisp hamant tsvo klopnə ∫timən.

Some houses have even

two such little rooms.

- 2. The pantry is small.
- 3. The dishes are in the cupboard.
- 4. The kitchen is on the first floor.

The bedrooms are on the second floor.

- 5. He's up in the attic.
- 6. He goes upstairs.
- 7. The stairs are not very wide.

- b. vi harso hamant tsvo kloone ftimo.
- a. di [pare is klop.
- b. di pentri is klop.
- a. s g[ir is in [ronk drin.
- b. s g[ir is in ]on drin.
- a. di kuxle is in ersten stok.
- b. koxl is im erstən floo erstən ∫tok.
- a. di fp[luf[tum hant in tsvaiton ftok.
- b. betftimen hant im tsvaitn stok.
- a. Er is om tsvi n dox unt den bodn.

1

- b. [
- a. er get on bodn afr.
- b. er get om bodn afr.
- a. di trepen hant nit bropt.
- b. [tigəln hant reçt vait.
- <u>4</u>
- a. a [luf tum is grobs. 1. This bedroom is large. b. di bet stor is grous. a. di [luf]timen hant on bodn om. The bedrooms are upstairs. b. di betstimon hant tsvartn stok. a. des bet is vopx. 2. This bed is soft. b. des bet is vopx. There are two beds in a. do hants tsvop betn in der epr this room. ſtum. b. si hant tsvop beto in dero ftum. a. s laituox is rai 3. The bedsheets are clean. b. laidioxo hant rai. Take off the dirty bedsheet.
  - a. tuos des drekiça laituox ovo.
  - b. tuo ovo di drekiçən laidipxo.

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4.	The quilt is warm.	a. di dekn 15 voom. b. di dekn 15 voom.
	Tonight we need a couple	a. hait noxt braux mp tsvo dekno.
	of quilts.	b. hait mismo tsvo dekn ham.
5.	He sleeps without a pillow.	a. er fluft mitaus poistel. b. er fluft one pœlstel.
	This pillowslip is dirty.	a. des poistoltsing is dreki. b. des pœlstol is dreki.
	Bring me those clean	a. brin di poisteltsinçen.
	pillowslips.	b. brij mo ramə pœlstotsioçəln.
6.	He's lying in bed again.	a. er likt ım bet vido. b. er likt ım bet vido.
	Yesterday he was lying	a. geston hot o den gontsn tok glen.
		b. geston is er im bet liŋ ən gontsn tok.
7.	The dresser is in the	a. der spioxosronk is in der
	bedroom.	ſlʊfʃum.
		b. der ∫piovəl∫əŋ ıs dını ın dı bet∫tum.
	She has a couple of dressers.	a. si hot tsve ʃpiɒxɒʃrɔnk. b. si hot tsve ʃpiɒvəlʃɔŋ.
8.	cradle	a. a viox
		b. viomo
		<u>5</u>
1.	That's an old stone house.	a. dis 15 ən oult ∫tophaus.
		b. dis 15 ən ults stophaus.
2.	He built a brick house.	a. er hot des tsiçelhaus baut.
		b. er hot a tsioglhaus baut.
3.	He built two frame houses.	a. er hot tsva heltsone harso baut.
		b. er hot tsve ∫tik haiso baut.
4.	log-cabin	a. a haus mit bomglits
		b. [ ]
5.	The new house is larger	a. tsva naiə haisd. des grouse is
	than the old one.	ctlu.

- 6. They're living in the doctor's house.It's the house which I sold to him.
- 7. This is our house.

That is your house.

And that is their house.

- b. des nais haus is grest vi des ults.
- a. si vond in den dukto sai haus.
- b. si vonent in dukto saihaus.
- a. des haus hon der on mi fokaft.
- b. dis 1s des haus, vos er on i hon fokaft..
- a. dis 15 unso haus.
- b. dis 1s unso haus.
- a. dis 15 dat haus.
- b. dis 15 dat haus.
- a. Unt dis is end haus.
- b. unt dis 15 core haus.

### <u>6</u>

1. Where does he live? a. vo vount p?

Where did he live last year?

- 2. How would it be if we went now?
- 3. I was there yesterday.
- 4. You were there too?
- 5. Let's go home!
- 6. He's mowing the lawn.
- 7. He walked between the houses.

- b. vo tubt er vound?
  a. vo hot p frip den gvount?
  b. vo hot er gvount letst jop?
  a. vi var des ven mp ets gen tan?
  b. vi vars, ven etst tast ge?
  a. i bin geston do dogven.
  b. i bin dogven geston.
  a. du bist a do dogven.
- b. du bist a do dogven.
- a. do gemp ets hopm!
- b. foomp hoom!
- a.  $\varepsilon r \int nait s$  grops inp hof.
- b. er mat s gros.
- a. er get tsvijen harson.
- b. er is gonp tsvi∫ən haiso.

## Dishes and Utensils

<u>7</u>

1.	The frying pan is on the stove.	a. di flaıſram/di brotnraın, nçtıç, ıts a brotn, treapfln, ɔıɒ.
		b. pan, vail flaif rain komt, konst flaif brotn, flaifrain is om ofo.
	We have two irons.	a. mir hamo tsvo gusənə raino.
		b. mir hamo tsvo aisərən raino.
2.	The handle is hot.	a. do heykl is hoos. b. do heykl is hoos.
	The handles aren't long enough.	a. də heykl hant nit loy vop. b. di heykln hant nit loy gnup.
3.	Who put the pan on the table?	a. ver hot di ram om tij hingstoelt?
		b. ver hot di ram om tij afitu?
4.	That's the cooking kettle.	a. dis 15 do kisl tsum kuxo. b. dis 15 do kuxkisl.
	She hates to wash the kettles.	a. si host den kisl tson voſn. b. si host kistəln voſn.
5.	Bring me the other breadpans!	a. brin mo di ondon broutraino! b. teik mol do ondon broutraino!
	Where is the knife?	a. vo is meso? b. vo is des meso?
6.	That cup is cracked.	a. des hefəl ıs ∫preŋkt. mır soŋ jo hefəl.
		b. des hefəl is broxp.
	Use the other cups.	a. []] b. jus di ondon hefələ.
7.	These are nice glasses.	a. dɛs san ∫enə glasl. b. dɛs san ∫enə glasl.
	Bring me that other glass.	a. brin mir di ondon glasl. b. brin mo des ondo glasl.
8.	We have some real small glasses.	a. mir hamp reçt klopnə glasl. b. mir hamp reçt klopnə glasl.

1. She's drying the dishes.

She dropped the dishrag.

2. The water bucket is empty.

Bring two buckets right away!

- He's carrying a bucket of water.He carried the swill bucket away.
- 4. The swill bucket is outside.

Where is the sprinkling- can?

5. Here's the basket.

Haven't you got some other baskets?

- 6. She's wringing the clothes.
- 7. The wash is on the line, it's drying nicely.

She is ironing the clothes.

- 8. The barrel is full.
- a. fi trikət s gfir rai. b. si tupt s gfir odriko. a. Ji hot a gjurfetsn orfoln losn. b. s gfirfetsn is oigfoln. a. der vuspkope is larx. b. der vusokope is lar., fir trinkvuso in haus. a. brin tsve kopon ets glar! b. brin mo tsve kopon glai! a. er trokt a kopo vusp. b. er trokt den kopo vuso. a. er hot des drekiço vuso ausptron/vektron. er hot en drektçen kope vektron. a. der drekiçə kopə is draust. b. der drekiçə kopə is draust. a. vo is do guskandl? b. vo is di spritskandl? a. vo is der tseko fir di ve j unt tsvn kafo. b. vo is der tsegt fir de ve j unt fir grospri kafo. a. host du nit ulte tsekon? b. host kui ondon nit tsegon? a. si vrint de ve aus. b. si vint d∋ vɛ∫ ausp. a. di ves is af do lain draus tson trekən. b. di ves is af do lam, tuot se trekon. a. si tuot də vef bigəln. b. si tuot ve∫ bigəln. a. des fasl is ful. b. s fasl is ful.

He bought a keg of beer.

a. er hot a fasl bior kaft.b. er hot a fasl bior kaft.

## Farm and Buildings

# 2

1.	This farm is sold.	a. di fam 15 fokoft. b. di fam 15 fokoft.
	He sold both farms.	a. er hot tsvo fams fokaft. b. er hot ul <del>o</del> tsvo fams fokaft.
2.	Our farm has 80 acres.	a. unso fam hot oxtsik oko. b. unso fam hot oxtsik oko.
	Your farm is larger than theirs.	a. dai fam is greso vi dero. b. sai fam is greso.
3.	They don't live on their farm.	a. si vond nit of do fam. b. si vonent nit of do fam.
	We have a renter on our farm.	<ul> <li>a. mir hamp a rento of unseno fam.</li> <li>b. mir hamp en rento of unseno fam.</li> </ul>
	Our son runs our farm.	a. UNSD bud rant UNSD fam. b. UNSD bud rant fam.
4.	That fence is new. (barbed wire) All the fences are new.	<ul> <li>a. di fens is nai (firn fens drot)</li> <li>b. der fens is nai. (fens drot)</li> <li>a. vlə fensn hant nai.</li> </ul>
		b. vlə fensn hant naı.
5.	If I were a farmer I'd have a tractor.	ai ven a formo vor, i het ən trektə. b. ven i a formo vor, i het ən
6.	Some people work in town and some farm.	trektə. a. ul laıt opvatn ın der stot unt ul famət. b. ul laıt opvatənt ın der stot unt of der fam ul.
7.	We go to work.	a. mir genmp in der opvat. b. mir genmp ets to opvat.

8.	He works on the railroad.	a. er opvat of do relerot.
		b. er opvat af do relerot.

We walked over to that red barn.

The barn floor is empty.

One hay-mow is still empty.

Two mows are already full.

The cows are in the barnyard.

He cleaned the stable.

#### <u>10</u>

1.	They built that barn last year.	a.	si	hamant	do	a	∫to1	bavt	ferdn.
					-		n		<b>.</b>

- b. si hamant den stol baut letst jop.
  - a. er is umpgann tsu den roudn ftol.
  - b. mir hamp umogogo tsu den roptn ∫tol.
  - a. der trept is larx.
  - b. der ∫tolbodn is lar.
  - a. do stolbodn is a no larx.
  - b. op haistol is lar.
  - a. tu stolbodn hant so ful.
  - b. tsvo haiftoln hant ful.
  - a. er hot den stol ausgmist.
  - b. er hot den stol ausputst.
  - a. di kip hant in do korel.
  - b. kip hant m korel.

## <u>11</u>

- The granary is full.
   a. di grenori is ful.
   b. di grnori is ful.
   b. di grnori is ful.
   a. mir hamp tsvo grenoron, a ulto unt a nai.
  - b. mir hamp tsvo grenəri, op ulto unt op naip.
  - a. a ∫vai∫tol
  - b. do ∫vai∫tol
  - a. henp∫tol.
  - b. heno∫tol
- 2. What do you call the building where the pigs are kept?

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

3. What do you call the buildings for chickens?

4.	This well is very deep.	a. do brono is reçt toif. b. do bron is reçt toif.
5.	My garden is small.	a. der godxtn is klod. b. mai godtn is klod.
	We don't have two gardens.	a. mir hamp ku tsve godxtn. b. mir hamp kui tsve godtn.
6.	He's working in the garden.	a. Er odvat m godxtn. b. Er odvat in godtn.
7.	What is the privy called?	a. ən optrit. b. der optrit.

## Crops and Implements

# <u>12</u>

1.	The rye is cut.	a. der ron is gjnitn. b. der ron is gjnitn.
2.	The barley is ripe.	a. di gerstin is tsaiti. b. gerstin is raif.
3.	We will cut the oats soon.	a. der hovd verme bult fnai. b. vir verme on hon fnai bult.
4.	He left one bundle lying.	a. Er hot a bigl lig losn. b. Er hot en bigl lig lousn.
	These bundles are too big.	a. di biŋlə hant tsu grous. b. di biŋln hant tsu grous.
5.	You take that shock.	a. du nım den ∫ok. b. du nım daın ∫ok.
	There are a lot of shocks on that field.	<ul><li>a. do hant fœlə joks m den fœlt.</li><li>b. si hant fœl joks in fœlt.</li></ul>
6.	We'll begin threshing tomorrow.	a. moon vermo s dre∫n ôfono. b. vir vermo moon dre∫n.
	He has already threshed.	a. er tuot ∫o dre∫n. b. er hot ∫on dro∫n.
7.	We had a good harvest.	a. mir hamp a guptə cont kət. b. mir hamp a guptə contn kət.

#### а

1.	The plow is broken.	a. der pfluox is hi. b. der pfluo is broxo.
	They have two new plows.	a. di hamant tsve natə pflipx. b. si hamant tsve pflip.
2.	He plowed all day.	a. si hamant den gontsn tok gokot.
		b. er hot on gontsn tok gokot.
	They are plowing the sod.	a. di hamant di crə ofgokot. b. si tuont tsot ofbrexo.
3.	He tried to plow but	a. si hamant voln okon, ovo es is
	it was too dry.	tsu troko gven.
		b. er hot a væln okon, ovo is tsu troko.
4.	He's using the drag.	a. ∈ts just o ən ∫trafo.
		b. er just den kreto.
	They're using two drags,	a. di jusn tsve strafo, ovo opno is
	but one is mine.	do maio.
		b. si hant tsve kreton, oono 1s do mar.
5.	We sow wheat in the fall.	a. di baunt den vorts in hiprkst.
		b. mir tanmo voits in hiorkst
		baun.
6.	We plant corn in the spring.	<ul> <li>a. di baunt den kukuruts m fribjon.</li> </ul>
		b. mir tamp kukuruts in fripjop
		baun.
7.	He's cultivating the corn.	a. er kultəveitit den kukuruts.
	-	b. er tupt en kokorots koleveton.
	-	14

1.	He's mowing the marsh.	a.	er mat (	di s	compfn.
		b.	[		]

I mowed it last year.

- 2. He walked through the marsh.
- 3. I must buy a new rake.
- 4. The first crop of hay was very good.

The second crop is almost fit to cut.

- 5. He said they need the hay themselves.
- 6. He has an old wagon.

We should have two wagons.

7. He will loan the wagon to you.

He often loaned me the wagon.

8. He said he didn't need it

- a. i hons ferdn gmot.
- b. i hon letst jop gmat.
- a. er get durx di sumpfn.
- b. er is durx gond.
- a. i mus a naid reço kofo.
- b. i mus a nam reço kofo.
- a. der erste krop har is reçt gubt gven.
- b. der erste krop hat is gubt gven.
- a. do tsvaite krop is bult tsun [naio.
- b. do tsvaitė krop is a guot tson fnai.
- a. si soŋt, si brauxənt des har sœlvo.
- b. er brauxts hat olop hom.
- a. Er hot en ulten von.
- b. er hot en ulten von.
- a. mir sultmo tsve von ham.
- b. mr sultmo tsve von ham.
- a. mir laiçtmo dir den von.
- b. er virt ons en von lain.
- a. er hot mi eon so oft glin.
- b. er hot mi oft on von glin.
- a. er sokt, er brauxtn ets nit.
- b. er hot gsokt, er brauxtn otts nit ham glai.
- <u>15</u>

1.	That was a good buggy.	a. des is a gubto bogi gven.
		b. s is a gupto bogi gven.
	Nobody uses buggies nowadays.	a. ets jusn nmp, kai bogis mep. b. si tupnt bogis nimp brauxp.
2.	Here's the whip.	a. d⊃ 1s di part∫n. b. d⊃ 1s di part∫n.
		o, we to we possible.

3. Light the lantern!

I still have a couple of old lanterns.

- 4. I could use a nail to hang it up.
- 5. Here is a short nail.

I must buy some short nails.

- 6. A new broom sweeps clean.
- 7. You should sweep the floor every morning. The floor ought to be swept today.
- 8. We'll scrub today.

- a. kent lutern ö.
- b. kent lutern ő.
- a. i hon no tsvo luntemon.
- b. i hon no tsvo lotemo.
- a. i kant den nogl jusn tson ofheno.
- b. i mus a nogl hom tsun ofheno.
- a. do is a kortsp nogl.
- b. do is a kurtso nogl.
- a. i mus kurtse negl kafo.
- b. i mus kurtse negln kafo.
- a. a naro besn kept je.
- b. a nai besn tuot rai auskeon.
- a. du sulst ule frie rauskeen.
- b. du sulst trept afkeon ule frip.
- a. der fuosbodn sol hart auskept vern.
- b. trept sol hait auskept vern.
- a. mir vojmo raf hait.
- b. hait vermo afvoſn.

#### <u>16</u>

The shovel is broken.
 a. di faufl Is hI.
 b. faufle Is broxp.
 He broke the shovels.
 a. er hot di faufle broxp.
 b. er hot faufln broxp.
 can't find the needle.
 a. i fint di nodl mt.

I couldn't find it anywhere.

3. Aha! We found that needle.

We found it on the floor.

4. I have a pin.

- b. i fint kod nodl.
- a. i kons nirgonts fmp.
- b. i fints nirgənts nit.
- a. mir hamps gfund, di nodl.
- b. ha, ha, i hont nodl gfuno.
- a. mir hamos of do treox gfuno.
- b. i hons gfund af der trept.
- a. i hon ən pın.
- b. i hon a ∫peodn.

	Where are the knitting needles?	a. vo hant di ∫trīknodln? b. vo hant den tīklīnnodln?
5.	Take this match!	a. nım dɛs mæt∫! b. nım dɛs tsınthœltsl!
	Give me that box of matches!	<ul> <li>a. grp mb di boks mætʃəs/</li> <li>tsmthœltsl !</li> <li>b. grp mb di boks tsmthœltsln!</li> </ul>
6.	He's smoking a pipe.	a. Er rauxt pfaifə. b. Er rauxt də pfaifə.
	He has three pipes.	<ul><li>a. er hot drai pfaifn.</li><li>b. er hot drai pfaifn.</li></ul>
7.	He's smoking his and I am smoking mine.	<ul> <li>a. er rauxt di sai, unt i raux di mai.</li> <li>b. er rauxt di sai, unt i raux di mai.</li> </ul>
8.	This is strong tobacco.	a. do tovak is stook. b. dis is a stooke tovak.
	That's chewing tobacco.	a. des is tju. (kavtovak) b. tju
	(to chew gum)	a. bıç gnaʊ∫n.

## Animals and Fowl

# <u>17</u>

1.	One leg of this dog is black.	<ul> <li>a. op hakse fo den hunt is fvopts.</li> <li>b. op haksn fo den hunt is fvopts.</li> </ul>
	I use these dogs for hunting.	a. i jus di hunt tsun joxn. b. i hon di hunt fır juxtn.
2.	The dog barks.	a. der hunt balt. b. der hunt balt.
3.	Lie down!	a. lek dı nidp! b. lek dı nıdp!
4.	He lets the dog loose.	a. er lest den hunt lous. b. er loust den hunt lous.

The dog was let loosea. der hunt is letste noxt louslast night.gven.

That cat caught a mouse.

We have four cats.

6. That's a big tomcat.

5.

These little kittens are pretty.

7. The cattle are in the pasture.

She's a good cow.

8. She's got a big udder.

We have ten cows.

The calf is sucking: we sold three calves today.

- b. der hunt is lous losn voon gestons noxt. a. di kotso hot a maus gfont. b. di kots hot a maus gfont. a. mir hamp fipr kotsn. b. i hon fipr kotsn. a. des is a grouse kote. b. dis is a grousd kotd. a. di kloon katsl hant [e. b. di kloon katsələ hant fe. a. s gfidx is in pesta. b. s fipx is in pesta. a. dis 1s a guoto kuo. b. dis Is a gupte kup. a. si hot a grous auto. b. si hot a grous auto. a. mir hamp tsep kip. b. i hon tsep kip. a. des kalvəl sauxt; mir hamp drai kalvon fokoft hait. b. s kalvəl saukt; mir hamp drai kalvəln fokaft hart. 18 a. dis hulvəl virt bult a kalvəl kripn; di ondon kulmp hant
  - draust. b. di kuln virt vol ausjitn; di kuln is draust.
  - a. der kipstir is in stol.
  - b. der bul is m stol drin.
  - a. mir hamp tsve kipstir, opn junan unt opn ultn.

1. This heifer will soon calve: the heifers are outside.

The bull is in the stable.

We have two bulls, a young one and an old one.

		b. mir hamp tsve buls, opn jugp unt opn ultn.
2.	Oxen aren't used anymore.	a. uksn hant nit mer gjust. b. d uksn hant nimp gjust.
	Gee, he's a big ox!	a. dis 1s a grousd uks! b. je1, des 1s a grousd uks!
3.	How do you call the cows from the pasture?	b. kip fon pesta.
4.	That horse is mine.	a. des ros is mai. b. des ros is mai.
5.	The old mare is in the pasture.	a. di ult∋ ∫tuntn 1s m pesta. b. di ult∋ mar 1s m pesta.
6.	He's a big stallion.	a. dis 1s a grouse henst. b. er 1s a henst.
7.	That's a pretty little colt.	a. dis 1s a tsiml1ç kloons fœln. b. des 1s a ∫es klops fœln.
8.	He has a team of geldings.	a. er hot a pop valaxon. er hot tsvop jupp ros.

He just bought another gelding.

# a. er hot on ondon valax kaft.

b. er hot epm on ondos ros kaft.

#### <u>19</u>

1. I have a white horse.

I went to town with that horse.

- 2. What do you say to make horses go and stop?
- 3. This old sow has five little pigs.

He always keeps five old sows.

- a. i hon a vaiso ros.
- b. i hon a vaise ros.
- a. i bin in di stot gfoon mit den vaiso ros.
- b. i bin in di stot mit den vaiso ros gfoon.
- a. /gedinp ho/
- b. /gedinp ho/
- a. di ulta tsuxt hot finf [vailo.
- b. di tsuxt hot finf klopno jvalb bekomp.
- a. er hot imp finf ulte tsuxn.
- b. [ ]

4.	That boar is mean.	a.	der bernd is fol∫.
		b.	der bernd is slim.

special term for cut pig.

5. The little pigs are still suckling.

One little pig is sick.

He always has a lot of pigs.

He sold one pig.

- 6. How do you call the pigs at feeding time?
- 7. We have both, white and black sheep.

One white sheep died.

We have no goats.

8. That's a pretty little lamb; she had two little lambs.

He is a mean old buck; what do you want with two bucks?

- a. [ ] b. ausgintno
- a. di klopn svaile tsone no ime.

b. [ ]

- a. op klop [vail is kron.
- b. op klops svamikl is krog.
- a. er hot imp foel svail.
- b. er hot ovəl fœl ∫vai
- a. er hot opno fokaft.
- b. er hot op svar fokaft.
- a. svl, svl.
- b. dos cor aro fresn freso tuot.
- a. mir hamp varse unt fvortse  $\int of$ .
- b. mir hamb vaisə unt fvontsə fof.
- a. op vais∋ ∫of is hi voon.
- b. op vais∋ ∫of is hi.
- a. mir hamo kui gais.
- b. mir hamo kui gois.
- a. dis 1s a fes lampl; si hot tsvoo kloone lampln kot.
- b. dis 1s a fes lampl; si hot tsvoo kot, kloone lampln.
- a. er is a groube bok; vos vælst du mit tsve bek?
- b. er is a ulte bok; vos vœlst du mit tsve bek?
- <u>20</u>
- 1. We give our chickens corn.
- a. mir gepmo onsərə heno kokorots.

You give your chickens oats.

They give their chickens barley.

2. The hens lay better in the spring than in the fall.

The chickens are cackling.

3. We saw a rat among the little chicks; one little chick is sick.

The cluck has left the nest.

4. The rooster is crowing.

This year we have five roosters.

- 5. How do you call the chicks and chickens at feeding time?
- 6. We have no geese.

I bought a goose.

The old gander is mean. We have some young geese.

7. The ducks are butchered. We kept one drake.

- b. mir gemb onsone hend kokorots.
- a. du gipst dame heno hovon.
- b. du gipst daine hend hogon.
- a. di gemt dereno heno ger[n.
- b. si tuont derno heno ger∫tn gem.
- a. di hend lent best in fridjod vi in hiorkst.
- b. di heno legt beso in frijoo onstot in hiorkst.
- a. di henv kakln.
- b. di heno tuon gogotsn.
- a. mir hamo ən rats gsen hinto di klopn heŋkln; op klops heŋkl is kroŋ.
- b. mir hamo ən rats gsen hinto di kloon henolən; op henl is kroŋ.
- a. di gluka is fo nest organo.
- b. di gluk is ovon fon iron nest.
- a. der hone krot.
- b. der hone tuot kran.
- a. how hamp finf hono.
- b. dis job hamp finf hono.
- b. /pip/
- a. mir hamp kui gens. i hon a gons koft.
- b. mir hamo kui gens. i hon a gons koft.
- a. der ulte gensere is fuerj. mir hame jupe gens.
- b. der gonsero is flim. mir hamo june gens.
- a. di antn hant g[loxt. mr hamp oon antero rvokoltn.
- b. di antn 1s gjloxt voon. mir hamp opn anterp koltn.

- 8. This drake has one white feather in the tail.
- a. der antern hot on varse fedn m fvonf.
- b. der antero hot op varse fedon in fvoof.

# Vegetables and Fruits

## <u>21</u>

1.	The beans are good this year.	a hant hord gudt gven. b. di fisoln hant gudt dis jod.
	That's a large bean.	a. dis 1s a grouse fisoln. b. dis 1s a grouse fisoln.
2.	I like peas.	a. i glaiç odvas. b. i glaiç odvas.
	I wish we had horseradish.	a. i volt, mir hetmp ən kre. b. i volt, mir hetmp ən kre.
3.	I don't like cabbage.	a. i glaıç ko kravt. b. i glaıç s kravt nıt.
	Give me a head of cabbage!	a. gip mo a krauthaipl. b. gip mo a haipl kraut.
	What do you call the sour	a. savrəs kravt
	fermented kind?	b. sauonə mil.
4.	This is strong garlic.	a. der knoflət is ftook. b. dis is a ftooko knoflət.
	We have cucumbers in	a. mir hamp umurkn in unspn
	our garden.	goptn.
		b. mir hamd umorkn in godin.
5.	Buy a bunch of onions!	a. kof a bıŋl tsvifəl!
		b. kof a bon tsvifel!
	We have beets in the garden.	a. mir hamo routo ruom in unson gootn.
		b. mir hamp route rupm in goptn.
6.	That's a big carrot.	a. dis 1s a grouse goelbe ruom. b. dis 1s a grouse goelbe ruom.
	The carrots are good	a. di goelbə ruom hant guot horo.

The	potatoes	should	be hille	d.

Give me a good big potato!

He planted a row of potatoes.

There aren't many big potatoes this year.

this year.

7.

8.

- b. di gœlm ruom hant guot dis joo.
- a. Er hot a rai treapfl baut.
- b. er hot baut a rai treapfl.
- a. di treapfl suln afkatflt vern.
- b. treapfəln hant afkarflt.
- a. gip mp an guotn grousn treapfl!
- b. gim mp on grousn treapfl!
- a. hon nit guoto treapfl horo.
- b. si hant nit fœl grouse treapfl jop.

## <u>22</u>

1. We don't raise head lettuce.

I like lettuce; it tastes good.

- 2. This tree has red apples.
- 3. He picked a red apple.
- 4. These trees have sweet plums.
- 5. Buy raisins today.
- 6. Pick only the ripe strawberries!

He ate a ripe strawberry.

7. We also have raspberries.

- a. mir resmo komo haipi solot.
  b. mir tuomo kom kopfsolot baon.
  a. i glaiç solot; er fmekt guot.
  b. i glaiç solot; er is guot.
- a. dis 1s a route epflbaum.
- b. der baum hot route epfl.
- a. er hot on routn epfl oklaupt.
- b. er hot oklaupt on routn epfl.
- a. di bam hamant sibsə tsvə mo.
- b. di baımə hant sipsə pflaumə.
- a. kof haits resins.
- b. kof resins hart.
- a. klaup blous di tsartiçn [troberis o!
- b. tuo blous di raffn stroberis [...]
- a. er hot a tsatuço stroberi gesn.
- b. er hot a raifo stroberi gesn.
- a. mir hamp a ondone birlo.
- b. mir hamp a resberis.

### Meals and Meats

#### <u>23</u>

- 1. We milk before breakfast.
- 2. What did you eat this morning?What do you two usually eat for breakfast?
- 3. We had company at the midday meal.
- 4. Come over for the evening meal!
- 5. Have you any word for a light lunch between meals?
- 6. We'll eat the left-overs this evening for supper.
- 7. I helped myself to meat.
- 8. This is good beef.

I like pork too.

But I don't like mutton or veal.

- a. mir tsaitmo befor mos friostik esn.
- b. mir tuomo tsaidln foon frioſtik.
- a. vos host du gesn hait frio?
- b. vos host gesn hait frio?
- a. vos tupst du gəvenlıç esn fon den do frip?
- b. vos tuost du gəvenlı esn fir moon[ttk?
- a. mir hamp haisalait kot firn mitokesn.
- b. mir hamo haisolait kot geston nomitok. heslait
- a. kem umə fir hait af nəxt tsun esn!
- b. kem ume fir noxtmol esn!
- a. tsvisn der moltsait a bisl esn.
- b. host du ən laıçtn lun tsvıjn esn.
- a. mir esmo hait af noxt vos ivoblim is.
- b. mir vermo, vos ivoblim is, fir noxtmol.
- a. mir hamo selvo kulfo tsun flaij.
- b. i hon mo kulfo in flaif.
- a. dis is guot rintflai.
- b. dis is a gubts rintflais.
- a. i glaıç ∫vaınəsflaı∫ ɑ.
- b. i glaıç ∫vaılaı∫ ɑ.
- a. ovo i glaıç fofflaıf nıt, vəs gla i nıt, kalvəlflaıf nıt.
- b. ovo i glaıç kop ſofflaıſ, ovo karvəlsflaıſ nıt.

1. We make our own sausage. a. mir moxmo unsənən aigənə virſt. b. mir moxmo unso aigənə vir[t. a. Unsere rauxin virst hant haid Our smoked sausage is good guot. this year. b. Unsere rauxtn virft hant guot dis jop. a. mir moxmo imo levovir[t. 2. We always make liver sausage. b. mir tuomo ovəl levovir (t moxp. a. unt ax presmon. Also blood sausage. b. ont bluotvir[t. 3. a. hats ax an andon vir [t? Do you have any other kind kind of sausage? b. host du ondene vir[t? 4. We got ten gallons of lard. a. mir hamp tsep galon fetn kripkt. b. mir hamp tsep galon fetn. a. kramln 5. What do you call the little solid b. kremələ. bits left after the lard is rendered? a. di dorm hant no vopx - vopm. 6. The intestines are still warm. b. di darm hant no voom. 7. Do you have one word for liver, a. levo, lupp, hepts lungs and heart together? b. levo, lupp, hepts mitophondo

### Foods and Drink

### <u>25</u>

1.	I break the eggs into the pan.	a. mir hant эго aingʃloŋ in do rain.
		b. i hon do oid broxd in do rain.
	She broke an egg.	a. si hot ən op broxp. b. si hot op op broxp.
	The yolk is still soft.	a. der dotr is no vodx. b. s gælbe is no vodx.
2.	They could stand some salt and pepper.	a. di kantn no sults unt pfefo jusn.

3. This is sweet cream.

Butter is made out of sweet cream.

- 4. This butter is good.
- 5. I like cottage cheese.
- 6. What do you call the milk from which cottage cheese is made?
- 7. She baked bread yesterday.
- 8. The fire was too hot; the bread is burnt black at the bottom.

- b. si kenən sults unt pfefu brauxu.
- a. dis 1s sidsə ∫metn.
- b. dis 1s a sidsə ∫metn.
- a. buter is gmoxt fon do siosn fmetn.
- b. buter is gmoxt fon siden siden.
- a. do boter is guot.
- b. do buter is guot.
- a. i glaıç ən kuxn kus.
- b. i glaıç ən kas.
- a. ∫otn
- b. sauone mil.
- a. mir han geston brout bako.
- b. si hot brout bake gesten.
- a. s faier is no hops. des brout is fvonts brent into se.
- b. s faier is hops. des brout is fvonts brent into ste.

#### <u>26</u>

1. He eats only wheatbread.

Buy a ryebread today.

- 2. The yeast is spoiled.
- 3. She is baking cookies.
- 4. Why don't you bake a cake.
- 5. She made doughnuts °raised or baking powder?)

I ate a fresh doughnut.

- a. er ist ∫et voitsnbrout.
  b. er ist ∫ets voitsnbrout.
  a. er kaft a rogbrout.
  b. kaf rogbrout hait!
  a. der jist is fodoom.
  b. der ist is fodoom.
  a. si bokt baigen.
  b. si bokt baigeln.
  a. vern tupst net den keik boko?
  b. ve tupst du koon keik boko?
  a. si hot ∫multsngln gmoxt, fon
- bokpulvo.
- b. si hot dounats bokp.
- a. i hon a fris smultsrigt gesn.
- b. i hon a frif doundt gesn.

		b. gim mo a juki pai!
	I could eat two pieces of pie.	a. i kon tsva ∫tikln ɛsn. b. i kon tsva ∫tikln pai ɛsn.
7.	That's a mighty small piece of pie.	a. dis 1s ən reçtə klop ∫tıkl paı. b. dıs 1s a reçtə klop ∫tıkl paı.
	Two such small pieces aren't enough for me.	a. tsva so klopnə ∫tıkin hant tsva fə mi. b. tsva so klopnə ∫tıkələ paı hant nıt gnup fip mı.
8.	I wish you would make dumplings.	a. i hof, du dost do nedl moxo. i volt, du dost nedl
		<u>27</u>
1.	Don't let the breadcrumbs fall on the floor!	<ul> <li>a. lo də broutbresin nit əinfəln!</li> <li>b. tup di broutkramələ - bresəln nit əifəln drauşn af trept!</li> </ul>

I like the crust.

Give me a piece of pie!

2. This is the best honey I ever had.

3. I am thirsty.

6.

- Give me a drink of water! 4.
- 5. Names of alcoholic drinks.
- 6. Don't drink too much!

He always drinks too much.

7. He got drunk.

- a. gip mir a ſtikl pai!
- mn o [trk] nor!
- 'nβ

- nit offold draush of trept!
- a. i glaıç də rındn.
- b. i glaıç di septsl.
- a. dis 1s s besto hek, vos i mol kot hon.
- b. dis 15 der beste hek, vos i omol kot hon.
- a. i bin duor[ti.
- b. i bin duorsti.
- a. gip mir a vuso tsun trino!
- b. gim mo a glasl voso!
- a. [nops, bipr, vaï
- b. [ ]
- a. trink nit tsu foel!
- b. trin nit tsu foel!
- a. er trinkt imp tsu fœl.
- b. er trinkt oval tsu foel.
- a. Er is bsofo gven.
- b. er is bsofp vopn.

8. He's a real old drunk.
---------------------------

a. er is a riçtigo bsufənd. b. er is a reçto bsufənd.

## Trees and Flowers

## <u>28</u>

1.	This appletree is ours.	a. der epflbam is der unsp. b. der epflbaum is der unsp.
	These appletrees are ours.	a. di epflbarme hant di unson.
_		b. di epflbarmə hant di unson.
2.	The orchard is behind the house.	a. der opstgootn is hinton haus.
		b. opstbaum is hinton haus.
3.	This oak is old.	a. dis ok 1s ult.
		b. [ ]
	These oaks are high.	a. di ouks hant houx.
		b. [ ]
4.	The acorns are falling.	
	The buds are getting big.	a. di triv vernt grous.
		b. [ _ ]
5.	He climbed up higher	a. er is hexp ont hexp raufokralt.
	and higher.	b. Er is afgstin hed ont hed.
6.	The leaves are falling off.	a. di blodo foln do.
		b. <b>di bladln fʊln do.</b>
	In the fall the dry leaves	a. In hiprxst di trukn blodp blost
	fly through the air.	der vint dorx de loft.
		b. In hiorkst di trukn bladln
		flunt unodum.
7.	That tree has long branches.	a. der baum hot lonpn est.
		b. [ ]
	Cut off this dry branch!	a. Inai den drukn ust do!
	Cut on the ury branch.	b. [ ]
	The bark is rotting	a. di mndn is faulə.
	The bark is rotting.	b. [ ]
		о. L

a. [traisl [mekn [e. 1. Roses smell nice. b. di blumo smeko se. a. dis 1s a larlar bu $\int - \int tok$ . 2. That's a lilac bush. b. [ ] 3. We have some asters. a. di foor 15 se. That color is pretty. b. di foor is fe. a. i glaıç, ven mon niom fogesn 4. I like forget-me-nots. tuot. b. [ ] a. i hon õglont nedls. I touched some nettles. b. [ 1 5. There are elderberries a. In do vult hant birlo. b. [ in the woods. a. er snart disl. He is cutting thistles. b. er tupt disln snar.

### Small Life

#### <u>30</u>

1.	The squirrel is in the tree.	a. des oiçkatslə is im baum om. b. des oiçkatsl is drin in baum.
	He shot three squirrels.	a. er hot draı oıçkatsln g∫osn. b. er hot draı oıçkatsl g∫osn.
2.	A mouse ran across the floor.	a. a maus 15 ivon fuosbodn grent. b. a maus 15 ivo ∫tum grent.
	If we had a cat the mice wouldn't be so sad.	<ul> <li>a. ven mo a kots hent, don di mois nit so flim sa.</li> <li>b. venmo mir a kots hent, vant mais nit so flim.</li> </ul>
3.	A rat killed one of the chicks.	<ul> <li>a. a rat hot vus fon di hendln do kolt.</li> <li>b. a rats hot hendln okolt.</li> </ul>

# <u>29</u>

	There are more rats now now than ever.	<ul> <li>a. ets hant meo ratsn, vis gveno hant.</li> </ul>
	now than ever.	b. si hant ets men ratsn vi ugl gven hant.
4.	The bird is flying away.	a. di fegl fluint fuort.
4.	The ond is frying away.	b. der fogl is dofogflog.
	Now all the birds are	a. hart florgt ule fegl fuort.
	flying away.	b. onst voon ule fegln
_		fuortgfloŋ.
5.	A real little bird fell out of the nest.	a. a klops fegl is fon nest
	of the fiest.	ausogfoln. b. op klops fegele is fon nest
		ausogfoln.
6.	The sparrows flew away.	a. di ∫p⊃tsn flunt fuot.
		b. di Jpotsn hant dofogflon.
7.	There is an owl in that tree.	a. do 15 a noxtorle in den bom
		om. b. op noxtoil is in bam obm.
	There aren't many owls	a. do hant nit fœl noxtoiln nump.
	There aren't many owls around here.	b. si hant nit foel noxtorin do.
8.	The hawk caught a chicken.	a. der henogaro hot a hen gfont.
	<u> </u>	b. der henogaro hot a hen gfont.
		<u>31</u>
1.	I shot a crow in the cornfield.	a. i hon a honə g∫osn m
		kukurutsfælt. b. i hon a kroue gjosn m
		kukurutsfælt.
	Why are the crows cawing so?	a. vern don di rubm ulo no
		gnaʊ∫n?
		b. ve tuont di krouana so frai?
2.	The young crows have all	a. di june rubm hant ule fon core
	left their nest.	nesto aus∫aut. b. di juŋə krouən hant fon epmə
		nesto rausogfoln.
	This nest is empty too.	a. des nest is etst a larx.
		b. des nest is a lar.

- 3. Names of other birds.
- 4. The frog hopped into the water.

The frogs are singing.

What is a pollywog called?

- 5. There is a toad in the garden.
- 6. I killed a big mosquito in the bedroom.

The mosquitoes are bad this year.

7. A bee stung me.

A swarm of bees flew over.

Look out! There are hornets 8. here!

- a. do frus is ins voso rainekopft.
- b. do drofka is ins vuso raməkupft.
- a. di fre supnt.
- b. di dro [kn tuont sinp.
- a. do is a fruf in gooth drin.
- b. do is a drofke in gooth drin.
- a. i hon a grousn goels erflon m do [lof]tum.
- b. i hon a moskito okolt in der betstum drin.
- a. di goelsn hant [lim haro.
- b. moskitos hant film dis job.
- a. a bi hot mi g[toxp.
- b. op moskito hot mi bisn.
- a. a grouse bu bis/bins ivogflon.
- b. op gontso svoom moskitos hant ivogflon.
- a. [au after! hant voil binen, vus fteçət.
- 1 b. [

## <u>32</u>

1. The fireflies are out tonight.

> An ant is crawling on my hand.

2. A bumble-bee landed on my neck.

3. A grasshopper jumped into

- a. di kefon, vus dırdl hamant, di hant hait af noxt heraus.
- b. di farokefon hant hart heraust.
- a. a umoisn kruixt of mamo hent.
- b. di umoisn kruixt auf maine hent.
- a. a bi is of mai gnak afi gflon. 1
- b. [
- a. a hairisl is in mai hemət .rainkopft.

4.	The grasshoppers are very bad this year. What a pretty butterfly.	<ul> <li>b. a harrisl 1s aməkupft m mar hemət.</li> <li>a. di harrisln hant reçt ſlım haro.</li> <li>b. di harrisln hant ʃlım dis joo.</li> <li>a. vos ſeno kefo fluikt.</li> <li>b. [ ]</li> </ul>
-		υ. [ ]
5.	A moth flew out of my coat. and no bedbugs.	b. kuis vontsn
6.	The flies are bad in hot weather.	a. di flum hant flim in housn vetu.
		b. floin hant flim in hoosn veto.
	A bug flew into the room.	a. a kefo is in mai ∫tum aməgflon.
		b. a kefo is aməgfloŋ in mai [tum.
7.	A bat flew past.	a. a fegl 1s geston firflon.
8.	Names of other insects.	a. kefo, maffultolən

## Topography

## <u>33</u>

1.	He stood on the hill.	a. er 1s on hivəl om gſtono. b. er 1s om hivəl om gſtono.
	The hills around here are low.	a. di hivəln do ump hant nit houx, hant nidp.
		b. di hivəln do hant nido.
2.	He saw a light from the top	a. mir hamo a liox gsen, den hivəl om.
		b. Er hot a lio gsen in he in hivol om.
	He sees me down here.	a. er satt mi do herint. b. er set mi do rintn do.
3.	The road goes uphill.	a. do veç get hivəl afı. b. di rot get afı om hivəl.
	The road goes downhill.	a. der veç get hivəl or. b. di rot get or fon hivəln.

4.	Don't fall down!		ful nit doi! ful nit nidu!
	But he fell down anyway.		er 15 dux o1gfoln. er 15 dux nidogfoln.
	There are no mountains in Wisconsin.		do hant kur mauntens in viskonsin. si hant kur benj in viskonsin.
6.	The river is pretty high right now	a. b.	do krik is tsimliç houx ets.
	The water comes up to the bridge.		s voso get int he bis tso der brok. s voso kimt af aferf brok.
7.	Names of creeks and rivers in vicinit	v.	
8.	That's a large lake.	а.	dis 1s a grous vusp.

There are lots of fish in those lakes.

- a. dis is a grous vusp.
- b. des is a grousd taiç.
- a. do hant fœl fij in di grous vason.
- b. do hant fœl fı∫ drın ın di taıçı.

#### <u>34</u>

1.	The river will soon freeze over. The lake is already frozen over.	a. der krik virt bult tsugfrion. b. der taiç virt bult ivogfriorn. a. der daiç, der is ∫o tsugfrion. b. []
2.	Don't drown!	a. du nit ersofo! b. tuo nit ersofo!
3.	He lives in the village.	a. er vount in douf, in der klounen ∫tot. b. er vount in douf.
	There are several villages. around here.	<ul> <li>a. do hant ethçə kloonə ſtodln no ump.</li> <li>b. si hant a bopl depfp do umpdum.</li> </ul>
4.	We went to town.	a. mir hamp in ∫tot goŋp. b. mir hamp in ∫tot gfopn.
5.	We went to town to buy oil.	a. mir hamp m stot gonp um œl.

- 6. He lives on that street.
- 7. We live on the highway.

The highways are slippery.

8. We live on a small country road.

The countryroads are bad now.

- b. mir hamo in stot gfoon, cel kafo.
- a. er vount uf do stros.
- b. er vount af dero stros.
- a. mr vountmo of do harver.
- b. mir voontmo af do harvei.
- a. di harvers hant rits.
- b. de rotn hant sirpen.
- a. mir voontmo of a kloonon kantriveç.
- b. mr voontmo m a kloon famroud.
- a. di kantriveçon hant ets fleçt.
- b. di farmrotn hant film orts.

#### <u>35</u>

1. The road is dry.

It will soon be muddy.

- 2. The railroad goes by here.
- 3. I went to the station.
- 4. We live in Wisconsin.
- 5. Milwaukee is the largest city in Wisconsin.

Watertown is a pretty town.

b. di rot is troko. a. si virt vul matsiç sa. b. virt bolt matfi vern. a. di relorot get do fip. b. di relarot get do fip.

a. do veç is truko.

- a. i bin tsun dipo gono.
- b. i bin ol gonp om dipo oi.
- a. mir voontmo in viskonsin.
- b. mir vountmo in viskonsin.
- a. milvoki is di gresto stot in viskonsin.
- b. milvoki is di gresto stot m viskonsin.
- a. vosoftot is a fenə ftot. b. [ ]
- b. [

## Store and Business

## <u>36</u>

1.	The grocery store is closed	a. der grousen∫tor is hait tsup. b. der grousen∫tor is tsup hait.
	today.	
	Many stores sell meat today.	a. fœl stom fokafo a flais.
		b. fœl stot tupnt flass fokafo.
2.	He works at Schmidt's store.	a. er opvat fion ∫mit∫tor.
		b. er odvat m∫mits∫tor.
3.	He has the best butcher shop in town.	a. er hotn bistn botʃoʃap in der ʃtot.
		b. er hot di besto butsofap in der
		∫tot.
	We have three butcher shops.	a. mir hamo drai butsofaps in der
	······································	ftot.
		b. mir hamp drai butspjaps in der
		∫tot.
4.	The coffee is standing	a. der kafe ∫tet om kaunto.
	on the counter.	b. der kafe stet om tij/kaunto.
5.	I bought it at the market.	a. i hon eon kaft on mookt.
	C C	b. i hons m markət kaft.
6.	He works at Schmidt's.	a. Er opvat fion fmits.
		b. Er odvat in ∫mits.
		·
		<u>37</u>
		<u></u>
1.	One pound of sugar costs	a. a pfunt tsuko kosts siks tsent.
	6 cents.	b. op pfunt tsukp kosts seks tsent.
	Give me ten pounds of sugar,	a. gip mo tseo pfunt tsuko!
	please!	b. gip mo tseo pfunt tsuko!
2.	Put it in a paper bag!	a. tus ind papirsok rame!
		b. tu no ame m papirsok!
	These bags are no good!	a. di sek han fo niks.
		b. di takin hant nit guot.
3.	Here's a short string to tie it.	a. do is a kuptsp tsvirn firn tson
5.	ricies a short sumg to de It.	

tsupbindn.

Haven't you got any longer strings?

- 4. Have you any potatoes for sale?Yes, they're cheap.
- 5. How much do they cost?
- 6. They're \$3.25 a bushel.
- 7. Cheap? That's expensive.

I can buy them cheaper in town.

- b. do is a kuprts bant tson tsubbindn.
- a. host kain lenon fon?
- b. host kur legene bantln do?
- a. hosta treapfl tson fokofo?
- b. host treapfln tson fokafo?
- a. jo, si hant biliç.
- b. jo, si hant biliç.
- a. vifcel kostns?
- b. vorfæl kostns?
- a. di hant drai dolar unt firs bufl.
- b. si hant draı dolə finfunttsvonkts tsent a bu[l.
- a. biliç? des is taid.
- b. biliç? di sai taid.
- a. i kons biliço kafo m der stot.
- b. i kon kafo biliço in der stot.

#### <u>38</u>

1.	I want to sell my car.	a. i væl mar kar fokafo. b. i væl mar kar fokafo.
2.	Well, he wants to buy a car.	a. vel, er væls kofp. b. vel, er væl a kor kofp.
3.	I want to borrow some money.	a. i voel goelt auslam. b. i voele goelt auslam.
	He borrowed some money from the bank.	a. er hot goelt ausglin fo do ben. b. er hot ausglin goelt in do ben.
4.	He bought everything on credit.	a. er hot vlos of tsatt koft. b. er hot vlos koft of kredtt.
	I won't give him credit anymore.	a. i gip com niks mo of tsait. b. i gip com kam goelt nimo meo.
5.	You'd better see the lawyer about it.	a. du biso sest ən atvokatn mit den.
		b. du biso sekst den loijo.
6.	This letter came today.	a. do briof 1s hait kemp. b. do briof 1s hait kemp.

	Why didn't these letters come earlier?	<ul> <li>a. vern hant di briof nit endo kemo?</li> <li>b. ve hant di briof nit endo kemo?</li> </ul>
	He tore up the letter.	a. er hot den briof forisn. b. er hot opn briof forisn.
7.	I read it in the newspaper.	a. i hons in do tsaiton glesn. b. i hons glesn in do tsaiton.

## The Body

# <u>39</u>

1. Two he than on	eads are better ne.		tsve kepfə hant biso ve opno. tsve kepf hant biso vi opno.
He hur	t his head.	a.	er hot opnon kopfve do. er hot epm on kopf ve tup.
2. She is a	combing her hair.		si kamplt sı. Er hət com saınə hov kamplt.
She has	s a wart on her nose.		si hot a vartsn af do nosn. si hot a vartsn af do nosn.
3. Close y	your eyes!		mox daın avŋ tsup! mox d avŋ tsup!
His eye	ebrows are heavy.		samə auŋvedl hant ∫varx. samə auŋbran hant ∫var.
The ey	elid protects the eye.		same augvedle tuont ax in do hef in di aug. sai augvedln besitst des au.
Her ey	elashes are long.	a.	di augnvedləhonx hant lon.
4. Yout le	eft eye is sore.		daın lınks aı ıs ve. maı lınks auŋ ıs ve.
•	ou got something left eye?		host du eps in dain linkn avij? vos du eps in linkn avij drin?
5. These	are the ears.		dis hant d eptlp. dis hant d eplp.
This ea	ar hurts.		des endl tunt ve. des endl tunt ve.

	It's the ear which I froze last winter.	<ul> <li>a. dis 1s des epdl, vos i hon letstn vinto gfriot krioçt.</li> <li>b. dis 1s des epdl, vos gfriort hot letstn vinto.</li> </ul>
6.	These are the cheeks.	a. dis hant də vadlo. b. dis hant vaŋəln.
	He hit me on the right cheek.	<ul> <li>a. er hət mir ofs reçtə vaŋl kaut.</li> <li>b. er hət mi opnə kaut ofs reçtə vaŋl.</li> </ul>
7.	My neck is stiff.	a. mai gnak is ∫taif. b. mai gnak is ∫taif.
	My throat is sore.	a. mai huls is ve. b. mai huls is ve.
	I hit him in the nose.	<ul><li>a. i hon con cf de nosn kaut.</li><li>b. i hon com opno in di nosn namkaut.</li></ul>
8.	This is the mouth.	a. dis 15 mai maul. b. dis 15 s mol.
	He'll never be rich; he has too many mouths to feed.	<ul> <li>a. er virt niomolst raiç; er hot tsu fœln mauln tsu fuoton.</li> <li>b. er virt niomols nit raiç vern. er hot tsu fœlə molon tsu fuoton.</li> </ul>
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>
1.	This tooth hurts me.	<ul><li>a. der tsont tubt mir ve.</li><li>b. der tsont tubt mir ve.</li></ul>
	He had all his front teeth pulled.	<ul> <li>a. er hot same forenen tsent ule raisn losn.</li> <li>b. er hot same gontsn forn tsent ausgrisn.</li> </ul>
2.	These are the eyeteeth.	a. i hant taŋ tsent. b. dis hant di aʊŋtsent.
	What are big back ones called?	a. ∫tuktsent

b. ∫tvktsent

## <u>Clothing</u>

## <u>41</u>

1.	The coat has a hole.	a. der ruk hot a lox. b. der ruk hot a lox.
	He has two coats.	<ul><li>a. er hot tsve rek.</li><li>b. er hot tsve rek.</li></ul>
2.	Please, patch the trousers!	a. ge, flik mai hosn! b. bitə, flik di hosn!
3.	The vest is torn.	a. dis larvəl 15 tsərisn. b. des larvəl 15 tsərisn.
	I have at least three vests.	i hən venıkstəns draı laıvələn. i hən draı laıvəl.
4.	He has a brand new suit.	a. er hot a naios untogvont. b. i hon opno gontso nois gvont.
	He bought two suits today.	<ul> <li>a. er hot tsvar untogvonto kaft hart.</li> <li>b. er hot tsvo gvonto kaft hart.</li> </ul>
5.	He had something in his pocket.	a. er hot eps in der tujn kot. b. er hot si ino drin iro tujn.
6.	This overcoat doesn't fit me.	ader ivoruk past mo nit. b. der ivoruk past mi nit.
	Hang it up on the clotheshook!	a. hen p of om veshakl. b. hen p of do veshenp.
7.	Where did he get that shirt?	<ul><li>a. vo hot er des hemot her?</li><li>b. vo hot er des hemot herkrickt?</li></ul>
8.	Oh, you can get such shirts in Milwaukee.	<ul> <li>a. o, du konst so hemətə kriəŋ m mılwokı.</li> <li>b. o, mır kenə di hemətə m mılwokı kriəŋ.</li> </ul>
		<u>42</u>
1.	This stocking has a hole in it.	a. do ftrompf hot a lox. b. do ftrompf hot a lox drin.

These stockings don't fit.

a. di ∫trimpf posn nit. b. di ∫trimpf tuont nit posn.

2.	Those shoes are too small.	a. di ∫u∋ hant tsu klop.
		b. di ∫uə hant tsu klop.
3.	His boots are dirty.	a. saınə ∫tifl hant drɛkı.
		b. di buts hant drekı.
	She has a new dress.	a. si hot a narə kutn.
		b. si hot a naı kutn.
	How many dresses has she?	a. vifœl kutn hot si?
		b. vorfæl kotn hot si?
	Her dress has a long skirt.	a. irə ruk hət a lərp intokedl.
		b. irə kutn hət ən ləŋo kedl.
6.	That blouse doesn't fit her	a. dis ∫ankl post dır nıt reçt.
	quite right.	b post dir nit nçtı.
7.	She has a new handkerchief.	a. si hot a naïəs ∫naitstioxl.
		b. si hot a naïos ∫naïtstioxl.
	He uses only blue	a. er just blave fnattstipxn.
	handkerchiefs.	b. er just a blaues fnattstidel.

### <u>43</u>

1. He goo	es in rags.
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2. Get dressed!

He got dressed.

3. Where are the clothesbrushes?

She should clean the clothes with a brush.

4. She has a beautiful wedding ring.Our rings aren't nearly as good.

- a. er get in fetsn.b. er get in forisene fetsn.
- a. lek dı ő!
- b. lek di õ!
- a. er hot si öglekt.
- b. er hot si õglekt.
- a. vo hant di ve∫bır∫no?
- b. vo hant di vesbirstno?
- a. si sul di ve∫ putsn mit der bir∫n.
- b. i kon di ves putsn mit der birstn.
- a. si hot a seno ejorn.
- b. si hot ən ∫enən brautm.
- a. Unsono rin hant nit gonts so guot.
- b. [ ]

5.	He usually goes bare-headed.	a. er get gəvenliç bobfubsə. b. er get ovəl bobhapedı.
	I would wear a hat if I had such a cold.	<ul> <li>a. i tat ən hunt afsetso, ven i so s kultə het.</li> <li>b. i tat ən hunt troŋ, ven i reçt s kultə hon.</li> </ul>
6.	Especially since he is bald.	a. haupts, vail er plotot is. b. ivohaupt ven er blotot is.
7.	Children like to go barefoot.	a. kındo geno/gen geon boofuosı.

- a. kındo geno/gen geon boofuosı.b. kındo glaiçən boofuosi ge.

## Sickness

## <u>44</u>

1.	I have a cold.	a. i hon s kultə.
		b. i hon s kultə.
	and I am hoarse.	a. i bm rav.
		b. i bın hoisəri.
2.	Otherwise I'm alright.	a. sonst tet oləs reçt son.
		b. ondatsa bm i guat.
3.	I had a bad cough last winter.	a. i hon s kultə ftorx kot letstn vinto.
		b. i hon a reçtə hupstn kot letstn vmtp.
	He coughed hard.	a. εr hət ∫toox kust.
	,	b. er hot a reçt ∫topk hupst.
4.	His cough got worse and worse.	a. sam hudstn is flimd voon ont flimd.
		b. sam huostn is flimo ont flimo voon.
	That's the worst I've ever seen him.	a. des is a firmsto, vos i mol gsen hon.
		b. des 1s des flimsto, vos i hon gsen fon com.
5.	He had to blow his nose.	a. er hot misn sain nosn cs∫naitsn.
		b. er hot misn sai nosn blosn.

6.	A toothache is no fun.	a. a tsontve is ka spops. b. a tsontve is kop spops.
	Oh, what a stomacheache!	a. i hon reçt monve. b. 01, vos fir a monve.
	I have a bad headache.	a. i hon a reçt ∫took kupfve. b. i hon a reçtn kupfve.
7.	He has the measles.	a. er hot misəls. b. er hot di misəls.
	Have you had the mumps?	a. host du momps kot? b. []
8.	I had scarlet fever.	a. i hon skalet fivo kot. b. []
	And smallpox.	a. unt smolpoks. b. []

# <u>45</u>

1.	He had pneumonia.	a. er hot numonija kot. b. er hot numonija kot.
2.	He died of consumption.	a. er hot de austseruŋ kot. b. er 1s g∫toom mit luŋpsiçt.
3.	He is dead.	a. Er is tout. b. Er is tout.
4.	The coffin is in the church.	di trugə 1s m do kiorxə. truxə 1s drino m do kiorxə.
5.	The funeral was yesterday.	di laıçt ıs geston gven. di laıçt ıs geston gven.
6.	He was buried in the cemetery.	<ul> <li>a. er is in den fraithof argrom.</li> <li>b. di bærdiguŋ is in fraithof gven.</li> </ul>

# <u>46</u>

1.	I am a little bit tired.	a. i bm a bısl mipt.
		b. i bm a bisl mipt.

	I am very tired.	a. i bın reçt mipt. b. i bın reçt mipt.
	I am all tired out.	a. i bm gonts ausg[pœlt/mipt. b. i bm gonts ausg[pœlt.
	I've got to yawn.	a. i mus mol s maul affpraitsn. b. i mus ets s mol afraisn.
2.	Do you want to go to bed?	a. vœlst du di nidplen gen? b. vœlst du ins bet ge?
3.	He lay down.	a. er hot si nidoglekt. b. er hot si nidoglekt
4.	He is sleeping now.	a. er floft eits. b. er tupt flufp ets.
	He has been sleeping all day.	<ul><li>a. er hot den gontsn tok gjlufo.</li><li>b. er hot on gontsn tok gjlufo.</li></ul>
5.	He snored.	a. εr hot g∫nonxt. b. εr hot g∫nont.
6.	I had a bad dream.	a. er hot en fleçtn traum kot. b. er hot en hoptn traum kot.
7.	I wish they'd get up.	a. er volt er ton offte. b. i volt I ton offte.

## Personal Attributes

## <u>47</u>

1.	She's a pretty girl. She's the girl to whom	a. si 1s a ∫ens moidl. a. des 1s des moidl, vos i den riŋ
	he gave a ring.	gem hon.
2.	That girl, she doesn't know what she wants.	a. des moidl vors nit, vos si vœl.
3.	Gee! She is beautiful.	a. ε <b>i, si is vundo∫e.</b>
	She is much more beautiful than her sister.	a. si 1s fœl ſeno vi irə ſvesto.
	Why, she is the most beautiful girl in town.	a. si 15 di jenstə məidl in do jtot.

- But she likes to show off.
   She's the girl whose mother was just here.
- 5. She is young. She's younger than I.
- 6. He's very strong. He's the strongest man in the country.

7. They don't say much.

- a. si glaıçt tson heptson,
- a. si 1s des moldl, vo irə munto grot dogven 1s.
- a. si is jun.
- a. si is jint vi i.
- a. si 1s eçt ∫took.
- a. er is der stirkste mon in der kantri.
- a. si sont nit foel.

### The Family

### <u>48</u>

- My father isn't at home.
   I went to town with my father.
- 2. My mother is home. I am staying with my mother.
- Our child is eight years old. The neighbor's children were here.
- 4. Everyone of the children was sick. They're the children to whom I gave the candy.
- 5. One shouldn't spank children too hard.
- 6. We have three girls in all.
- 7. He wants a boy.Do you see those boys?
- 8. They have a little baby.Now there are a couple of babys in the neighborhood.

- a. mai fodr is nit dohopm.
- a. i bm m stot mit mam taten.
- a. mai mama is dohoom.
- a. i blarp mit maino mama/ muoton.
- a. Unso kint is oxt joor olt.
- a. ən noxborn samə kındu hant dogven.
- a. vlə kindo hant kroŋ gven.
- a. dis hant di kındo, vo sə den kendı gem hant.
- do sult mo kindo nit tsu ftook haup.
- a. mir hamp drai moidlo in gontsn.
- a. er væl ən buom.
- a. sekst du di buom?
- a. di hamant a klois bebi.
- a. ets son tsvar klome kinde in de noxborfoft.

- His son is a fine fellow.
   His sons are all working.
- 2. Where is your daughter? How many daughters have you?
- Her grandson stays with her. My grandfather and grandmother are both dead.
- 4. Your older brother was here. He went along with my two brothers.
- His younger sister is still in school.
   She came with my younger sisters.
- 6. Have you one word for brothers and sisters altogether?
- 7. She's your cousin.
- He's my cousin.
   Two of my cousins were here yesterday.

- a. sai buo is a guoto buo.
- a. same buom tuont ule oovatn.
- a. vo is dai toxto dai moidl?
- a. vifcel moidlo host du?
- a. sar enkolkint blarpt mit ir.
- a. mar nedl unt nodl hant ula tsvon tout.
- a. dai œlsto bruodo is dogven.
- a. er is mitgono mit maino tsve briodo.
- a. sai jinsto svesto is no in do sul.
- a. si 1s kemp mit mamə jupə [vestp.
- a. g[vistorət g[visto
- a. si 15 mai kasən.
- a. er is mai kasən.
- a. tsvo fon maine kasens hant geston a dogven.

#### <u>50</u>

- Her husband bought her a. a new coat. Their husbands are good friends. a.
   His wife went to school a. with me. Their wives are always a. fighting.
- 3. She's a widow.He's a widower.She's a grass widow.

- a. irs mo hot ir a naro rok koft.
- a. der irənə mono hant guotə frait.
- a. sai vai is in jule gono mit mir.
- a. irənə varfo rofənt imp.
- a. si 1s a vidın.
- a. er is a vidmo.
- a. si hot a kint kot, lediçə.

4.	Is that a man or a woman?	a. is dis a mo ovo a vai?
5.	My mother-in-law visited us.	a. mai jvigomuoto hot kaisot mit ons.
	Her father-in-law is our neighbor.	a. irə jvigofoto is und noxbor.
6.	Where does your brother-in-law live?	a. vo vount dai jvugo?
	I know your sister-in-law.	i vois dai svagərm.
7.	He's my son-in-law.	a. Er 15 mai ∫vigosu.
	Is this your daughter-in-law?	a. 15 dis dai ∫vigotoxto?

#### Social Affairs

#### <u>51</u>

1.	He is courting her.	a. er get mit ir / rent imp dom mit ir.
2.	She jilted him.	a. si hot com ogsokt.

- 3. They want to get married. They will soon get married.
- 4. They put it off again. They don't want to put it off any longer.
- 5. The marriage ceremony was performed in this church.
- 6. They were married in this old church.
- 7. He didn't know whether he. should go or not.

- a. si hot com ogsokt.
- a. si volnt harratn.
- a. si vem bolt harratn.
- a. si hamants vidər afg[om.
- si volnts nit mo afform lego.
- a. si hamant in der krorxe kairat.
- a. si hamant in der ultn krorxe kaırat.
- a. er hot nit gvist, sul er gejo ovo nıt.

#### <u>52</u>

- 1. We go to church on Sunday.
- 2. Afterwards we go home.
- 3. The pastor preaches a sermon.

He preached a good sermon.

- a. mir gemp in kiprxe on sonto.
- a. aft vens aus is, genmo hoom ..
- a. der pforo/pasto, der predict a prediç.
- a. er hot a gupte prediç kot.

4. Who teaches in your school?

Fritz, look out for the car!

Children, now you may go

Give me that book!

Give me mine too!

Where are all the books?

He has a real little book.

He always brings it along.

He brought this book along from school.

Children, look out for

Both of you were there.

Yes, I wish they would go.

I wish he would go.

the cars!

He came early.

- 5. He's learning to write. He learned to figure.
- 6. Don't whistle!

home!

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

7. Why don't you obey?I'll have to scold you.

- a. ver holt fule in dengeno ful?
- a. er lernt tson fram.
- a. er lernt tson reçn.
- a. tuo nit pfaifn!
- a. vern folkst du nit?
- a. i mus sentn mit dir.

### <u>53</u>

- a. frits, fau of foe di kar!
  - a. kindo, ets kents gejo!
  - a. gip mir des bioxl!
  - a. gip mir ols mai!
  - a. vo hant di bioxon ulə?
  - a. er hot a riçtiks groos bioxl.
  - a. er hot des bioxel mitbrono fo der ful.
  - a. er brinkts imp mit.

kındo, sauts auf fo di karn!

- a. Ule tsvop hets de degven.
- a. Er 15 frið kemd.
- a. i volt, er tot gejo.
- a. i volt, er tat gejo.

## <u>54</u>

- a. si siŋo do gsaŋl.
  - a. i vois des gsanl nit.
  - a. do vor a riçti durxanont gven in der stot letste noxt.
  - a. i ver dir ulas fotsæln.
  - o, mn hamp ∫o vləs kept.

- 1. They are singing a song.
- I don't know that song.
- 2. There was a real spree in town last night.
- I'll tell you all about it.
   Oh, we've already heard all about it.

- 4. I thought he's never come home.
- I wish they'd come home. 5. He went to town with

my friends. That's right, he went with them.

6. He's the brother of my friends.

7. He can't deny it. I can't believe it!

8. Don't be offended!

- i hon mant, er virt nimols hoom kemp.
- i volt, di tant hoom kemp.
- a. Er is in de stot gono mit maino fraits.
- a. dis 15 vod, er 15 gond mit ir.
- a. Er is der brundn fon mainn fraits.
- a. er kon s nit largno/olanjo.
- a. i kons nit glaom.
- a. tuo dir nit ergon.

## <u>55</u>

- 1. Who is your new neighbor?
- 2. Oh, you know who he is.
- 3. I don't have to tell you that.
- 4. He's the man whose son was here.
- 5. No, not the man to whom you gave the money.
- 6. We talk about the weather.He told us a funny story.
- 7. Then he said do you see that fellow.So I said yes, I see him.
- 8. I believe it's the man whom I saw this morning.

- a. ver is dam naip noxbor?
- a. o, du voist es, vers is.
- a. i brauxs dirs nit son.
- a. er is der mo, sai bub is grot dogven.
- a. no, nit der mo, den vos du goelt gem host!
- a. mir ren fon vetr.
- a. er hot uns a jene gjiçt fotsœlt, a jposiçe.
- a. do aft hot er gsokt, host du den mo sai felo ..
- a. i hon com gsokt, jo, i se com.
- a. i glaup des 1s der mo vos i hant hart frio gsen.

#### <u>56</u>

1. What greetings are used upon meeting somebody?

a. halo, haudi, hai

2. We visited our relatives.

Some other people were there.

- 3. We didn't stay very long. He never stays long.
- 4. Come now and then!
- 5. Come again soon!
- 6. He says he'll come again. That's what he said.
- 7. What do you say when you part from somebody?

- a. mir hamp kaispt mit unsene franfoft.
- a. hant au ondono latt dogven.
- a. mir hamp nit lon gblim.
- a. er blarpt nimols lon.
- a. kimt ets unt aft so ondos mol vido!
- a. kim vido bolt!
- a. er sokt, er kimt vido bult.
- a. dis, vos er gsokt hot.
- a. gut bai.

#### The Emotions

### <u>57</u>

1. He got angry. a. Er is ungeduldi voon. She was awfully angry. a. si is reçt ungəduldı. 2. Is that the woman who was so angry? ungəduldı vop? Yes, that's also the woman whose daughter was just here. grot dogven. 3. a. Er is imp ungeduldi. He's always grouchy. He's very stubborn too.

- They kidded and razzed him.
- 5. They had a falling out.
- I am satisfied! 6. Oh, I am sorry!

4.

- 7. Please, excuse me!
- 8. I am feeling low. Ah, how sad I am!

- a. Is des des vai, vos so
- a. jo, des 1s di wumon, iro tuxto 1s
- a. Er is reçt haipoltəri [ sitsi.
- a. si hamant epn sep gerxt.
- a. si hamant a durxonont kot.
- a. i bm tsufridn!
- a. fptsaik mp!
- a. bite, fotsaik mp!
- a. i fœl traun.
- a. a, ets bm i sep traun/vi i traun bin, ets!

- 1. She called him a fool.
- 2. He's a bum.
- 3. He's a tightwad. Don't be so inquisitive.
- 4. She's a gossip.
- 5. Do you mean the woman with whom I just talked?
- 6. He was angry and said: you are crazy!I know he doesn't mean it.
- I am glad that the children came. They're the children whose mother is sick.
- 8. Don't pinch me!

- a. si hot con a noox koisn.
- a. er is a tremp.
- a. er is reçt aitson.
- a. si tupt reçt mit laitn redn/ blepəln.
- a. du moost mit des vai mit dero, vo si grot gret hon.
- a. si vo unvœlı unt hot gsokt du bıjt narıj.
- a. i vois er moots nit.
- a. bin frou, das kindo kemo hant.
- a. des sant di kindo, vos eoro muoto kroŋ is.
- a. tuo mir nit tsviko!

### The Weather

#### <u>59</u>

1.	It's raining; it rained all evening.	a. s hot grent der gontso, gen der noxt.
	The rain came from the east.	a. der ren 1s fo do ist kemp.
	It's lightning.	a. si tupt blitsn.
2.	He's glad of it.	a. Er is frou.
3.	We had bad weather last week.	a. mir hamp fleçts veto kot letstə voxə.
	He got sore about the bad weather.	a. er hot jo ungeduldıç vopn fon jleçtn veto - umrupnç.
4.	It's snowing; the snow is deep.	a. si tuot fnam; der fnei is toif.
5.	It's hailing.	a. si hogəlt.
	It's a long time since it hailed.	a. Is a lone tsait, sait s kagelt hot.
6.	We had a hailstorm.	a. mır ham¤ ən hagəl∫turm kət.

The hailstones were big.

- 7. What is it called, when it rains and freezes at the same time, forming a coat of ice on everything?
- 8. What is the hoarfrost called which sometimes forms on trees and shrubs during winter?
- a. di hagəl turm hant grous gven.

a. "sleetstorm"

- a. si tuot reno ont friort ont virt aisi, virt glitsi.
- a. der raif.

## <u>Time</u>

#### <u>60</u>

- 1. At Christmas everybody happy.
- Santa Claus brings presents for the children.
   Easter is late this year.
- A year ago it was raining and snowing.
   The weather was much better two years ago.
- 4. How the months fly! This month is almost over!
- 5. I am going to Milwaukee this week.Why, you were there only three
- 6. Yes, I was there a little while ago.
- 7. How many days will you stay? I'll stay only one day.
- 8. That time I was wrong.He hurried to get to the station.

- a. af vanoxtn hant ulə fœl lusti frontlıç.
- a. s kristkindlə brigt presentə fo kindo.
- a. ouston is fpet hom.
- a. a job tsurvk hots great unt gfnapt.
- a. s vetr is foel biso gven tsvai job tsuruk.
- a. vi di monatə fogenən.
- a. dis monat 1s so bult forivo.
- a. i ge nox milvoki di voxo.
- a. vern, du bist dox drai voxo tsuruk do dogven.
- a. jo, i bm do dogven a vol tsurok.
- a. vifœl tok vilst du blarm?
- a. i blaip fo do on tok.
- a. dis mol hon i unrect kot.
- a. Er hot si gailt, dos er tsu do steisen kemd is.

- 1. January, February The winter ends in March.
- 2. Spring begins in April. May, June
- 3. July, August When September comes the summer is over.
- 4. When it's October, fall is here.

November, December

- 5. Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday
- 6. Thursday, Friday, Saturday

- a. janarx, februarx
- a. der vintr is aus in mirts.
- a. frijop fons õ in oprœl.
- a. mai, djun
- a. juli, august
- a. ven do septembo kimt, is der somo firivo.
- a. ven der oktobo is, is der hiprxst do.
- a. novembo, disembo
- a. sunto, modo.jprxto, mitvox.
- a. pfinsto, fraito, somsto

### <u>62</u>

- 1. Monday is a weekday. He's wearing his everyday clothes.
- 2. Today I won't work.
- 3. Yesterday I worked too hard.
- 4. But I got up early this morning. This afternoon I am going to town. At night he never wants to go to bed.
- 5. In the evening he usually goes to town. In the morning he can never get up.
- 6. It was almost midnight when he came home. He was here yesterday evening.
- 7. It's already 5:15. It's 5:30.

- a. modo is a voxitok.
- a.  $\varepsilon r$  hot sat ule tok ve  $\int \tilde{o}$ .
- a. hait opbat i nit.
- a. geston hon i tsu hoot goobat.
- a. ovo i bin hait fri frio ofg[tono.
- a. hait nomitok ge i in stot.
- a. af noxt voel er nimolst ins bet gejo.
- a. af noxt fot er gvenlig m [tot.
- a. m der frie kon er nimelst af∫ten.
- a. Is fo bult mitonoxt, vi er hopmkemp is.
- a. Er 15 geston af noxt dogven.
- a. s riçu fiptl no finfə.
- a. s hulvə seksə.

We must go, it's 5:45.

It's ten o' clock.

8. What do you call the two things which show what time it is? The pendulum is swinging.

#### Numerals

#### 63

- 1. One; two; three; four
- 2. Five, six, seven, eight
- 3. Nine; ten; eleven; twelve
- 4. Thirteen; fourteen; fifteen; seventeen
- 5. Twenty-one; fifty-five; seventy-seven
- 6. Hundred; thousand
- 7. He took five. Take five!

1. 2.

8. He's got enough, isn't it so.

- a. opns, tsvai, drai, fipro
- a. finfə, seksə, simə, oxtə
- a. namo, tseno, œlvo, tsœlvo

a. mir mismo gejo, s fiotl bis

fmfə/drai fiptl finfə.

a. ets is so tsena.

a. tsoigon

- a. draitsenə, fiprtsenə, fuftsenə,
- a. opnuntsvontsiga, finfunfuftsiga,

- a. er hot finfe gnomo.
- a. nīm fīnfə!
- a. er hot plentt.

#### <u>64</u>

- a. er hot mir fiore gem.
  - a. gip ir fiprə!
  - a. gip ir fiore, nit fmfe!
  - a. dis 15 hulvot fon ulo, vos i hon.
  - a. des is ∫o ets s dritl.
  - a. i hon com so gem drai finftl fon mamp kendı.
  - a. Er is imd tserst.
  - a. moniçsmol is er tsvait.
  - a. i bin der drite in der lam.
- 3. That's half of all I've got. 4. It's only a third. I already gave him

He gave me four.

Give her four not five!

Give her four!

5. He's always first. Once in a while he's second.

three-fifths of my candy.

6. I was the third in line.

- a. simtsenə
  - a. simunsimtsigə
  - a. hundot, tausent

My neighbor was fourth.

- a. main noxbor is der fibrte gven.
- A stranger was the seventh in line.
- 7. All sorts of people were there.
- a fremdo is der simte gven.
- a. ule sort latt hant do dogven.

## Miscellany

#### 65

1. They also came. They came nearer and nearer.

- 2. Fritz, go if you want to! I don't care to go. You may both go, if you want to.
- 3. We didn't know whether he would ever get back.
- 4. He is standing behind me.
- 5. I thought he had gone.
- 6. I should think you would be glad to go. I thought he ought to do it.
- 7. But he didn't want to do it.
- 8. I could if I wanted to. They could to, if they wanted to.

- a. si hant kemp.
- a. si hant imo negonço kemo.
- a. gut fri, ge, vens vœlst!
- a. i gep niks drum tsun gen.
- a. des kents ule tsve gen, vents væltst.
- a. mir hamp nit gvist, op er nu tsurok kemp virt.
- a. er stet hinto mir.
- a. i hon gmoot, er is gono.
- a. i hon gmoot, du voost frou tsun gejo.
- a. i hon gmoot, er sol.
- a. ovo er hots voel nit tuo.
- i het kend, ven i het væln.
- a. si kant a, vens hant vœln.

#### <u>66</u>

- 1. I don't know what to do. a. i vois nit, vos tsun tup. a. i voelt. er tots vidp. But I wish he would do it again. We know what we are 2. talking about.
  - You two don't have to do it.

We do as we always used to.

4. I saw her yesterday.

3.

5. I used to know her very well.

- a. i vois, fon vos des mo rent.
- a. di tsvo brauxts s nit tup, mists nit tup.
- a. mir tuomo, vi ma imp hamant.
- a. i hon si geston gsen.
- a. i hon si mol gupt kent kot.

- 6. Both of you know whom I am talking of.
  That's right , both of you know her.
  He came closer in order to see her better.
- 7. I'd like to see him.It's no use, I can't make it.
- 8. I wish they would sit down. Be so good and tell me a story.

- a. vlə tsvai vists, fo vem dos i ren tup.
- a. dis 1s reçt, ulə tsvai vists/kents si.
- a. er is negərigo kemp, dos er si biso seŋ kon.
- a. i tot si a geon seq.
- a. s is ul ni netik, i kons nit moxo.
- a. i voelt, di tont si nidosetsn.
- a. so so guot ont fotsœl mir a gſiçt.

## Appendix 3

# Selected Words from the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German Dialect: 1

#### **A** Glossary

afternoon	Nachmittag	nomittok /nomrtok/
ant	Ameise	umoisn /umoisn/
aunt	Tante	basl /basl/
autumn	Herbst	hiarkst /hiorkst/
baby pig	Ferkel	a kloas schweil /a klops svail/
back	Rücken	's kreiz /s kraits/
bale of straw	Strohballen	strouhaafe /strouhafp/
barefoot	barfuß	boafuaßi /bobfubsi/
		blousfuaßi /blousfupsi/
barley	Gerste	gerschtn /gɛr∫tn/
barn	Stall	stool /ʃtol/
barrel maker	Böttcher	fasslmocher /faslmoxp/
bed sheet	Bettlaken	leituach /laituox/
be quiet!	Sei ruhig!	bie staat /bi ∫tot/
between	zwischen	zwischn /tsvī∫n/
big	groß	grouß /grous/
blackberry	Brombeere	schwoazbierle /jvootsbirlə/
boy	Bube, Junge	bua /buo/
brother	Bruder	bruader /brundn/
bump on the head	Beule	binkl /bɪŋkl/
butcher	Schlachter	schlochter /ʃloxtp/
candle wick	Kerzendocht	kirzendocht /krrtsndoxt/
сар	Mütze	haum /haom/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The first word is the English vocabulary item, the second word is the Standard High German word, the third word is the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German form, and the fourth word shows its phonetic transcription in the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German dialect. The orthography of the Ellis Catholic Bohemian German for orthographic renderings of dialect texts in the Palatine dialect by Rudolf Post in his book *Pfälzisch: Einführung in eine Sprachlandschaft* (1990).

carrot	Karotte	gölbe ruam /gœlbə ruom/
		gölbe roum /gœlbə roum/
cat	Katze	kotz /kots/
chicken house	Hühnerstall	hennerstool /henostol/
child	Kind	kint /kɪnt/
chimney	Schornstein	rau(ch)fong /rav(x)fon/
clothes cabinet	Kleiderschrank	weschschong /veffoŋ/
cloud	Wolke	wulkn /volkn/
corn	Mais	kuckuruz /kʊkʊrʊts/
corn (on toe)	Hühnerauge	henneraugn /hɛnəraʊŋ/
cousin	Cousin, Cousine	g'schwister kint /g visto kint/
cow	Kuh	kua /kup/; kou /kov/
cows	Kühe	kia /kit/; kei /ket/
cream	Sahne	schmettn / [metn/
crust of bread	Brotkruste	broutrinntn /broutrintn/
cucumber	Gurke	umurkn / <b>u</b> mʊrkn/
cup	Tasse	kafeehefel /kafehefəl/
curious	neugierig	neigieri /nargirī/
daughter-in-law	Schwiegertochter	schwiegertuchter / [vigptuxto/
day before yesterday	vorgestern	vorgistern /forgiston/
dizzy	schwindelig	damisch /damis/
dove/pigeon	Täuberich	tauberer /taubaro/
downpour	Platzregen	regnstuarm / <b>reŋ∫tuɒrm</b> /
drake	Enterich	anterer /antaro/
dumplings	Knödel	kneedl /knedl/
earthworm	Wurm	wuarm /vuorm/
Easter	Ostern	oastern /opston/
		oustern /ouston/
egg yolk	Eigelb	duderer /dudəro/
empty	leer	laar /lor/
eyebrow	Augenbraue	augnbraan /aʊŋbrɑn/
eyelid	Augenlid	augnwedl /aunvedl/
farmer	Bauer	bauer /baup/; farmer /fomp/
father-in-law	Schwiegervater	schwiegerfoter /[vigpfotp/
		<i>.</i>

female calf	Kälbchen	kullvel /kʊlvəl/
female lamb	Lamm	lammpl /lampl/
field	Feld	fölt /fœlt/
flax	Flachs	flochs /floks/
flour	Mehl	möll /mœl/
flower	Blume	streisl /straisl/
foal	Fohlen, Füllen	föln /fœln/
fog	Nebel	nebl /nebl/
foot	Fuβ	fuaß /fups/; fouß /fous/
forked thill	Gabeldeichsel	wognstong /vonston/
frog	Frosch	froosch /froj/
fruit tree	Obstbaum	fruchtbaam /froxtbam/
funeral	Begräbnis	leicht /laıçt/
gander	Gänserich	gonnserer /gonsorp/
girl	Mädchen	moidl /moidl/
goat	Ziege, Geiß	goaß /goos/
Godfather	Taufpate	taafteet /toftet/
Godmother	Taufpatin	taaftoot /toftot/
gosling	Gänschen	gannsl /gansl/
grandfather	Großvater	needl /nedl/
grandmother	Großmutter	naadl /nodl/
headache	Kopfweh	kupfweh /kupfve/
hen	Henne	henn /hen/
hearse	Leichenwagen	toutnwogn /toutnvon/
hill	Hügel	hievel /hivel/
hoar frost	Rauhreif	froostreif /frostraif/
hoarse	heiser	hoiserer /hoisoro/
horse	Pferd	rooß /ros/
horsefly	Viehbremse	roosfluign /rosfluiŋ/
horseradish	Meerrettich	kree /kre/
house fly	Fliege	fluign /flom/
it's lightning	es blitzt	's tuat blitzn /s tupt blrtsn/
jar	Krug	krua /krup/
jars	Krüge	kria(ch) /kriv(x)/
5	-	

knuckle	Knöchel	kneechl /kneçl/
last year	letztes Jahr	ferdn /ferdn/
		letzt joa /letst job/
lawn	Rasen	groos /gros/
leaf	Blatt	blaadi /bladl/
letter	Brief	briaf /briof/; breif /breff/
lightning bug	Glühwürmchen	feierkeefer /farokefo/
little	klein	kloa /klop/
locust	Heuschrecke	heiriesl /harrisl/
matches	Zündhölzer	zinnthölzl /tsrnthœltsl/
milk can	Milchkanne	schmettnkanndl /jmetnkandl/
		milkanndl /milkandl/
molar	Backenzahn	stockzohnt /stoktsont/
mosquito	Mücke	gölsn /gœlsn/
mother-in-law	Schwiegermutter	schwiegermuater /jvigomuoto/
mushroom	Pilz	schwommer /ʃvomɒ/
neck	Genick	gnack /gnak/
no one	niemand	neamet /nɛomot/
oat	Hafer	howann /hovon/
pan	Pfanne	rein /ram/
picture	Bild	böltl /bœltl/
plow	Pflug	pflua(ch) /pflux(x)/
plum	Pflaume	pflaame /pflcmə/
	Zwetschge	zweschm /tsvejm/
potato	Kartoffel	treapf1 /treapf1/
rabbit	Hase, Kaninchen	hoos /hos/
red cabbage	Rotkraut	routs kraut /routs kraut/
roof	Dach	dooch /dox/
rooster	Hahn	hohner /hono/
rope	Seil, Strick	strieck /ʃtrik/
rye	Roggen	roggn /rɔŋ/
sauerkraut	Sauerkraut	sauerkraut /saupkraut/
scar	Narbe	moosn /mosn/
scythe	Sense	senkst /senkst/
-		

shoestring	Schnürband	schuabantl /jupbantl/
shovel	Schaufel	schaufl /jaufl/
sister	Schwester	svester /[vestp/
sitting hen	Glucke	gluck /glʊk/
skunk	Stinktier	stingkotts / tinkots/
slice of bread	Brotscheibe	stikl brout /fukl brout/
sniffles	Schnupfen	nosnrinne /nosnrinto/
son-in-law	Schwiegersohn	schwiegersuh /jvigosu/
SOW	Mutterschwein	zucht /tsoxt/
sparrow	Spatz	spootz /jpots/
spoon	Löffel	leefl /lefl/
spring	Frühling	frihjoa /frijoo/
		froijoa /froijon/
stick pin	Stecknadel	speadl /jpepdl/
stomach ache	Bauchschmerzen	mognveh /moŋve/
stone	Stein	stoa /∫top/
stones	Steine	stui /ʃtʊɪ/
summer	Sommer	summer /sump/
		sommer /somp/
swallow	Schwalbe	schweiwel /ʃvarvəl/
sweet	süβ	siaß /sids/
tadpole	Kaulquappe	a freschle, voss no kaa haksn hott
		/a fre∫lə, vəs nə ka haksn
		hot/
tears	Tränen	zaam /tsom/
this year	dieses Jahr	heier /haid/
tinsmith	Blechschmied	blechschmiet /bleçfmit/
to bend	biegen	buign /bʊɪŋ/
to catch a cold	sich erkälten	's kulte kriagn /s kulta krion/
		's kulte kreign /s kulta krein/
to chew cud	wiederkäuen	iadrucke /iodruko/
		gnauschn /gnaʊ∫n/
to comb one's hair	Haare kämmen	hoare kampln /hoorə kampln/
to cry	weinen	flenne /flent/

to hill up (potatoes)

häufeln (Kartoffeln) treapfln aafhaifln

to min up (pomoto)		a cupini autimini
		/treapfln afharfln/
to hurry up	sich beeilen	tummel di /tʊməl dı/
to iron	bügeln	biegln /bigln/
to loan money	Geld leihen	gölt leihn /gœlt lam/
to milk (a cow)	melken	zeidln /tsaidln/
to pinch	zwicken	zwicke /tsv1k0/
to plow	pflügen	ockern /okon/
to pull a wagon	einen Wagen ziehen	a wogn tsuign /a voŋ tsuŋ/
to rake hay	Heu harken	hei reche /hai reçp/
to scold	schelten, schimpfen	schenntn /ʃɛntn/
to smoke tobacco	Tabak rauchen	towaak rauche /tovak rauxo/
to sweep (a chimney)	Schornstein fegen	ausputzn /ausputsn/
to sweep the floor	fegen	auskean /auskeon/
to turn hay to dry	Heu wenden	hai drahn /hai dran/
to weed by hand	jäten	's groos ausreißn
		/s gros ausraisn/
to yawn	gähnen	gomozn /gomotsn/
		's mol, maal aafreißn
		/s mol, mal afraisn/
toad	Kröte	broschke /brojka/
tomcat	Kater	koter /koto/
toothache	Zahnschmerzen	zohntveh /tsontve/
tree bark	Baumrinde	baamrintn /bamrintn/
udder (cow)	Euter	auter /auto/; eiter /arto/
uncle	Onkel	feeter /feto/; feeder /fedo/
wart	Warze	warzn /vartsn/
washcloth	Waschlappen	wuschfetzn /voffetsn/
weed	Unkraut	unkraut / <b>unkraut</b> /
well	Brunnen	brunn /brʊn/
whip	Peitsche	peitschn /paitsn/
windmill	Windmühle	wintmöln /vmtmœln/
winter	Winter	winnter /vinto/
wood	Holz	hulz /holts/

## Days of the week

four

Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Saturday	Montag Dienstag Mittwoch Donnerstag Freitag Samstag	monta /monto/ iarta /iorto/ mietwoch /mitvox/ pfinsta /pfmsto/ freita /frarto/ somsta /somsto/
Sunday	Sonntag	sunnta /sunto/; sonnta /sonto/
Months		
January	Januar	jana /jano/
February	Februar	februa /februp/
March	März	mirz /mrrts/
April	April	opröl / <b>&gt;prœl</b> /
May	Mai	mai / <b>maı</b> /
June	Juni	juni /juni/
July	Juli	juli /julɪ/
August	August	august /aʊgʊst/
September	September	september /septembo/
October	Oktober	oktober /oktobp/
November	November	november /novembo/
December	Dezember	dezember /detsembp/
Cardinal Numbers		
one	eins	oans /oons/
two	zwei	zwoa /tsvop/
three	drei	drei /drai/

vier

viare /fiora/

five	fünf	finnwe /fmvə/
six	sechs	sechse /seksə/
seven	sieben	sieme /simə/
eight	acht	ochte /oxta/
nine	neun	neine /namə/
ten	zehn	zehne /tsenə/
eleven	elf	ölwe /œlvə/
twelve	zwölf	zwölwe /tsvœlvə/
thirteen	dreizehn	dreizehne /draitsena/
fourteen	vierzehn	fiarzehne /fiortseno/
fifteen	fünfzehn	fuchzehne /foxtsenə/
		fuffzehne /foftsenə/
sixteen	sechzehn	sechzehne /sextsenə/
seventeen	siebzehn	siemzehne /simtsenə/
eighteen	achtzehn	ochtzehne /oxttseno/
nineteen	neunzehn	nei(n)zehne /nai(n)tsenə/
twenty	zwanzig	zwonzige /tsvontsigə/
thirty	dreißig	dreizige /draitsigə/
forty	vierzig	fiarzige /fiortsigə/
fifty	fünfzig	fuchzige /fuxtsigə/
		fuffzige /foftsigə/
sixty	sechzig	sechzige /sextsigə/
seventy	siebzig	siemzige /simtsigə/
eighty	achtzig	ochtzige /oxtsigə/
ninety	neunzig	nei(n)zige /nai(n)tsigə/
one hundred	einhundert	hundert /hundot/

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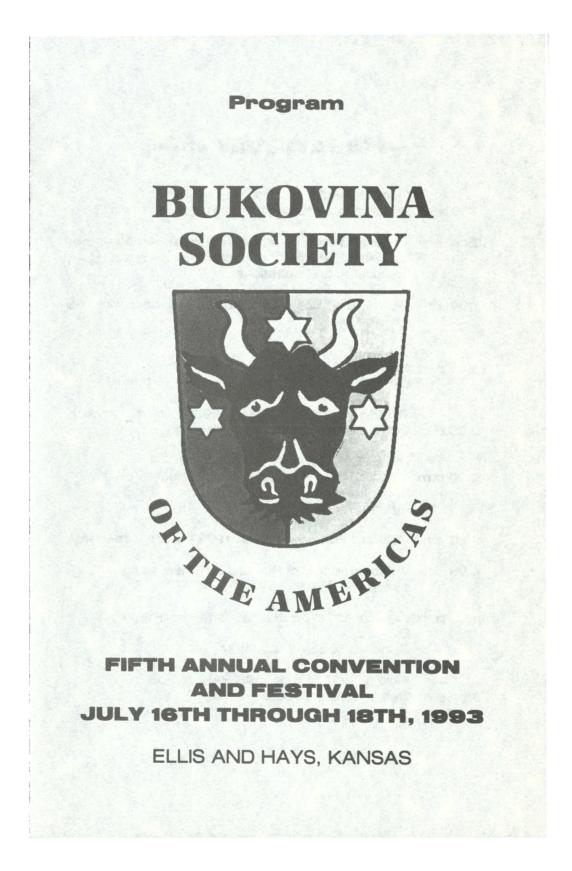
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#### -FRIDAY, JULY 16-

HEADQUARTERS 9:30 a.m. Registration and Coffee

10:00 a.m. Video and talk on research and resources of the LDS Family History Center, Diane Rasmussen Discussion and questions

11:00 a.m. Video presentation on German dialects in Kansas Dr. Bill Keel

ELLIS CITY PARK

1:00 p.m. Opening of Fifth Bukovinafest Dedication of Bukovina memorial

FAMILY HISTORY CENTER, 29th & Canal, Hays 2:00 p.m. Computer orientation and research

HEADQUARTERS

2:00 p.m. Video of Bohemian roots and annual Bukovina Convention in Augsburg in 1993 by Larry Jensen

2:50 p.m. Video of Bukovina tour in 1993 by Larry Jensen

- 4:00 p.m. Video interview of Richard Hoffman, native of Illischestie, Bukovina
- 6:30 p.m. Washington Bukovina Settlements, Irmgard Ellingson Germany today, Gabi Lunte

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS HALL, ELLIS 8:00 p.m. German Mixer, Social and Music

#### -SATURDAY, JULY 17-

HEADQUARTERS 9:30 a.m. Registration and coffee

- 10:00 a.m. Panel on Bohemian German Catholics, Al Lang, Chair, followed by questions and discussion
- 10:00 a.m. Panel on Swabian Lutherans, Irmgard Ellingson, Chair, followed by questions and discussion
  - 1:00 p.m. Annual meeting of the Bukovina Society

HEADQUARTERS

1:30 p.m. Video history of Bukovina Society and prior conventions Slides of Bukovina, Steve Parke collection Slides of historical Ellis

- BUS TOUR DEPARTING FROM HEADQUARTERS 2:00 p.m. Historical Ellis County
- AMERICAN LEGION, 13th and Canterbury, Hays 6:00 p.m. Social
- 7:00 p.m. German dinner
- 8:00 p.m. Recognitions and announcements
- 8:30 p.m. Wedding march for Byron and Diana Schonthaler Dance

# The **BULLetin**

### The Bukovina Society of the Americas

P.O. Box 81, Ellis, KS 67637 USA

Ray Haneke, President Oren Windholz, Vice President Joe Erbert, Secretary Bernie Zerfas, Treasurer



Newsletter No. 9 • Summer 1993 Oren Windholz, Editor P.O. Box 1083 Hays, KS 67601-1083

# **DIALECT PRESERVATION**

newly opened archives in Czernowitz,

the former capital of

Institut plans to pub-

lish the first results of

the project this spring.

This will include research to date and the

contributions from

Bukovina colonies in

Canada, Washington,

New York, and Kan-

sas. The entire project

will take several years

The

Bukovina.

Prof. Dr. Kurt Rein traveled from Munich to the Bukovina Society headquarters in March. His first trip here was in May of 1992, and he was recognized and well received by all of his friends in the Ellis area. The board of directors honored him with a German dinner at Alloway's Restaurant and a public reception at the museum. He gave a presentation to the assembly on the progress of the <u>Emigration to America from</u> <u>Bukovina project of the Bukowina Institut in Augsburg</u>. His talk brought out information discovered in the



Professor Dr. Kurt Rein

to complete with the intention of publication in both the German and English languages.

Dr. Rein was assisted during the four day visit by Gabi Lunte, a doctoral student at the University of Kansas, in recording the dialects of the Bukovina German descendants in the area. Ms. Lunte is a native of Northern Germany and received her college degree there. She completed her Masters at K. U. and the dialect study is a part of her doctoral program. In cooperation with Dr. William Keel, Ms. Lunte will make more field visits to Ellis. She quickly made friends here and will be at



Gabi Lunte

home with her subjects of study and hosts. Dr. Keel was here to do research and establish contacts in January of this year.

Dr. Rein was very pleased with the people he met who have retained their ancestral dialects. Spoken among the Bukovina German immigrants to Ellis was the Swabian dialect of the Lutherans, and the Deutsch-Boemish dialect of the Catholics. These dialects have been traced by the professors to the original homelands of the Bukovina Germans before migrating to Bukovina.

The balance of Dr. Rein's journey will take him to K. U. for a lecture, California, Canada, and Washington D.C. for research, and Austin for the annual meeting of the Society for German American Studies. In 1994 he will be a visiting professor at K. U. for a semester and plans more trips to Ellis.



# **Bukovina** People

arlys Bias, a life mem ber from Riverton, Wyoming wrote that she found her great great grandfather, Jakob Glass, in the BULLetin from the Galveston, Texas ships passenger list. She sent for the microfilm through her local LDS Family History Branch in order to view the complete listing and found more interesting information. She purchased a copy of the complete ships passenger list, and donated a copy to the society for others to use. She plans to be back in Kansas for the Fifth Bukovinafest

to visit the former homeland again this spring. Wilf Uhren had plans to visit the village where his father was born in the Ukraine on a trip to the Bukovina district. He wrote a note to Ray Haneke that it is in doubt at this time. Paul Polansky who organized the trip may instead go into the Czech Republic.

Steve Parke who made a trip to the Bukovina district in Romania in September of 1991 has provided the society with copies of his slides. These will be used to make a slide program for use at the headquarters and to area schools and organizations. The Ellis County Historical Society has asked Oren Windholz to give a program on the Bukovina Society at their annual social meeting on June 9th. Anyone interested in attending can mark their calendar now and watch for the final details in the local newspapers.

Fr. Felix Petrovsky of Hays will be leading a pilgrimage to Slovakia and the Czech Republic October 5th through October 21st, 1993. Among the cities visited will be Warsaw, Krakow, Zilina, Bratislava, Brno, and Prague. Information is available through Hays Travel, Inc. in Hays.

Larry Jensen wrote of his plans t



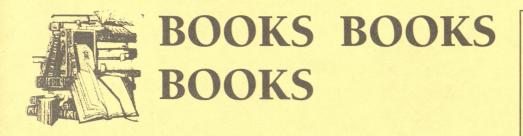
# FIFTH BUKOVINAFEST

The program and registration forms are enclosed with this mailing and will be made available through other outlets. The convention will be interesting and entertaining. We expect a good turnout again this year, and the Schoenthaler reunion will add to the activities. A form for the convention motel is being sent to those from out of the area. Any additional registration forms can be received by writing to the secretary. Please inform the secretary if you know of anyone we should include on the mailing list.

### MUSEUM AND TOURIST NEWS

Whenever the doors are open, someone stops in from near or far. When the museum is closed, Ray Schoenthaler hustles down to open up and greet visitors with a talk and tour. Ray has been operating the museum and hopes to expand hours this summer. Ray has made folders containing a set of the society newsletters and other information for sale this year. The Hays Convention and Visitors Bureau will again stop at our headquarters for tours this season.

Oren Windholz has been appointed by Hays Mayor Joe Glassman to the board of the bureau. The Hays CVB was of great assistance in the early formation of the Bukovina Society. Most recently they made available a triple slide projector with synchronized audio for use at the headquarters.



Jacob Steigerwald donated his latest book <u>Banat-ToPola's</u> <u>Schwaben: 1791-1945</u> to the society through Irmgard Ellingson. He has other publications of interest and may be contacted at 355 W. 4th St. Winona, MN 55987.

Dr. Kurt Rein donated several publications to the Ethnic Center Bukovina collection at Ft. Hays University, and to the headquarters.

Bohemian Germans in Kansas: <u>A Catholic Community from</u> <u>Bukovina</u> will be available at the Fifth Bukovinafest.

Bukowina Families: 200 Years is a new publication from Almar Associates of Ellis, Kansas. This book covers the genealogy of many of the Catholic Bohemian families that emigrated to the Bukowina between the years of 1799 and 1842 and later emigrated to the United States, Germany and Brazil with reference to emigrees to Canada. This publication will be available at the annual Bukovina Festival in July, 1993. For additional information, please contact Almar Associates at 300 N. Washington St., Ellis, KS 67637 or telephone (913) 726-4728 or (913) 625-6215.

### SURNAME EXCHANGE

Doug Dale of Saskatchewan is well known to the Bukovina Society board members and spouses from their visit to Regina. His wife has Bukovina roots. He has stayed in contact with us as well as working with Dr. Kurt Rein on the Bukowina Institut Project.

He called and volunteered to send two full disks to the society from his data base of over two thousand names, those relating to his wife being of interest to Bukovina descendants. The disks are IBM 2.2, 3 1/2 inch, utilizing the Family History Center program. Society members may contact the editor for information or write to Doug at Box 386, Craik, Sask. SOG OVO, Canada.

Bukovina German



Martin Flax said his mother told many stories when they were growing up. He repeated this one to the editor at a recent society gathering.

66

A young widow was seen on Good Friday in the cemetery crying her eyes out for her recently departed husband. Finally some sympathetic friends came up to comfort her and told her not to grieve so much because she was young and could marry again. She looked up and said, "Ja one net fowa Oastern," (Yes, but not before Easter).

# Lifetime Members



New members to the LIFER CLUB since last newsletter:

- 30. Mary (Baumgartner) Weiman, Brownell, Kansas
- 31. Robert R. Massier, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
- 32. Wilfred P. Uhren Family, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- 33. William and Doris Hennig, Fairlawn, New Jersey
- 34. Vernena C. Bunker, Hays, Kansas
- 35. Jennie Chappell, Leawood, Kansas

Thanks for the support, your investment has increased the endowment for the future of our society.

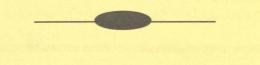
## California Czechoslovak Club

The founder of the society and editor of their club news publication, Kathryn Betlach Dankowski, wrote to ask about the Bukovina Society. She came into a copy of the BULLetin and is interested in learning about the Bohemian German Catholics. She sent their latest club news <u>Noviny</u> to us, a 16 page publication sent to their 400 plus members.

# **BUKOVINA COOKING**



The Honas family held a reunion at the Fourth Bukovinafest and published a family history. This recipe is taken from the book and was a staple food of the Bukovina Germans the settlers brought to Kansas. It is listed as one of the main ethnic foods in Romania today. Many people remember growing up with this dish as standard fare around the house.



### Mamaliga

Bring to boil 2 3/4 cups water

Combine: 1 cup corn meal 1 cup cold water 1 tsp salt 1 tsp sugar

Gradually add mixture to boiling water, stirring constantly. Cook until thick, then cover and simmer over low heat for 10-15 minutes. Pour into a  $71/2 \times 31/2 \times 21/4$  loaf pan. Cool. After it is chilled, turn pan upside down and mush will slide out. Cut into 1/2 inch slices and serve with strawberries or sliced cucumbers and cream. For fried Mamaliga, slice thin and fry slowly in shortening until golden brown.

# The Bukovina Society of the Americas NEWSLETTER

#### P.O. Box 81, Ellis, KS 67637 USA

- **Board of Directors** Oren Windholz, President Raymond Haneke, Vice President Joe Erbert, Secretary Bernie Zerfas, Treasurer
- Robert SchonthalerIRalph HonasIShirley KroegerIRay SchoenthalerIAlice Fox

Don Schuster Mary Agnes Lang- Wagner Dennis Massier

#### Vol. 7, No. 2

April 1997

Editorial response to: P.O. Box 1083 Hays, KS 67601-1083 e-mail: owindholz@dailynews.net Bukovina Society home page on World Wide Web http://members.aol.com/LJensen/bukovina.html

## BUKOVINAFEST 1997

Enclosed are the program and registration forms for the annual meeting of the Bukovina Society. The German Genealogy and Heritage Conference will be in Waco, Texas July 17-20 at the Holiday Inn, 1001 Brazos Drive. Please make copies for anyone who may wish one. We look forward to a very good meeting and appreciate the work by our hosts and organizers Mary and Van Massirer.

### MEMBERSHIPS

Annual memberships have come in at a record rate from the mailing of our last newsletter. Thanks for the support. Newest lifetime members:

Madeline Wentzel Turner, Oregon City, Oregon
 99.

100. Jacque S. Lucero, Garden City, Kansas

Donations to the microfilm reader/printer since the last newsletter are:

Agnes Shellhammer Rudolph Schmahl Helen R. Zerfas

## ANNOUNCING BUKOVINA-GEN

The Bukovina Society Genealogy Mailing List / Larry R. Jensen

Thanks to the Great Plains Free-Net in Regina, Saskatchewan, we now have a new way to communicate with others on the Internet with an interest in Bukovina: BUKOVINA-GEN - The Bukovina Genealogy Mailing List! This mailing list is available, free of charge, to anyone who has an e-mail account.

What exactly is a mailing list? Everyone who's used e-mail knows that you can send copies of the same message to several people at once, just by listing all their addresses in the "To:" field. The recipients can use the "Reply to All" feature on their e-mail program to send their replies back to everyone, and an instant mailing list is born! That's much more convenient than printing and mailing so many letters. However, once the list grows beyond a handful of friends and family, it can become very difficult for everyone to keep up with the requests to "add me" or "take me off" the list.

To make the job easier, we use a computer program that acts as a robotic secretary to handle all these subscribe/unsubscribe requests. In our case, that program is tistproc@gpfn.sk.ca>. The program does one other thing for us - it gives us a single, common mailing list address for us to write to: <bukovina-gen@gpfn.sk.ca>. (Please note that I'm only using the <angle-brackets> to highlight these addresses and clearly separate them from the punctuation of my sentences. They are not part of the address!)

When any of us send a message to <bukovina-gen@gpfn.sk.ca> our friendly secretary will send a copy of that message to everyone currently subscribed to the list. At the moment, that's over 40 people - and more are joining every hour! (I'm writing this only two days after announcing the list - things can work quickly on the Internet!)

To subscribe to this list, send e-mail to listproc@gpfn.sk.ca with the command: subscribe bukovina-gen Firstname Lastname replacing Firstname Lastname with your own first and last names. For more information, contact me, or see the web version of our "welcome" file at http://members.aol.com/LJensen/buko-gen.html

### BUKOVINA TOUR

A 13 article series of the recent tour to Bukovina was published in the Ellis Review and Ellis County Star. Written by Oren Windholz, it reflects his experience and some of the group during the journey. Reprints which contain additional pictures are available for \$2.00 (US) from P O Box 1083. Hays, Ks. 67601-1083.



#### OTTILIE NEBL

A package arrived from Augsburg from our good friend and Bukovina Society supporter, Tilly



Nebl. She greeted us at the Bukowina-Institut Halushkifest at the start of the Bukovina Tour and baked cakes for the trip. Tilly knew we finished the tour with an evening at Oktoberfest in Munich and offered to send us a tape of the festivities. We appreciate the thoughtful gesture and will make this available at a future meeting of the society.

### Bukovina Cyberspace Surname Messages

We are especially proud to hear from persons born in Bukovina through the Bukovina home page on the net. One such man, Adrian Bertisan, wrote for a Tshirt and mug and is happy that there are people who care for that small part of Romania. He plans to be in Waco for the next Bukovina Society meeting. Adrian is proud to have been born and raised in Bucovina until the age of 20 and now lives in California. His hometown is Vatra Moldovitei in northern Romania. He is happy that we have founded the society and some members travel back to the original land to visit. "I think Bucovina is the most beautiful part of the earth, and if the political and economical situation was not that bad, I would have never left."

The editor has exchanged e-mail with a newly discovered cousin who located Larry Jensen on the net. Larry put Judy Kurtzweil from Salinas, California in touch with me. She is the granddaughter of Julia Neuburger Stroud. Julia was born April 11, 1907 in Heinricksod, Bohemia (today Czech Republic). Some Neuburgers immigrated from Bohemia to Bukovina, but retained strong ties to their roots. Family members from time to time traveled back and forth. When the first Bohemian Germans in Bukovina migrated to Ellis, Kansas, Julia's family moved back to Bohemia before going to Ellis. The Neuburgers and Erberts from Ellis and Judy's family share the same common ancestor.

Allan W. Schmidt, a frequent correspondent of the society sent his e-mail addresses: dschmidt@chat.carleton.ca (or) a3676@mail.public.net He would like information on the descendants in North America of the Satulmare, Bukovina family Nunweiler, especially the family of Johann Peter Nunweiler and Marie Elisabeth Ahlen. He enclosed the family group record. Snail mail to 7897 Decarie Dr., Gloucester, Ontario, Canada K1C 2J4

Nancy S. Janda e-mailed Larry Jensen to add her name to the Bukovina home page list of Bukovina researchers at Dennis. Janda@kconline.com Bukovina Towns: Primarily Illischestie; Also Badeutz, Satulmare, Alt-Fratautz, Ludihumora. The surnames: Silzer, Fritz, Armbruster, Gebhardt, Rumpel, Ritter, Leib, Wendling, Hodel, Kattler, Sager, Ludwinkiewisz, Fatteicher, and Keim. Mail to 1738 Sunfish Dr., Warsaw, IN 46580

R. Schulman, 1000 S. Belgrade Rd, Silver Springs, MD 20902, e-mail: ALVAREZ@aol.com is looking for information about the experiences of people in the labor camp of Bershad in the Ukraine during the Second World War. His mother said their family lived in Strijnetz before the war, and in Czernowitz briefly after the war. Then they moved to Timisoara where his two brothers were born and to the United States in 1960. In 1941 his father was taken into the Russian army and shortly thereafter, his mother, her first child, grandmother, an aunt and a cousin were forcibly taken to a labor camp in Bershad. They were there for four years until they were liberated by Russian partisans. Only his mother, the aunt and cousin survived. His grandmother and sister died in the camp. (Larry Jensen found a town of Bershad in Ukraine, on the Southern Bug river about halfway between Kiev and Odessa) Mr. Shulman has been searching for others who have stories of this experience.

Brenda Loew e-mailed from eidos4sex@pipeline.com with mailing address of P O Box 96, Boston, MA 02137-0096 for those with a Czernowitz interest to contact her. Her great-uncle, Elias M. Loew, was born in Czernowitz around 1900 and came to America alone via Ellis Island around 1912. His parents were Harry Loew (a teacher?) and Sarah Dynes Loew. Their other children were Moritz, Isaac, Ira, Berha, and others. Elias was a rags to riches story who founded a large chain of theaters, a race track, a night club, luxury hotels in Miami, and many business and charitable interests. At the time Elias left Bukovina for America, his father and family stayed in Vienna until the Second World War. Elias sent for them to join him.

A good friend has developed from the internet in the form of Alex Teller who e-mailed me from alextell@pacbell.net with the message, "I was born in Czernowitz, Bukovina in 1930. I had no idea that there exists a Bukovina Society until 5 minutes ago when I started a search on the internet. Would like to contact other people from there." He left Czernowitz at age six because his father found a new job in another city. It was Romania then, but he spoke German with his parents. He last saw his home city at age 10 on a visit with his parents. All of his other relatives have since left and are scattered all over the world and contact lost. His parents died shortly after the Second World War and he had no other siblings. In 1953 Alex was married in Romania and in 1963 came to the United States. His work was in engineering in San Francisco for 33 years which he enjoyed before his retirement in 1955. He has traveled in Asia and plans an European trip which may include Czernowitz. Alex is not doing research at this time but would enjoy e-mail from anyone with an interest in Czernowitz.

#### Bukovina Cyberspace Surname Messages Cont.

Chris Teron, CTeron@aol.com thanked us for information and sent his membership fee. "My four paternal great grandparents all emigrated in about 1897 from Breedok, a small village on the shore of the Dniester River directly north of Chernovitsi, to Gardenton Manitoba and Lancaster Minnesota. They emigrated with a larger group of Galicians from L'vov. Their names are Onufry Tyron, Lena Kekot, father Wasyl, Ann Mareniuk and Wasyl Sandul. My grandparents changed the Tyron name spelling to Teron. There is another group of Terons living in California with the same history of emigration from Bukovina to Manitoba and with the same name change but we cannot yet make a connection. Any help for his search will be appreciated."

Todd Legg, tlegg@eskimo.com e-mailed that his mother, Selma Maurine Frambach was born 8-1-26 in Edenwold, the youngest of 17 children of Franz Karl Frombach and Theresia Mang. Frank and Theresia moved from Edenwold to Seattle in March 1929 and settled on Vashon Island.

The former Lutheran Church in Illischestie taken by Agnes Shellhammer during the Bukovina Tour. It is now an Orthodox Church where we were welcomed and given small loaves of bread from a funeral service that day. There are no longer any Lutheran or Catholic congregations in the village. The Catholic Church is locked and under the care of an Orthodox neighbor.



During the Bukovina Tour Werner Zoglauer and Oren Windholz met with two distant Fuchs cousins in Suceava who lived nearby, Heinrich and Fridolin. They were in the resettlement (Umsiedlung) of ethnic Bukovina Germans to the Reichland in 1940 and among the few who were returned after the war from the Soviet zone. In Bavaria, Karl Flachs greeted our cousin Friedolin Fuchs by saying, "Fuchs you



stole the goose," from a German nursery rhyme. Friedolin responded with the rest of the rhyme. A week later in Czernowitz, a Bukovina German lady asked Werner and me what our ancestral surnames were. When we mentioned Fuchs, she immediately shouted, "Fuchs you stole the goose." We told her of our earlier learning of the story. When we first met Heinrich and Fridolin in Suceava we were ready, and said to them, "Fuchs you stole the goose" and Fridolin quickly retorted, "No, that was my father."

## homeland music

Music, song, and dance were an integral part of the people of Bukovina. The history of their faith, work, holidays, family celebrations and even military service was recorded in song and verse. Even the melancholy of departure was put to song at the time the first families migrated to the New World. At the first convention of the Bukovina Society of the Americas in 1989 Lawrence A. Weigel sang a song from the village of Pojana Mikuli. It was published in the book Buchenhain-Die Heimat unserer Deutschböhmen by Josef Neuburger. The song was translated for the society by Mr. Weigel, a prominent Volga German historian and musician.

#### aus pojana mikuli

Aus Pojana Mikuli muBich scheiden, aus einem wunderschönen Ort. Was muB ich darin verlassen? Meinen aus er wahlten Shatz!

Reise hin in Gottes Namen wohl über Länder, übert's Meer Wenn du kommst in fremde Länder, schreibe mir noch einmal her!

Deine Wangen sei das Papier, deine Tränen sei'n die Tint', deine Finger sei'n die Feder, daB du schreiben kanst zu mir!

Spielet auf, ihr Musikanten, spielet auf zum AbschiedsruB Meinem Schätzchen zum Gefallen, weil ich schneiden von ihr muB. From Poiana Micului I must depart, and leave this beautiful place. What is it I will forsake here? The sweetheart of my choice!

Travel then in God's name, go over lands, over sea. When you arrive in strange lands write a letter to me.

Your cheeks are the paper, your tears are the ink. your fingers are the pen so you can write to me!

Musicians please begin playing play a farewell greeting so it will please my sweetheart Because I must part from her.



#### **BUCHENHAINER LIEDER**

A choral group in Bavaria of people with roots in Poiana Micului, Bukovina were pictured in 1990 and have preserved on cassette music and songs of the homeland. 1st row: Georg Baumgartner, Maria Fuchs, Margarete Engert, Rosina Lang, Irma Fuchs, Magdalene Baumgartner, Hedwig Manz. 2nd row: Maria Neuburger, Frieda Fuchs, Johann Lang, Hedwig Baumgartner. 3rd row: Josef Neuburger, Gottfried Fuchs (President), Rudolf Kisslinger, Philipp Manz, Ferdinand Baumgartner (Treasurer), Friedolin Fuchs, Franz Engert.

### **BUKOVINA BRIEFS**-

Roma Kutzik of Pipestone, MN wrote, "My father, Reinhart Kutzik, immigrated to the U.S. from Eisenau, Bukowina via Canada ending up in Chicago where he joined his father Johann Kutzik in approximately 1918. The two worked as tailors in Chicago earning money to bring wife and mother Ludwina Kutzik and two girls, Gertrude and Elizabeth to America. In 1922, after many delays caused by WWI the females left Eisenau then known as Prisaca, Rumania for Montevideo, Minnesota where they found sponsors. Several factors contributed to my growing up in an environment strongly influenced by the old country culture. Bukowina, the Carpathians, haluschkis made with sauerkraut, mamaliga, kuchen, kartofelen salad and many songs became dear to my heart. I heard many stories of the various communities in Bukowina, also. I enjoy my membership and felt that perhaps the enclosed copies of Bukowina documents will be of interest to society members."

Ray Schoenthaler, Joe Erbert, and Ray Haneke open up the Bukovina Society museum from time to time as people stop in Ellis. They were pleased to host the Daley family from Arns, Manitoba, Canada recently during their return from a tour of the Southwest.

The board of directors of the society has scheduled a Bukovina Christmas program November 30, 1997. This first time event will feature the traditions, customs, and music of the Deutsch-Bömish and Swabian immigrants to Ellis. A planning committee will work on the details to be announced in the fall newsletter. We have invited the local Sunflower Chapter of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia to join in the program.

At the time of the newspaper series on the Bukovina Tour, Chris Rorabaugh's seventh grade class at Washington School in Ellis was studying East Europe. He asked us to make a presentation which included slides and history of their ancestors. Pat Windholz showed the class her Romanian dress outfit, black pottery, painted eggs and mementos gathered during the tour.

The 25th Annual Genealogy Conference will be conducted by the Topeka Genealogical Society, P O Box 4048, April 25-26, 1997 in Topeka, 66604.

We received brochures from Ukraina-Tours of Pittersberg, Germany announcing their tours to Bukovina in June, July and August of 1997. They offer to include the home village of guests and have been offering these tours since 1991. Their telephone/ fax is 09438/1648 or 0171/7376-288

Madeline Wentzel Turner wrote she has not been able to put the new book down and not a week goes by that someone does not post or e-mail some new significant information or family connection. "Thank you again for your part in having the society online."

### **GALIZIEN GERMAN DESCENDANTS**

The editor of the newsletter and secretary of their organization, Betty Wray contacted me by e-mail for information that might be of interest to their members. She had a specific interest in the village of Alexanderdorf. Betty has met two of our members through the FEEFHS, Irmgard Ellingson and Larry Jensen. She also cited a publication that would be of interest to some Bukovina Society members, "Die Evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukovina, Alexanderdorf und Katharienendorf von 1863-1940," by Konrad Gross.

Their quarterly newsletter is a very interesting and informative publication dedicated to family history of the German descendants from the Austrian province of Galicia. Cost is US \$15.00/yr; overseas \$18.00. Their home page on the internet is http://feefhs.org/gal/frg.ggd.html

Contacts are: Evelyn Wolfer, President, 12367 S. E. 213th St., Kent, WA 98031-2215 or Betty Wray at 2035 Dorsch Road, Walnut Creek, CA 94598, e-mail: wraybj@pacbell.net

They place surname and village entries for members and non members on their home page and help members with their research. Their members are spread out all over the country with no one core group location. The two year old society already has 120 members with about a third of them on e-mail. Anyone with a Galizien connection is encouraged to contact Betty.

### SOCIETY OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

We encourage those interested to join the society which publishes a quarterly newsletter, books, and sponsors various meetings and symposia. Dues are \$20.00 (\$25.00 outside North America) payable to the society through William Roba, Scott Community College, 5009 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722-6804 Please use your 9-digit zip. The SGAS reports that an historic marker is being placed at Jamestown to mark the arrival of the first Germans in America in 1608. Sixty million Americans claim Germany ancestry and constitute the largest ethnic element in the U.S. The German-American guadricentennial will be celebrated in 2008. The SGAS has submitted a proposal to the Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee of the U.S. Postal Service requesting a stamp in honor of this anniversary. Support of this proposal is encouraged by writing in support to: Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee, U.S. Postal Service Stamp Development, Room 4474E, 475 L'Enfant Plaza SW, Washington, D.C. 20260-2437.

#### the german research companion

A one-of-a-kind reference book geared especially to the needs of German immigrants' descendants by Shirley J. Riemer. This thick, index-driven reference work is jampacked with German family history research data concerning the German historical experience, immigration, records, research tools, language aids, and much more. All German words are accompanied by English translations. The abundance of German resource tools outlined in this book will refute the thought that "there's no place left to look." It is a companion tool to take to a library or archive research trip. The price of \$34.95 includes book, tax, and shipping. Order from Lorelei Press, Suite 204, P O Box 221356, Sacramento, CA, 95822-8356.

