

LANGUAGE USE IN AN OLD ORDER AMISH COMMUNITY IN KANSAS

BY

Jörg Meindl

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Germanic Languages and Literatures of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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William D. Keel, Chairperson

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Nina Vyatkina, Committee Member

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Stephen Dickey, Committee Member

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Ernst Dick, Committee Member

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James Hartman, Committee Member

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Peter Grund, Committee Member

Date defended: \_\_\_\_\_

The Dissertation Committee for Jörg Meindl certifies  
that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

LANGUAGE USE IN AN OLD ORDER AMISH COMMUNITY IN KANSAS

Committee:

\_\_\_\_\_  
William D. Keel, Chairperson

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nina Vyatkina, Committee Member

\_\_\_\_\_  
Stephen Dickey, Committee Member

\_\_\_\_\_  
Ernst Dick, Committee Member

\_\_\_\_\_  
James Hartman, Committee Member

\_\_\_\_\_  
Peter Grund, Committee Member

Date approved: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Abstract**

Old Order Amish are a religious group with three languages in its linguistic repertoire: Pennsylvania German (PG), American English (AE), and Amish High German (AHG). A considerable amount of research examined PG-speaking communities, analyzing the causes of language change (whether it is caused by language contact or internal processes), the factors determining language choice in situations like family or work, and the spread of linguistic innovations between speech islands. However, few studies examine the language alternation within speech situations, language use in the worship service, or language use at the level of individual utterances (discourse level). Furthermore, rural communities are underrepresented in research on PG and few studies exist on areas with a low density of PG-speakers. The present study addresses these research deficits by describing and analyzing an Old Order Amish speech community in Anderson County, Kansas. The speech community is geographically distant from other PG-speakers. Data has been collected through interviews, translation tasks, and participant observation.

The present study analyzes four major areas of the Anderson County speech community: First, the study describes the social structure as well as cultural and religious norms of the community. These factors influence language use, linguistic change, and communicative contacts to PG and AE-speakers outside of the speech community. The present study sets out to test with ethnographic methods how many contacts exist to other PG-speakers in geographically distant speech communities. Second, a detailed analysis of the linguistic structure of Anderson County PG will be

provided, employing comparative linguistic methods, with focus on language change and contact to AE and other varieties of PG. It will be examined whether changes in Anderson County PG are caused by internal processes or language contact. Third, two theoretical models of language choice, the domain model and the network model, are tested with the data from the Anderson County speech community. Based on these data, limitations of domain and network models are demonstrated. Finally, the sociolinguistic structure of the worship service, its theological and social functions, and the language use in this setting are analyzed with ethnography of speaking and discourse analysis methods. Focus will be on the sermons. The data from Anderson County reveal a communicative problem in the sermons, the "preacher's dilemma": the preachers quote and interpret the scriptures which are in AHG. However, preachers and other congregation members have only limited AHG-proficiency and, thus, do not easily understand all words or phrases used. Switching to AE is restricted by the sociolinguistic norms and PG does not provide the necessary lexical equivalents of the words in questions. The preachers manage this dilemma by employing the communication strategies *metalinguistic remarks* and *self-translations*.

The analysis of the Anderson County speech community shows that the community has complex contacts to other PG-speaking communities and undergoes a change in the employment structure that causes an increase in AE-contacts. The linguistic data show little AE-influence beyond the lexicon, but ambivalent results regarding the influence from other varieties of PG. The tested models of language choice prove to be suitable for some settings, but not applicable for complex and

highly regulated speech situations like the worship service. In the sermons, the role of the preacher and the theological function of the sermons supersede other factors of language choice including sociolinguistic norms. The use of codeswitching-based communication strategies in the sermons shows that violations of sociolinguistic norms are accepted if they serve the main function of the sermons and are kept to the necessary minimum. The communication strategies are necessary repair mechanisms for communicative problems. Thus, both problem and solution are connected to the specific structure of multilingualism in the speech community. Despite the regulated ceremonial setting and in contrast to implication from past research, the sermons prove to be dynamic speech events in which all languages of the repertoire fulfill important functions.

The dissertation addresses research deficits in four different areas that have little been addressed in research so far: First, a profile of language structure and language use in a isolated, rural PG-speech community is presented. Second, hypotheses on the sources of language change in PG are tested. Third, the language use in the worship service is described in detail and, fourth, language use on the discourse level is analyzed.

For my parents Annette Meindl and Gerhard Meindl

## **Acknowledgements**

Many people have contributed to the success of this research project. I want to mention first those who remain anonymous, but are the most important for this project: I am deeply indebted to all informants in the Anderson County Amish community who donated their time, shared their knowledge, and welcomed me in their houses. During two years of research, friendships have grown. I am very grateful for the loving support of parents and brothers. My parents made this all possible – thank you so much for giving me this opportunity, for all your patience and help, for the freedom to follow my interests.

Many friends have supported me throughout the time and provided crucial support. I am deeply thankful for my great friend Summer Eglinski. She has been a great source of strength and motivation. Scott Seeger shared his friendship and expertise with me, many times. Regine Kroh provided advice and motivation and Bernadette Zacharias enabled me to get to Anderson County in times where I lacked car or horse and buggy.

Certainly, this project could not have been completed without the mentorship of my adviser Professor William Keel. I also want to thank others who provided academic advice for the project, especially Nina Vyatkina, Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm. I owe much to Klaus Mattheier who introduced me to the world of dialect research and opened the door to Kansas for me.

I also want to thank the Max Kade Foundation and the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures for financial support.

**Abbreviations**

AE	= American English
AHG	= Amish High German
CS	= Codeswitching
NHG	= New High German
OOA	= Old Order Amish
PG	= Pennsylvania German



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## **Introduction**

"We have a lot of English in our German, but it has always been like that" - this is how an Old Order Amish woman in Anderson County, Kansas, described the Pennsylvania German (also known as Pennsylvania Dutch) in her community. Old Order Amish (OOA) are multilingual, with three languages in their linguistic repertoire: they are fluent in Pennsylvania German as well as American English and use Amish High German for hymns and scripture readings. The statement of the speaker reflects two attitudes of OOA in Kansas towards their Pennsylvania German (PG): They perceive PG in Kansas as being heavily influenced by American English (AE) but consider this AE-influence to be a normal and stable part of the language. The linguistic analysis of PG in Kansas (see chapter two of the following study) shows that different forms of language alternation, i.e., borrowing, codeswitching, and hybrid forms, are a common part of language structure and language use in the examined speech community.

In cases like the OOA, where speakers do not have the same proficiency in all languages of their repertoire, the use of multiple languages by the same speaker can cause problems. One such problem occurs in the worship service, where preachers face a dilemma, henceforth called the "preacher's dilemma": Preachers recite and discuss the scriptures which are in Amish High German (AHG), but preachers and audience do not have full proficiency in AHG. Pennsylvania German does not have the equivalent vocabulary to be used for translations and American English is restricted by the norms of the worship service. Thus, preachers can either follow the linguistic norm and face issues in being understood or ensure understanding by violating the linguistic norm of avoiding AE. The preacher's dilemma is both caused and solved by the specific form of multilingualism in the Anderson County OOA community. As a solution for the preacher's dilemma, preachers utilize multilingual communication strategies, as the following study will show. The study covers three other areas of

culture, language, and language use in the Anderson County speech community. First, the social structure of the community and its cultural and religious norms. Second, the linguistic structures of Anderson County PG and AHG, with emphasis on phenomena caused by contact to AE and varieties of PG from other speech communities. Third, the language use at the community level, i.e., in different speech situations and communicative networks. For these three areas, numerous studies deliver data for other speech communities while the language use in the sermons and communication strategies on the discourse level have so far not been examined for PG. The analysis of OOA sermons in a community in Kansas addresses three deficits in PG research, as demonstrated in the following sections of this introduction. The methodology and the data base for the study will be described, before an overview on the structure of the complete study is provided.

### **1) Desiderata in PG-Research**

A large amount of research on PG has been conducted since the late nineteenth century, covering the development of the dialect, the loss of PG in some communities, language choice in different situations and networks, language contact phenomena in PG, and the connection of language and identity. The following study addresses three areas that have been underrepresented in PG-research so far. First, PG research has focused on language choice depending on situation or conversation partner (i.e., network contacts), but has not investigated language choice on the discourse level, i.e., on the micro-level within speech situations and within sentences or utterances. Only few studies on PG analyze phenomena on the discourse level, mainly on the borrowing of discourse markers (Fuller, *Morpheme Types; Principle*; Salmons, *Bilingual*). However, language use on the discourse level has important functions for the organization of the discourse (see Selting and Couper-Kuhlen). Because PG speech communities are multilingual societies, they provide the opportunity for examining the

discourse level regarding communicative problems and solutions that are related to multilingualism.

Second, language use in the worship service of PG-speaking OOA and other Anabaptists has not been examined comprehensively. A small number of studies within the ethnographic approach describe language use in OOA worship services (e.g., Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography*). This is surprising considering that the worship service has a crucial role for social interaction and group identity in OOA communities (Hostetler, *Amish Society* 209-10). Furthermore, the worship service is the main occasion where AHG is used and thus all three languages in the repertoire of OOA play a role in interaction. As a ceremonial event, the worship service is more rule-governed than many other speech situations (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 5) and is, thus, of great interest for analyses of the connection between sociolinguistic norms and language use. The following study will show that the rules of the worship service create the preacher's dilemma, but speakers react with flexible language use on the discourse level, more than one might expect in such a highly regulated speech event. Thus, the analysis of sermons in the Anderson County OOA community contributes to filling the gap in knowledge about language use in ceremonial events and provides data on how speakers manage communicative problems in a highly regulated setting.

Third, several studies describe German dialects in Kansas as well as PG in a variety of states, but no studies exist on language use in PG communities in Kansas. The following study addresses this deficit and contributes to a comprehensive picture of the history and status of German dialects in Kansas as well as of PG in the Midwestern United States. Furthermore, the speakers in Anderson County are geographically isolated from other PG-speakers. In a study on the factors for increased AE use in Amish and Mennonite communities, Steven Hartman Keiser emphasizes that such isolated rural settings can contribute to the understanding of factors of language shift towards AE (Keiser, *Lunch Pail Threat* 17). The data from the Anderson County speech community can be used for comparisons with

data from speech communities in proximity to other PG-speakers and enlighten in what way the absence of PG-contacts outside of one's own speech community contributes to the maintenance of PG. The setting in Kansas is interesting for another reason: since 2005, the number of OOA church districts in Kansas has grown from eight to twelve. This development is of interest for studies on the factors and structures of migration within OOA, the networks that develop between settlements, differences in contact to AE, and what variations of PG may develop. Thus, Kansas is a promising area for future research on communicative contacts and language use in OOA communities.

## **2) Informants and Data**

The speech community examined for the following study consists of two OOA church districts with 46 families (in 2008) in Anderson County, Kansas. The districts will be described in detail in chapter one. The OOA districts are located in a rural area of eastern Kansas. According to the US Census from the year 2000, Anderson County has a population of 8,110, the county seat Garnett has a population of 3,368. No other town exceeds 400 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

Linguistic data were mainly collected in audio-taped interviews that were conducted with 28 informants, lasting between fifteen minutes and one hour. The informants also translated an English version of 40 sentences (the so-called Wenker-sentences, henceforth abbreviated as WS; see appendix 1), and a list of 26 expressions and words from a list designed for the Linguistic Atlas of Kansas German Dialect (see appendix 2). Informants 11 to 28 translated ten additional sentences designed to include syntactic features such as continuous forms or feminine possessives which were not represented in the Wenker-sentences. The sentences are quoted as WS 41 to 50 (see appendix 3). Not

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<sup>1</sup>The data is provided by the Kansas State Library at <<http://skyways.lib.ks.us/counties/AN/>> and was accessed on October 15, 2008.

all informants performed all tasks, e.g., one speaker did not translate the sentences, but only the word list; the informants one to ten did not translate all sentences. When presenting results, such exceptions will be mentioned. Two informants (informants eight and nine) do not live in Anderson County, but in Reno County. They are the parents of an informant from Anderson County who were visiting in Anderson County. They were included into the informant pool since they did not show any obvious differences in speech behavior or language structure.

The interviews and translation tasks were conducted in the homes of the informants, audio-taped, and later transcribed. The interviews did not follow a fixed set of questions and were primarily intended to collect linguistic data from the informants. The interviews focused on questions about daily life, the community, and work. Thus, the interviews produced a significant amount of ethnographic data. More ethnographic data was collected through participant observation during the visits, conversations with community members, general scholarly works on OOA culture, and from the few written sources on OOA and German speakers in Kansas.

The informants for interviews and translation tasks were twenty-eight speakers between nineteen and eighty-two years of age, eleven of them were women and seventeen were men. The age-distribution of the informants is shown below:

<b>Informants, number (#) and age</b>					
<i>Youngest age group</i>		<i>Middle age group</i>		<i>Oldest age group</i>	
Informant Number	Age	Informant Number	Age	Informant Number	Age
5	19	1	36	22	46
6	21	4	36	18	48
7	21	13	36	8	60
19	23	15	39	27	62
20	24	16	40	28	62
3	27	24	40	9	63
2	31	26	42	10	66
14	31	21	42	12	67
17	35	23	45	11	83
		25	45		



For some analyses, three age groups were formed, with nine speakers in the youngest age group under 35 years, ten in the middle age group from 36 to 45 years, nine in the oldest age group. The informants have different migration backgrounds and thus different histories of language acquisition. This is typical for OOA communities: moving between communities is a common occurrence and many members lived in other communities before, bringing linguistic influences with them.

The ethnographic (historical, cultural and social information) data were collected in the interviews and available written sources, and by participant observation between May 2006 and July 2008. The researcher visited the community over forty times between May 2006 and June 2008. Most visits took place on worship Sundays, in connection with attending the worship service. Other visits included dinner invitations to homes, attending Summer School for a day, or a Birthday celebration.

Data for speech behavior in the sermons were collected by participant observation during worship services (on more than twenty occasions; see chapter four). Taping the sermons was not possible without being very disruptive and was not attempted. The researcher took notes during the sermons and wrote down more notes immediately afterwards. This approach was chosen in order to collect data with as little of preachers as possible while testing the hypothesis that language alternation takes place in sermons beyond the use of loan words. This hypothesis was developed after participant observation in worship services in which the researcher gained the impression that language use in sermons is more complex than prior studies described. To prove the hypothesis that sermons exhibit language alternation beyond loan words (i.e., as communication strategy), it is sufficient to document language alternation without detailed phonetic analysis. Because of the method of documentation, the data from sermons have limitations: they cannot be analyzed for phonetic features and reflect only those utterances which were recognized as contributing to the study at the moment they were uttered.

Quantitative analyses are only possible in a very limited way and the embedding of utterances in the discourse can often not be analyzed since they have not been systematically recorded. However, the data prove to be sufficient to identify and describe communicative strategies and give a general description of language alternation in sermons. Thus, the following study offers the first results for understanding communication strategies and language alternation in sermons and provides an important departure point for future research.

Some remarks are in order about the issues concerning collecting data by participant observation. Among others, Eichinger (*Unexotische*) as well as Enninger and Wandt (*Participant*) have addressed the difficulties of being a participant observer in OOA communities, where the presence of the researcher is even more disruptive than in less closed communities. William Labov pointed out the "Observer's Paradox" (*Sociolinguistic* 209) which he described as follows: "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation" (209). Observing the OOA community in Anderson County showed that contact over a longer period of time is necessary to reduce the status of the researcher as outsider. After one year of regular visits, the researcher became more integrated into the group which is reflected in the increasing number of casual conversations initiated by the informants. Nevertheless, the presence of the researcher continued to trigger changes in speech behavior, mainly codeswitching to AE. However, the observer's paradox had little apparent influence on the observation of sermons. The strict sociolinguistic rules and the specific setting of the worship service do not leave room to accommodate the linguistic needs of visitors. One informant even told the researcher that the preachers cannot change their language use because of visitors. The monologue-character of the sermons excludes interaction with the audience and thus also eliminates the necessity for codeswitching as accommodation to conversation partners.

The transcription of interviews and translation tasks is based on Standard German orthography with some changes in order to eliminate the main inconsistencies in the orthographic representation of phonemes (e.g., all [f] sounds are represented with one sign only, unlike in standard NHG). A detailed phonetic transcription was not necessary for the purpose of this study. The transcription for this study has been created with the goal to maintain an easily readable transcription that distinguish AE from PG-utterances and represents one phoneme with one sign. Thus, the transcription shows the following deviation from Standard German orthography:

- nouns are not capitalized, e.g., PG /arwett/ for NHG /Arbeit/ (AE: work).
- schwa-sounds (usually replacing unstressed /e/) are transcribed as /ə/ in order to reflect unstressed syllables, e.g., PG /baurə/ (AE: to farm).
- long vowels are marked by a following /:/, e.g., the Standard New High German "Hahn" (AE: rooster) would be spelled as /ha:n/, in order to eliminate letters that are not pronounced.
- all [f] sounds are spelled as /f/; the Standard New High German alternative spelling with /f/ or /v/ is not adopted in order to limit the orthography to one graphic representation for one phoneme. For example, the PG equivalent for NHG /von/ (AE: from) is represented as PG /fun/.

The transcriptions of PG and AHG quotes are followed by a translation into AE in [brackets]. The translation follows the word order of the original as closely as possible. Occasionally, AE words are capitalized to show cases or other grammatical information from PG or AHG that AE does not reflect.

For example:

- all words or parts of words that have been categorized as AE follow the orthography of AE and are underlined
- the second person plural pronoun would be transcribed as /youPLURAL/ to distinguish it from

the singular form.

- the personal pronoun /me/ would show case differences as /meACC/ or /meDAT/ for accusative and dative case respectively. This transcription is only used if the grammatical information is necessary for the analysis.

### **3) Methodology**

Because the description of language use in the Anderson County OOA-community covers the social and cultural structure of the community as well as the linguistic structure of Anderson County PG and language use at various levels, three different methodological approaches have been employed in this study. The linguistic description of Anderson County PG and AHG in chapter two uses a comprehensive and comparative approach. The main results from linguistic studies on contact phenomena and language change in PG and AHG are compiled and the data from the Anderson County speech community is used to test the validity of the results.

The socio-cultural description in chapter one relies on data collected and analyzed with ethnographic methods, i.e., the data is mainly collected through participant observation and interviews and analyzed according to categories from the culture that is examined. The description of language use at the society level in chapter three is also conducted within the ethnographic approach. The analysis of the language use in the worship service and the sermons in chapters four and five require an approach that enables an analysis of the interplay between language use and culture within speech situations. Such an approach is provided by the *ethnography of speaking* (or: *ethnography of communication*) approach which analyzes language use in the context of culture and society (see Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Speaking*). This approach is used in order to explain the social and cultural factors

determining language use in the sermons. Besides social and cultural factors, language use can be determined by requirements for a successful organization of the discourse, i.e., micro-level strategies of language use like taking turns, repairing mistakes, embedding quotes, modifying statements, etc. This is the micro-level of language use at which preachers in Anderson County manage the preacher's dilemma. Concepts from the discourse analysis approach will be used to analyze this dimension of language use in the sermons.<sup>2</sup>

#### **4) Structure of the Study**

The following study is divided in six chapters, with the first three chapters analyzing developments and structures for the whole speech community, chapters four and five focusing on the worship service, and chapter six summarizing the findings and providing an outlook to future research. The first chapter describes the social and cultural factors for language use in Anderson County, starting with the migration history in order to understand the historical roots of network connections between PG-speakers, followed by an analysis of the settlement structure, employment structure and other social, cultural, and religious factors that determine norms of language use, linguistic competence, and network connections to AE speakers. Chapter two describes the structure of PG in Anderson County with emphasis on possible influences from AE and other varieties of PG and the resulting hybrid forms between AE and PG. This chapter also includes a description of Amish High German and its interplay with PG. The chapter provides information on the status of PG in an OOA community in Kansas and describes the linguistic factors for language use at different levels. Chapter three discusses different models to describe language use on the community level (domain model, network model) and tests these models on the data from the Anderson County OOA-districts. The data from chapters one to three

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<sup>2</sup> In the present study, discourse is understood as the organization of interaction at the micro-level of language as defined, e.g., in Gumperz; Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers*. For an overview of different approaches with the name discourse analysis see Schiffrin, *Handbook*.

provide the necessary background for the analysis of language use in the sermons and contribute to the description of PG in general, of language contact, and of German-speaking groups in Kansas.

Chapters four and five provide more details on two areas of importance for the analysis of language use in sermons: chapter four introduces ethnography of speaking model, which provides the methodological framework for the analysis of the language use in worship services. Then, the chapter describes the structure of the worship service and its cultural context. Furthermore, chapter four elaborates on the cultural and religious factors for language use in the worship service, the position of the sermons within the speech situation *worship service*, and the function of worship services and sermons within Amish communities. Chapter five introduces the concept of communication strategies, an analytical tool from discourse analysis that will be used for the micro-level analysis of language use in the sermons. The analysis of the language use in the sermons focuses on the management of the preacher's dilemma. The analysis describes three communication strategies (framing quotes, self-translations, and metalinguistic remarks) which solve problems of discourse management resulting from the specific structure of multilingualism in the Anderson County speech community. These communication strategies utilize multilingualism to solve the problems it created at the level of discourse management. These communication strategies draw from the structural overlap of PG and AE as well as the tolerance of speakers for a certain degree of AE use in the speech situation, the latter contradicting sociolinguistic norms for the worship service.

The final chapter summarizes the findings of the study regarding sermons and their importance for future analyses of highly regulated speech situations. Furthermore, results of the study regarding the structure of the linguistic repertoire, sociolinguistic norms, and language attitudes in the Anderson County speech community will be presented, with emphasis on the importance of norm tolerance and language awareness for the language use in sermons.

## **I) Ethnographic and Social Context**

Language use and language change can only be understood when the socio-communicative environment of the speakers is analyzed because social factors, cultural norms, and social networks determine the communicative needs and norms of language use in a speech community. Patterns of language use are the result of the cultural context (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Speaking* 660) and in return influence the cultural context.

The present chapter provides an overview of the migration history of PG-speakers in Kansas (section I.1) and an ethnographic description of the PG speech community in Anderson County, including information on the social structure and community norms (section I.2). The migration history is described because it is an important source of connections between Anderson County and other speech communities. The description is mainly based on the findings of studies on German speakers in Kansas and studies on the settlement patterns of OOA in the United States. Additionally, some information on the migration history of individual families in Anderson County has been provided by informants.

The social and ethnographic profile of the Anderson County speech community (section I.2) is described because it determines communicative needs and the communicative repertoire of the individuals as well as the speech community. The section addresses communicative networks, but more details on networks are provided in chapter three. The Anderson County speech community has never been described before. Therefore, the description of this specific OOA community is not only useful for the understanding of language use, but contributes to research on PG-speakers in general. The numerous studies on PG in the Americas include only few studies on groups in Kansas. Furthermore, the ethnographic profile of the Anderson County OOA-community contributes to research on German speakers and religious groups in Kansas. In the existing research on this field, only two studies make

PG their primary focus (Ruppenthal, Ruppenthal, *Pennsylvania-Germans*; Keel, *Pennsylvania German*). The description in the present study is based on data from translation tasks and interviews with informants and participant observation in the Anderson County districts, collected between May 2006 and July 2008. Additionally, the collected data provides some information on other OOA-communities in Kansas, which also have not been described so far.

### **I.1) Pennsylvania Germans in Kansas**

The Migration of Old Order Amish and other Pennsylvania German speakers into Kansas started at the same time and followed similar patterns as the migration of other German speakers. The following three sections give an overview of the research findings on the migration movements of German speakers in Kansas and the place of Pennsylvania Germans within these movements. After this, sections I.1.4 and I.1.5 extract information on the migration history of Anderson County OOA from the research on German speakers in Kansas and OOA in the United States.

#### ***I.1.1) Research on German Speakers in Kansas***

Taking into account the large number of people with German ancestry and the broad spectrum of German dialects represented in Kansas (see Keel, *Deutsch*), a surprisingly small amount of research exists on these topics. Eleanor L. Turk reports that only 13 out of 4,500 works on the history of Kansas until 1992 are dedicated to German-born settlers (Turk 54). Linguistic studies on varieties of German in Kansas have also been scarce, but increased after 1980. Histories of Kansas cover German speakers very briefly or not at all (Turk 53), only two studies prior to the Second War covered more than individual speech islands (Ruppenthal, *German*; Stucky). A groundbreaking study, the project *Foreign*



*Language Units of Kansas* by J. Neale Carman and associates, presents data on linguistic minorities until 1945 (and occasionally covers later years). Details about the groups of foreign language speakers are presented, based on interviews with informants, written sources, and the US Census data.<sup>3</sup>

However, a large amount of this data focuses on German speaking immigrants from Russia, a bias that can be observed in most of the research on German speakers in Kansas (Turk 57, 67). An overview of all known German-speaking groups has been published by Keel (*Deutsch*).<sup>4</sup> Several studies on German-speaking immigrants from Eastern Europe were published throughout the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. Buchheit; Keel, *Heimatbestimmung*; Keel and Rein; Keel et al.; Johnson, *Volga*; Lunte). No separate publications exist on the Low German-speaking Mennonites that immigrated to Western Kansas during the 1990s. Recently, Seeger examined Low German speakers in Washington and Marshall counties.

Research specifically on Pennsylvania German speakers in Kansas is very limited. The earliest study is from 1914 and focuses on the settlement movements of Pennsylvania Germans to central Kansas in the 1870s (Ruppenthal, *Pennsylvania-Germans*). The study provides the origin of specific settlers from census data and reports that most Pennsylvania Germans had already given up the language prior to the First World War (38). Carman and associates provide some data about Pennsylvania Germans up to 1945, mainly about *Dunkers* (also called *Dunkards* or *German Baptists*), a denomination with Pietist and Anabaptist roots that is named after its practice of baptism by submersion (Bender). They also provide data on the Pennsylvania German-speaking Mennonites in South-Central Kansas. The Amish in this area (specifically Reno County) are treated together with

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<sup>3</sup> Carman and associates published the first of three volumes, an atlas with statistical data and maps. The second and third volume, containing the detailed descriptions of settlement areas and groups of foreign language speakers (volume II) as well as the description of certain social factors of foreign language speaking groups (volume III) exist as unpublished typescript in the Kenneth Spence Research Library at the University of Kansas.

<sup>4</sup> Putnam's later handbook article (*German Dialects in Kansas*) summarizes Keel's data without adding new information.

other PG-speakers, and the Amish in Eastern Kansas (Anderson County) are mentioned in a short paragraph, stating the number of families living in the settlement and some of the US states the Amish settlers had come from (Carman and associates 838; 1419-23). Keel collects the available data and summarizes the settlement movements of Pennsylvania German speakers from the territorial area to the 1920s (see *Pennsylvania German*). Keel emphasizes the numeric importance of Pennsylvania Germans in the settlement history of Kansas and explains the research deficits partly by the fact that Pennsylvania Germans were often born in the United States, assimilated linguistically and consequently cannot be identified in census data (Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 4). Keel gives a detailed overview of the religious denominations of Pennsylvania German background and the early settlements of these groups, which were Mennonites and often German Baptist Brethren, specifically the so-called *Dunkers* (3-6).

A valuable source for migration movements of Old Order Amish (and partly of Mennonites) is Luthy's book about Amish settlements that failed. Due to his focus on failed settlements, Luthy does not cover the OOA church districts in Anderson and Reno counties directly, but information on them can be derived from data on movements to and from failed OOA settlements. Luthy often provides birth places and destinations of Amish who are involved in these migration movements.

Two written sources by Amish are available: comprehensive and recent information on the location and population of the established Old Order Amish districts in Kansas can be found in the directory for the Amish settlements in Kansas and Oklahoma (Yoder and Yoder). It gives names and addresses of the members of the church districts in Reno and Anderson Counties, including maps of the districts. It also contains a short history of each of the districts, however with anecdotal character. The national directory for OOA settlements (Raber's *Der Neue Amerikanische Calender*) lists only names and addresses of bishops and ministers of church districts.

Few sources give information on the OOA settlement in Anderson County. Yoder and Yoder

provide a short description of its history (42-44), as do Carman and associates (838). Some information about Amish moving to or from Anderson County can be found in Luthy's study on failed settlements that failed, but the available histories of Anderson County do not mention the OOA settlement (see Anderson County Historical Society, *Family Stories*; Anderson County Historical Society, *Histories*; Beachy; Fink; Johnson, *History*). The main source for the ethnographic structure of the settlement and its history are the informants. Due to the emphasis on family and community in OOA-groups, the informants have knowledge about migration movements; however, this knowledge is orally transmitted and thus of limited reliability. The Anderson County Amish themselves have no written records of their history, besides the Oklahoma-Kansas-Directory (Yoder and Yoder).

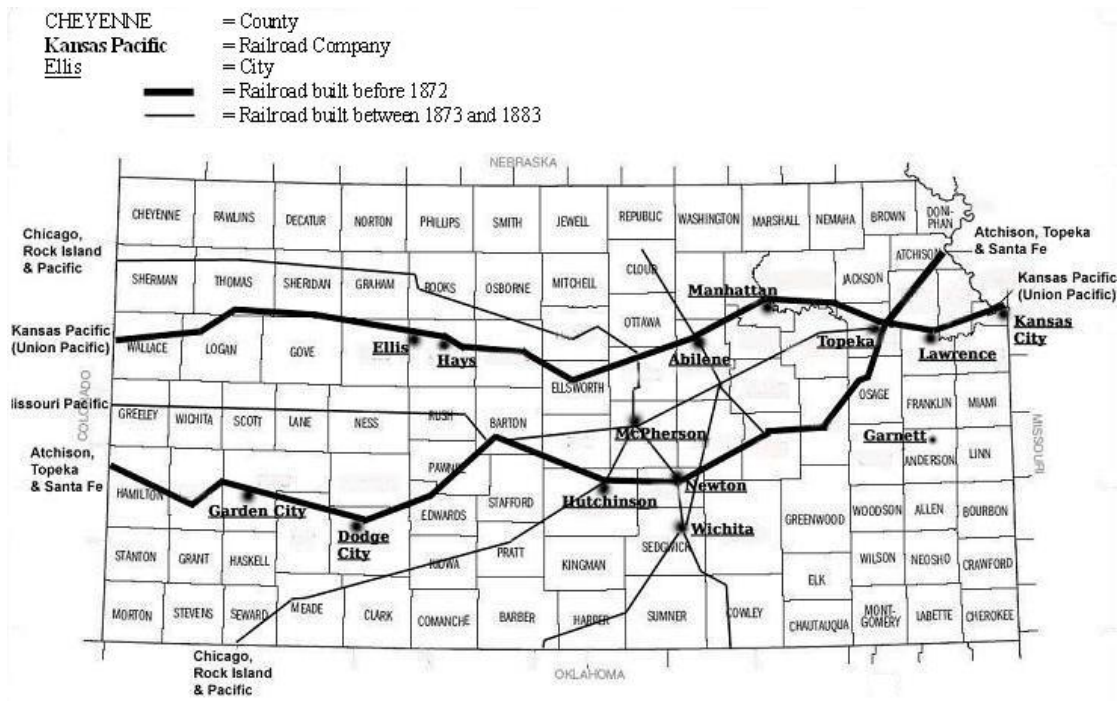
### ***1.1.2) Migration and Settlement Patterns in Kansas***

The main migration to Kansas took place during the second half of the nineteenth century, starting with the opening of the eastern part of the Kansas Territory for settlers in 1854. While the population of Kansas was only around 140,000 in 1865, an immigration wave was triggered by the expansions of railroad lines through Kansas to the west and thus the population of Kansas grew quickly to nearly one million in 1880 (Shortridge 4, 72; Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 5; for the railroad lines see map 1 and for more details see Carman and associates 38). German speakers were among the very first settlers and most of the non-English rural settlements established during territorial time between 1854 and 1861 were inhabited by German speakers (Carman, *Continental Europeans* 164).

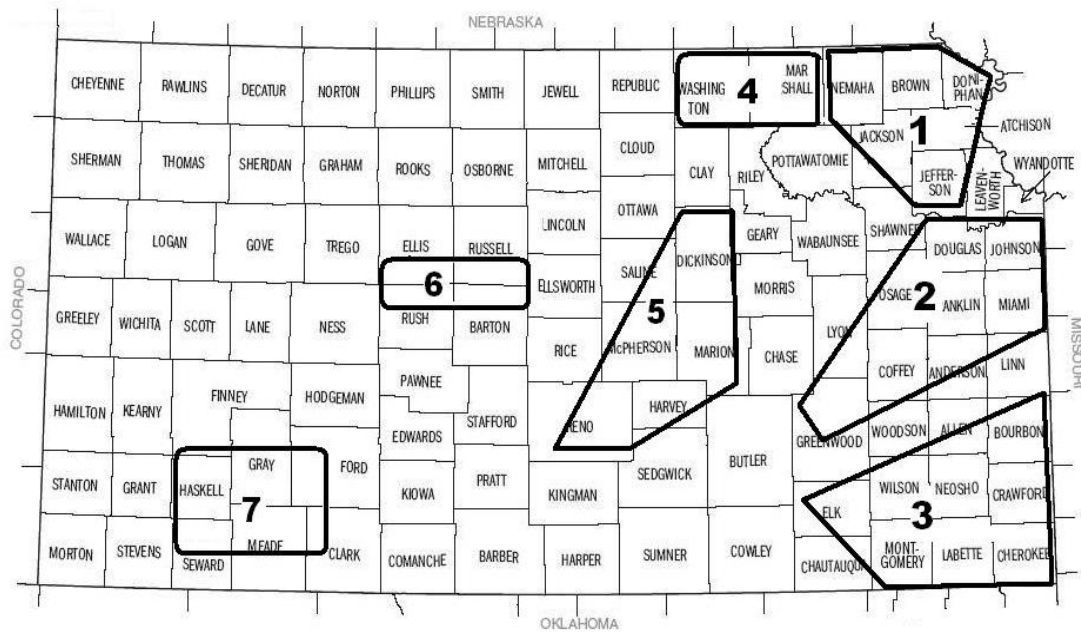
Pennsylvania Germans formed a large part of the immigration to Kansas during the nineteenth century and they participated with considerable numbers in the settlement of Kansas.

Many Pennsylvania Germans arrived with the first settlers in 1854, both as individual settlers and soon also in groups with specific religious identities. Individual settlers in rural areas or speakers in

**Map 1: Major Railroad Lines in Kansas**



**Map 2: Main Settlement Areas of German Speakers in Kansas**



Many German speakers tended to settle in ethnic clusters, like many European immigrants cities

gave up German early. Many had lived in other areas of the United States before and had already shifted to AE as primary language. The vast majority of the Pennsylvania Germans (around 90 percent), were individual settlers or members of non-sectarian groups (Valuska and Donner 878). Because of their rapid assimilation, few records exist about their numbers, their places of settlement, and their language use. Even for members of some religious affiliations with a specifically Pennsylvania German background (Lutherans, Evangelicals, etc.), little data about language use in earlier times is available (Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 6-7). (Shortridge 4). Furthermore, a significant number of German speakers were members of religious denominations which settled as closed group or sometimes even migrated with the whole congregation (Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 3). German was preserved for longer periods in these clusters, especially in communities with few AE-contacts and/or a high concentration of German speakers in the area (Carman 188). The sectarian denominations that immigrated to Kansas prior to 1870 were mainly Anabaptists (Amish and Mennonites) or Brethren churches, with a distinct Pennsylvania German background (Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 3). The Anabaptists and Brethren are the Pennsylvania Germans which Ruppenthal describes as “very distinctive“ (*Pennsylvania-Germans* 33). They were identifiable by their dress and lifestyle, the language they used as a group, and the fact that they lived in close proximity to each other. The largest number of German-speaking settlements in the early phase of the migration into Kansas were established by the German Baptist Brethren, also called *Dunkers*. Map 2 shows where high concentrations of German speakers could have been found or can still be found in Kansas (Anderson County is in area two). The areas one, two, and three in the eastern third of Kansas were settled by the German Baptist Brethren, starting at the time of the first immigration to Kansas during the territorial period. The German Baptists established one initial settlement each in area one, two, and three and then branched out to neighbor counties. This way of branching out was continued by the *Dunkers* westwards and they settled in many counties throughout Kansas. For decades, *Dunkers*-districts could be found in

most areas of Kansas, initially providing a base for PG-speaking contacts across the state. However, the *Dunkers* assimilated linguistically and culturally in the twentieth century and their numbers shrank from 426 congregations around the year 1900 to 44 congregations at the end of the 1970s (Carman and associates, 44; Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 4-5). Consequently, the *Dunkers* have not served as potential PG-contacts for the Anderson County speakers for decades. From the seven areas with concentration of German speakers in map 2, the PG-speaking population (and a significant part of the German-speaking population in general) in areas one, two and three can be mainly attributed to *Dunkers*, meaning that PG-contacts (and German-speaking contacts in general) have been absent for decades. From the other four areas with historically high concentrations of German speakers in map 2, areas four, five, and six can also be dismissed as potential German-speaking contacts for Anderson County OOA.

### ***1.1.3) Concentrations of German Speakers in Kansas***

Area 7 in the southwestern corner of Kansas can be excluded as influence on the PG in Anderson County since it marks mainly the settlement area of several thousand Low German-speaking Mennonites which migrated from Mexico to Western Kansas in the 1990s, attracted by work in slaughterhouses and meat packing plants (Keel, *Deitsch* 44). The comparatively late arrival, the linguistically distant dialect and the lack of connections of OOA to the Mennonites in this area prevents influence on Anderson County PG. Contacts between the Low German Mennonites and the Anderson County OOA do not exist and the latter are mostly not even aware of the existence of the Mennonites in southwestern Kansas. In the early years of the settlement of Kansas, some Amish and some German Baptist Brethren had moved to this area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 3). The German Baptist Brethren were PG-speakers like the Amish.

However, the Amish left prior to 1930, due to the bad conditions for farming in the area (Luthy 140-64); the German Baptists stayed but abandoned the use of PG. Another area with a high concentration of German speakers but no contacts to the Anderson County OOA is area six in west central Kansas. In this area around the cities of Hays and Ellis, the northern branch of the Kansas Pacific Railroad became the destination for German-speaking settlers from Russia and Austria (Volga, Bukovina, and Moravian Germans) and Bohemians during the 1870s and 1880s (see Saul). The settlers in this area are mainly not Anabaptists and only small numbers of PG-speakers settled there. Some of the Volga Germans in this area speak Rhine Franconian dialects which are linguistically close to PG, and German speakers of different dialects can still be found there today (Keel, *Heimatbestimmung* 108), but no contacts between Anderson County OOA and the Russian Germans or Bohemians have been reported. This absence of contact is less due to the large geographical distance but due to the tendency of Anabaptists to limit contacts to other Anabaptist groups with similar lifestyle and religious rules. For similar reasons, few contacts exist to area four adjacent to the Nebraska border (Area 4). In this area, the Oregon Trail attracted Low Germans and active speakers of Low German can still be found there, however mainly in the oldest generation (see Seeger). Swiss German settlements were also founded in this area (Keel, *Deutsch* 30). The Anderson County OOA do not have contacts to these groups, but in 2007 a new OOA settlement was founded in area four, twelve miles outside of Marysville, Marshall County, and contacts between Anderson County and this community exist.

The only area in Kansas besides Anderson County in which Pennsylvania German has been present throughout the whole twentieth century is area 5. In this area in south central Kansas, the six Reno County OOA settlements have been in proximity to Pennsylvania German-speaking Baptist Brethren and Mennonites. The area was mainly settled during the 1870s and 80s, with the westward expansion of the railroads. The railroad companies owned land several miles on both sides of the

railroad lines and hired agents to attract settlers and sell land to them (Shortridge 5). The Brethren arrived as early as 1869 often in larger groups. For example, around 300 River Brethren came by train from Pennsylvania to Dickinson County in 1879 (Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 3, 6). The PG-speaking Mennonites in Kansas arrived around the same time (see Krahn and Haury). They had 17 congregations at the beginning of the twentieth century and 15 in 1955 (Carman and associates 44, Keel, *Pennsylvania German* 4-5). The Old Order Amish in South Central Kansas also arrived in the early 1870s from Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, and Nebraska. They established a district in Monitor (McPherson County) in 1872 (see Map 3). Most of the families moved to other settlements in Kansas, many to Reno County, after the settlement was abandoned in 1904 (Luthy 129-30). A second Amish-settlement in Area five (adjacent to Reno County) existed briefly in Hesston (Harvey County) from 1885-1890. Luthy lists five families from Pennsylvania that moved to Hesston after the Santa Fe railroad arrived in the area and railroad land attracted many Mennonites to settle in the county. The families soon returned to Pennsylvania since they disliked the farming conditions (131-2). The Beachy Amish usually did not move in from other states but consisted of former members of the OOA districts in the area.

It has already been described that the Beachy Amish are in the process of giving up PG and that the Baptist Brethren (*Dunkers*) abandoned PG in the first half of the twentieth century. The latter also happened with many Mennonites. They shifted to AE as the language of daily communication prior to the First World War, in some cases as late as 1935 (Buchheit 118). However, Buchheit reports some fluent speakers within the oldest members of the PG-speaking Mennonites in Reno County in 1980 (Buchheit 118). As an additional group with a PG background, Carman and associates found Pennsylvania German Lutherans in the area (in Dickinson and Marion Counties as well as from the city of Hutchinson; 44). Some of these congregations had given up PG in daily communication already by about 1900 (Carman and associates 44), at the latest by the First World War (Carman and associates



1047). One more German-speaking group in the area should be mentioned because of its linguistic proximity to PG: the so-called Swiss Volhynian Mennonites in McPherson County, who do not speak Swiss German but a Palatine dialect. The name "Swiss" refers to the area from which these Mennonites came before migrating to the Palatine area and finally to the United States (Schach, *Phonetic* 161). They mainly stopped using German around the Second World War, but some speakers remain (Buchheit 115-6).

Besides the PG-speaking groups and the Volhynian Mennonites with a closely related dialect, groups with linguistically more distant dialects were also present in south central Kansas. Just east of the border between Butler and Harvey Counties, Swiss German-speaking Mennonites settled who speak Swiss-German, surrounded by Low German speakers (Buchheit 115-6). Low German was very common in the area because Low German-speaking Mennonites immigrated from the southern Russian Empire, Poland and Prussia to south central Kansas as well as other regions of Kansas beginning in 1873 in large numbers (Krahn and Haury). Krahn and Haury estimate that around 5,000 of the 10,000 Mennonites emigrating from Russia to the USA between 1873 and 1884 came to Kansas. The Low German-speaking Mennonites primarily shifted to English during the 1920s and 1930s, although some older speakers still remain (Buchheit 114).

#### ***1.1.4) The Connection of Anderson County with Reno County***

The presence of the described groups with PG or similar dialects in the Reno County area may have had a stabilizing effect on the language use of non-sectarian groups. Buchheit assumes that the proximity of the Old Mennonites to other PG-speakers slowed down the transition to English in these groups (Buchheit 118). However, this effect did apparently not outweigh the factors for a language shift to AE since no group except the Old Order Amish has maintained PG as language for daily usage and

in the worship services. Because most PG-speaking groups abandoned PG as their daily language during the first half of the twentieth century, a potential stabilizing effect cannot have taken full effect in the last two generations of speakers. Additionally, the big linguistic differences between some of the German dialects (PG, Low German, Swiss German) in the Reno County area might have enhanced the shift to AE. Buchheit's informants report to switch to AE as a lingua franca when encountering speakers of linguistically distant German dialects (Buchheit 115). Similar behavior was reported by informants in Anderson County when in contact with speakers from other communities.

The description of settlement patterns of German speakers in Kansas shows that the Reno County OOA districts are the only OOA districts in Kansas in proximity to other PG-speakers after the Second World War. The proximity to other PG-speaking groups might have had a stabilizing effect on the PG of the groups which would otherwise have given up PG earlier. However, an aggregation of PG-speakers like in Reno County does not exist in Anderson County and the geographically distant speakers in Reno County can not directly influence the Anderson County speech communities. Nevertheless, the Reno County OOA influences the language use in Anderson County because it forms a hub of migration movements and kinship relations for OOA in Kansas and the adjacent areas. Reno County has for a long time been the closest PG-speaking group to Anderson County. Until a few years ago, no other PG-speaking groups lived closer to Anderson County, neither in Kansas nor in neighboring Missouri, Oklahoma, or Nebraska (see Yoder and Yoder; Luthy).

Because the Reno County OOA settlements are the oldest continuously existing PG, they have extensive networks to most OOA in Kansas, the border areas to Oklahoma and Missouri, and partly beyond. Many families from Reno County helped to establish new settlements in Kansas or other states, with a greater or lesser degree of success. Besides to the Watova settlement in Oklahoma, several families from Reno County moved to Thomas, Custer County, Oklahoma in 1893 (Luthy 376), and to Alabama or Colorado (14 and 61). All these settlements failed later, but many found new homes in

settlements that survived or moved on to stable settlements in other states (Luthy 14). Additionally, OOA from Reno and later Anderson Counties assist new or small Amish settlements without a minister or a bishop, e.g., the new settlements in Labette and Neosho Counties.<sup>5</sup> This practice of mutual aid adds to the kinship ties and acquaintances through migration, as well as the visits to other church districts, and results in the establishment of networks between different OOA districts with similar lifestyles and rules (Hostetler 249). The migration history forms the background for a complex network of migration and kinship ties between OOA settlements in Kansas which will be briefly described in the following chapter.

#### ***1.1.5) Migration History of Old Order Amish in Kansas***

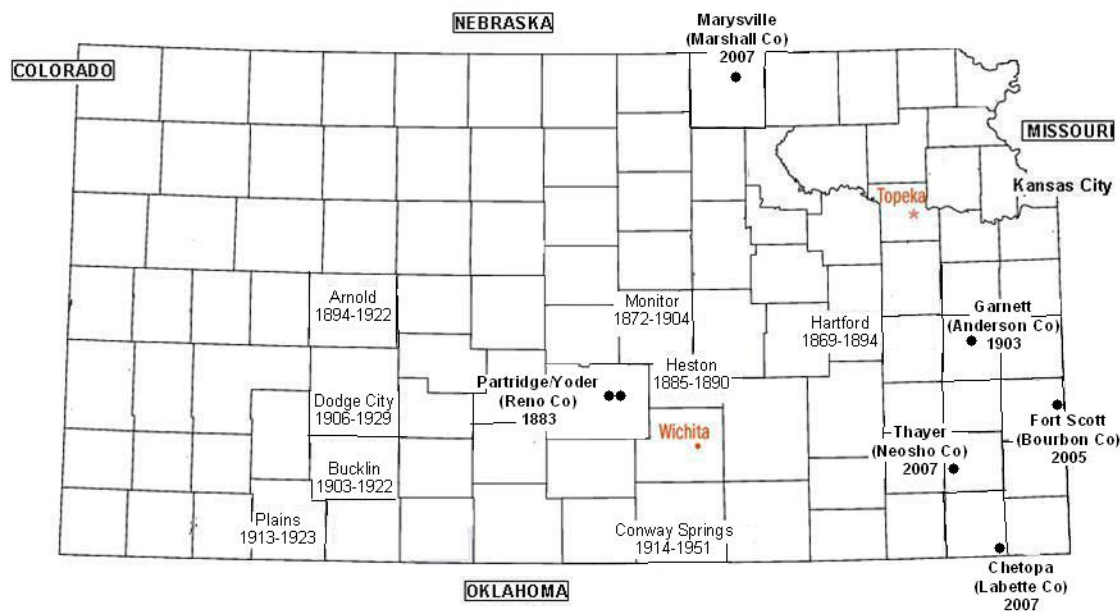
The migration history of the OOA in Kansas created connections between different settlements through the migration of families between different districts inside and outside of Kansas. The first OOA settlements in Kansas were founded in East and South central Kansas between 1869 and 1885. Three more settlements in West Kansas were founded around 1900, when settlers moved farther west.

After most of these settlements failed (except the Reno County settlements), some of the Amish settlers moved to new settlements in Kansas founded after 1900, in Plains, Conway Springs and Garnett (see map 3). Other settlers in Anderson County came from Reno County, where land became harder to purchase (Luthy 155; Yoder and Yoder 42). The problem of finding enough land shows in the history of Eli Nisly, a bishop in Hutchinson/Partridge, who moved away in the mid-1930s since he could not find enough land for his 10 children. He was followed by his son-in-law who moved back to Reno County in 1942 (Luthy 1986, 385-86). Amish from settlements in Kansas also moved to other states, especially during the economic crisis and the drought after 1929 (Luthy 385). Luthy lists several

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<sup>5</sup> For reports of earlier assistance in other districts see Luthy 377, 399.

**Map 3: OOA Settlements in Kansas (with dates of establishment and dissolution)**



cases were Amish moved back and forth between settlements, for example, the case of three families which returned to Reno County after living in Butler County (Missouri) for several years in the 1920s; other families moved from Reno County to Ford County (Kansas) and returned after the Ford County settlements failed (Luthy 142-3).<sup>6</sup> Some Amish family lived in three or four settlements throughout the years, as the historical example of Noah S. Beachy and the recent example of a 36-year-old informant from Garnett show: Noah S. Beachy, born 1858, moved from his birthplace to Reno County, Kansas, then to California, Alabama and then back to Kansas (Luthy 14). In the data collected in Anderson County, one informant reported that he was born in Reno County (Kansas), then lived in Missouri, Kentucky, and Texas, before settling in Anderson County. The inhabitants of the Anderson County Amish-settlement have current or historical family-ties to most states where Amish have settled throughout their history, but rarely to Pennsylvania. Only one informant reported to have relatives in Pennsylvania.

The first OOA-settlers in Anderson County (five families) came from Reno County, Kansas, in

<sup>6</sup>Other examples see Luthy 279, 386-7.

1903 (Yoder and Yoder 42; Carman and associates 883). The young settlement increased in size only one year later, when eight families from Gibson, Mississippi, arrived.<sup>7</sup> One of the Amish who had abandoned Gibson came to Anderson County much later: He moved from Gibson to Thomas, Oklahoma, but migrated to Anderson County in 1958, shortly before the Thomas-settlement was abandoned (Luthy 377).

According to informants and Yoder and Yoder, the size of the Anderson County settlement remained stable throughout the first half of the twentieth century; it did not grow beyond ten to fifteen families for a long time. More families arrived in 1910, but families came and went until the settlement was reduced to five families in 1947 (Yoder and Yoder 42). The Anderson County district numbered fifteen families (49 members) in 1953, after some families from Oregon had arrived (Carman and associates 838; Yoder and Yoder 42). At the end of the 1950s, several families arrived from Arthur, Illinois and twelve families from Thomas, Oklahoma (Yoder and Yoder 42), the latter a settlement which was abandoned by the last Old Order Amish in 1960 (Luthy 383).<sup>8</sup> Over the years, several individual families arrived from failed settlements in Kansas or other states, as documented in Luthy, e.g., from Ford County, Kansas in 1905 (28), from Arizona in 1909 and 1915 (30-31), Arkansas in the 1930s (37) or Colorado prior to 1920 (49-50).

For some families, Anderson County was only one out of many places of residence, as the example of Christian C. Amstutz shows: he was born in 1873 and moved to Reno County, Kansas in 1902, then lived in Kansas in Ness and Anderson Counties, before leaving for Arizona in 1908 and returning to Ness County, Kansas in 1910 (Luthy 28). Sometimes, the states from which the settlers left

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<sup>7</sup>Yoder and Yoder name also Aberdeen, Mississippi as origin of the families (42); that agrees with information from an informant. Luthy names only Gibson, Mississippi (225). Luthy reports another settler coming to Anderson County from failed settlements in Mississippi: John L. Plank had lived in Wiggins and Kiln, Mississippi before moving to Anderson County in 1934 (233).

<sup>8</sup>Luthy reports two families and a widow coming from Watova, Oklahoma to Garnett in 1942 (386).

also became destinations for Amish leaving from Anderson County: Luthy documents Anderson County residents moving to other settlements in Kansas prior to 1910 as well as to other states (27, 49-50, 142, 146).

In 1959, the Anderson County settlement reached a size that made it necessary for it to divide itself into two districts, a northern and a southern district (Yoder and Yoder/Beachy and Yoder 42); this is the current structure of the settlement. According to informants that were interviewed for the present study, the number of families in the two Anderson County districts have remained roughly the same since the second district was established. The informants for the present study explain that the main reasons to select the Anderson County-community as place of residence are marriages with members of the community, the wish to live close to relatives, and the agreement with the rules in the community. The fact that land prices were cheaper than in eastern states was and sometimes still is a factor for settling in Anderson County. However, it has lost significance because land prices are even cheaper in other areas of Kansas and land in Anderson County is not easily available anymore.

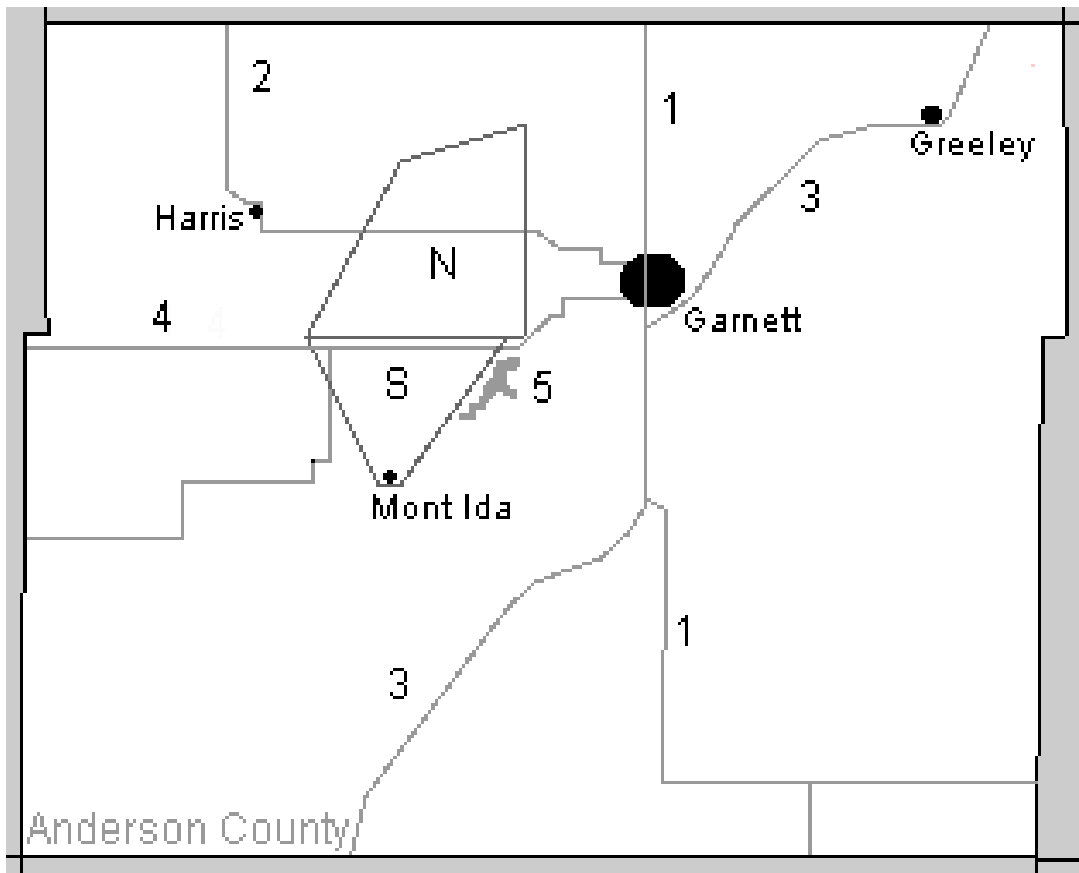
### **I.2) Ethnographic Profile of Anderson County OOA**

After the overview of the historic background of the Anderson County speech community and its historic connections to other PG-speakers in the previous section, the present section describes the current social and cultural structure of the Anderson County OOA districts. This description is based on the ethnographic data that has been collected in the Anderson County speech community. Data from research on the culture and social structure of OOA-communities will be used in order to demonstrate in what way the Anderson County OOA districts differ from other OOA communities. The description of the OOA districts begins with the geographical setting of the districts before the social structure and religious and cultural norms of the Anderson County OOA-districts will be described.

***1.2.1) Settlement-structure today***

The Anderson County settlement has its center approximately eight miles west of Garnett and is divided in two districts, the North District and the South District (see map 4). The two districts stretch approximately ten miles from the northern to the southern end, and approximately six miles from the

**Map 4: The OOA districts in Anderson County Kansas**



|-----| 5 miles

N= North District; S= South District

1 = Highway 59      2 = Highway 31      3 = Highway 169

4 = Country Road 1168      5 = Cedar Creek Reservoir

eastern to the western edge. The closest distance of OOA farms to Garnett is approximately five miles. Garnett as county seat and biggest town in the county provides the only shopping opportunities in the

area, Ottawa as the next larger town is 24 miles away. Like all OOA districts, the Anderson County districts are kept small enough to enable all district members to reach each other by horse and buggy. Yoder and Yoder list 35 families in 2004: 22 in the North District, 13 in the South District. In 2007, four marriages increased the number of families to 39, additionally, six widows live in their own houses in the districts. Like other Amish communities, the Garnett-community is not organized as a closed settlement and Amish and non-Amish farms are commingled. Because Amish and non-Amish live and farm in the same area, using AE is a part of daily-life contacts. The small town Mont Ida constitutes the southern tip of the settlement. Over the years, it has shrunk to only ten houses, five of them occupied by Old Order Amish families (Yoder and Yoder 42). Most Amish children visit the small public school in Mont Ida. Amish Sunday school for the South District is held in an old church house in Mont Ida which has been purchased by the OOA, for the North District in a former private residence in the North District. The old church building in Mont Ida also houses the Bible school that is held for a week in the summer (Yoder and Yoder 42).

### **1.2.2) Lifestyle and Social Norms (Ordnung)**

The lifestyle of the OOA settlement in Anderson County exhibits the basic elements that define all OOA groups (see Hostetler; Kraybill, *Riddle*; Nolt). The primary characteristic of Amish and other Anabaptists is adult baptism, usually between 18 to 20 years of age. Before being baptized, one is not a full member of the congregation and does not have to keep the rules of the community. Old Order Amish do not have electricity in the house nor do they drive cars, but they accept rides with non-Amish. Horse and buggy are the primary means of transportation in the district and the surrounding area, public transportation as well as hired drivers are used for longer longer distances. Old Order Amish do not have church buildings or meeting houses but meet for worship service in private homes



on a rotating basis. Formal education is usually limited to the eighth grade level and work is focused on the family farm or farm-related occupation like carpentry or cabinet making. Old Order Amish follow a specific dress code, including hats for men and beards (but no mustache) for married men. In Anderson County, the Sunday outfit consists of a black coat with a white shirt for the men; coat and vest do not have buttons, but use hook and eye-closings instead. Women wear head coverings and long dresses that cover their arms and legs.

Since the organization of the Amish church is congregational, every OOA church district adopts its own variation of rules, the *Ordnung* (AE: order) within the described framework of basic rules.<sup>9</sup> The *Ordnung* regulates “the whole range of human behavior” (Hostetler 83). In his analysis of the Amish society, Hostetler describes Amish groups as “high-context culture” with network connections substantially different from the surrounding non-Amish (low-context) society. According to Hostetler, the OOA-society is mainly characterized by an advanced level of social control and intensive in-group communication:

A high-context culture is one in which people are deeply involved with one another. Awareness of situations, experience, activity, and one's social standing is keenly developed. Information is widely shared. Simple messages with deep meaning flow freely. There are many levels of communication – overt and covert, implicit and explicit signs, symbols, and body gestures, and things one may or may not talk about. Members are sensitive to a screening process that distinguishes outsiders from insiders. (Hostetler 18)

Amish lifestyle usually includes a strong focus on the family and working with family members on the farm and this causes a connection of work place and the center of living. The second priority for Amish

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<sup>9</sup> If a church district wants to deviate from the common rules for OOA, it would not be categorized as OOA anymore, but rather form a new category of Amish. That happened repeatedly, e.g., with the New Order Amish or the Beachy Amish. The Beachy Amish split from the Old Order Amish and adopted other rules, e.g., use of cars (see Nolt 278-81). For sub-categories of Amish and Mennonites see Hostetler 277-84.

are their fellow congregation members. The members of the same Amish district live geographically relatively close together, meet on Worship Sundays and other events (e.g., funerals, last evening of Summer school) and visit each other privately. One goal of the *Ordnung* in an Amish community is establishing equality and unity within the group (Hostetler 84). The *Ordnung* in Anderson County is similar to the *Ordnung* in the Reno County districts, but differs from other OOA communities, e.g., by using tractors for farming, while the majority of OOA-districts farm with horses only (Nolt 292), and by driving with the tractors to Garnett for shopping. The Anderson County OOA are more liberal than other OOA groups in some areas but remain clearly within the framework of rules for OOA and they have some areas for which they point out to have more restrictions than some other OOA, e.g., those in Thayer, Kansas. Their openness towards farm machinery and the use of tractors to drive to town increases the amount of AE-contacts to a certain degree.

The Anderson County Amish do not have electricity in the house, but unlike many other OOA communities that use hydraulics to power machines (Kraybill and Nolt 116-7), the use of electricity for machines is allowed in Anderson County. However, electricity is not taken from the public grid, but produced with generators. The houses have plumbing for water, which not all groups have, e.g., the Amish in Fort Scott, Kansas. Gas is used to light and heat the houses, or run appliances that can be powered by gas (e.g., refrigerators). Television and radio cannot be found in Amish households, but telephones can be installed on the farm, as long as they remain out of the house, e.g., in a shed or barn. The telephone-arrangements were different several years back, when the rules allowed phones only in phone booths between the farms. This enabled the district members to make phone calls (especially in emergencies) and to receive messages on an answering machine. After more Amish wished to have a telephone more easily available for business purposes (e.g., carpenter shops on the farms), the rule was changed and phones allowed on everybody's property. The rules for telephone-installation are a result of a compromise, negotiated over several years, as it can often be observed in Amish communities (see

Kraybill, *Riddle*; Rheingold). Consequently, business contacts and long-distance contacts with relatives or acquaintances can be maintained better than this has been the case with the old rules for telephone-locations. Additionally, some of the non-baptized teenagers have cell phones, since they are not yet fully bound to the rules of the community. The unbaptized teenagers sometimes own and drive cars, but have to give them up when they join the Amish church.

### ***1.2.3) Occupational Structure***

The occupational structure of the Anderson County Amish districts is still dominated by farming but is undergoing a change. Because of difficulties in finding enough land for farming, some OOA abandon the traditional way of farming and start cabinet shops or work as carpenters and in other farm-related professions, e.g., in custom harvesting, lumber stores. Many still farm, but add other sources of income like breeding dogs or selling baked goods at farmers markets. In several states, e.g. Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, Amish take on jobs in RV-factories or similar business, a development perceived by some Amish as threat to the traditional lifestyle since the work does not take place in the family, and more money and more free time change behavior and create new contacts and influences (Kraybill and Nolt; Keiser, *Lunch Pail Threat*). According to informants, thirteen out of thirty one OOA district-members in Anderson County listed in the directory in 2004 are traditional full-time farmers, eight pursue part-time farming with additional income from occupations like breeding dogs or carpentry, and ten of the men work off-farm, mostly as carpenters in home construction. Women usually work in the household, some sell produce at farmer's markets in the area (in the city of Ottawa or sometimes in Lawrence), and some younger women baby-sit for other families or have cleaning jobs in Amish or sometimes non-Amish homes. Because of the crucial influence of occupation on social contacts and lifestyle, the *Ordnung* of the community regulates the fields of occupation which OOA

can enter. In Anderson County, employment in farm-related jobs is allowed, including on non-Amish farms. Furthermore, wood working is accepted as well as employment in businesses related to this field, for example, lumber stores, the sales barn, construction companies or harvesting crews or working on non-Amish dairy farms. The changing occupational structure in the Anderson County OOA community and its impact on social and communicative contacts are analyzed in more detail in chapter three.

#### ***1.2.4) Mobility***

Old Order Amish restrict their mobility by limiting their means of transportation to horse and buggy; the possession and usually also the operating of cars are prohibited since horse-and-buggy are considered to be sufficient for a lifestyle which focuses on the family and the church district while contacts to non-Amish are not desired. Thus, OOA do usually not operate motor vehicles themselves, but the Anderson County Amish are allowed to drive if they need to commute to a workplace and no non-Amish is available to drive. The use of farm machinery and increasing off-farm occupation causes the OOA to drive motor driven vehicles on a regular basis and most men possess a driver's license. The use of tractors was introduced during the 1930s with its bad farming conditions. The tractors are used for work, visiting other members of the district, and for shopping in Garnett. Because of the small range of the tractors, their influence on mobility is limited.

More influential to the mobility of Anderson County Amish is the tendency towards professions outside of farming. Since church members that work as carpenters or in professions like custom harvesting often work on job sites outside the Garnett area, they have to travel longer distances to work. Therefore, cars can be driven if it is necessary to get to the work place, no non-Amish driver is available, and the company provides the car. This adjustment of the *Ordnung* enables the OOA in

Anderson County to work off-farm and is thus a necessary condition for the increased amount of non-Amish work contacts (see chapter three). However, it is still not allowed to drive cars for other purposes than commuting to work and it is also not allowed to own a car. The tractors can be used for other purposes than work, e.g., to go shopping in Garnett, but they are not suitable for driving longer distances. Consequently, the mobility of the Anderson County OOA is still limited, despite more flexibility in driving cars or tractors than many other OOA groups have. Horses and buggies remain the main means of transportation and social life is mainly restricted to the family and the OOA districts.

Despite the restrictions in the use of vehicles, the Anderson County Amish travel longer distances. This is achieved by train, bus or hired drivers, in some instances with non-Amish relatives. Hiring drivers is often unavoidable since the closest stop of a passenger train is in Lawrence, 50 miles away, the closest station of the Greyhound Bus line is in Iola, 30 miles to the south. The main reason for traveling long distances is visiting relatives or other church districts, some also for vacation. All church members have relatives in other church districts in Kansas or in other states in the United States (and one family even in Canada). Most informants report that they visit relatives in other states once or twice a year, thus maintaining long-distance contacts in a similar way to many non-Amish. Visits to other OOA districts in Kansas might occur more often, e.g., some of the informants travel four or five times per year to Reno County.

Besides kinship ties, Amish travel longer distances in order to visit other church districts, either in order to learn how other districts are organized, or in order to assist with the organization of church services. Some newer districts do not have ministers, making it impossible to conduct worship services; thus ministers or the bishop from Anderson County conduct worship services in these districts. Assistance for other church districts is part of the Amish concept of mutual aid (Hostetler 249-51). Other than assisting with worship services, mutual help includes financial help (e.g., if medical bills need to be paid) and assisting with the removal of storm damage and similar tasks; one informant

reported having traveled to Fort Scott to help raise a barn for an Amish acquaintance and several OOA from different districts in Kansas helped with clearing the debris after a tornado destroyed the town of Greensburg in western Kansas in 2007. The latter example shows that help often expands to non-Amish. Few families travel for vacation. One informant reported that over several years his grandfather had spent vacations in Phoenix, Arizona, together with a group of five or six other Amish. In the last years, the grandfather and his wife spent the winter in Florida and the spring in Michigan with their grandmother's family. The informant himself and his family spent a summer vacation in Colorado Springs, according to the informant, a popular destination for Midwestern Amish; one younger informant spent a vacation in Florida.

Traveling longer distances is expensive and requires some planning (since drivers need to be hired). The traveling habits of Anderson County Amish and the restriction on longer absences have influence over contact with Amish from other districts and also non-Amish. This will be described in detail in chapter three.

### ***1.2.5) Education***

The Amish in Anderson County acquire formal education only up to eighth grade, as it is common in OOA groups (Hostetler 247-8). Different from Reno County, where children attend a parochial school, most Amish children in the Anderson County districts attend the public school. They attend public school in Mont Ida where 26 out of 30 students in 2007 were Amish. The children of two Amish families (four children in 2007), attended an Amish school which is set up in a house on an Amish farm and taught by an Amish woman. One of the families had been home-schooling their children before they decided to let them be taught together with other Amish-children. Informants gave two different reasons why Amish prefer not to send their children to public school: some dislike the

topics taught in non-Amish dominated public schools, some have more concerns about the social environment. The latter is not considered to be an issue in the Mont Ida school, where most children are Amish.

In order to provide an education on subjects and the language important for an OOA lifestyle, the Garnett Amish districts conduct Sunday school. Sunday school lasts two hours every other week (always on the Sunday the church district does not have worship service) and is taught by an older church member. Sunday school includes the singing of hymns, reading the Bible in German (Luther translation), and memorizing, interpreting and discussing Bible verses. Translating into AE is also done if difficulties in understanding occur. Furthermore, the children practice German spelling and reading the Fraktur in which the hymn-books are printed. A similar curriculum is taught in summer school, held for five days, six hours every day. The children are divided into four or five groups, according to age and taught by Amish church members. At the end of the week-long program, the relatives gather in the evening and the children present the memorized verses and their spelling skills. The language of instruction in Sunday and summer schools is PG, while both Amish and public school use AE as language of instruction.<sup>10</sup>

### ***1.2.6) Media***

Media use is an important factor in language change because it is a source of contact to other languages or different varieties of the same language. However, media use by Amish is limited to one language and to a few media types and topics. Old Order Amish do not use radio or television and most written media used by the Anderson County OOA are English-language media. Pennsylvania German does not have a long tradition as a written language and has no standard orthography that is accepted by

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<sup>10</sup> For the role of German in school instruction see Johnson-Weinert, *Teaching Identity*; for the issue of English instruction see Johnson-Weinert, *Reinforcing*.

all speakers (Post, *Pfälzisch* 46-7). The Amish in Anderson County do not usually read PG books and do not write PG or Standard German. The Standard German competence is mainly passive, if they read Standard German out loud or recite it, they use a PG-based pronunciation, known as Amish High German (see section II.6). If problems in understanding Standard German arise, the OOA use German-English dictionaries. The rare instances of the active use of Standard German include the translations of songs from English into Standard German, as the Bible school teacher occasionally uses for Bible and summer school. Even the *Sugarcreek Budget*, a weekly newspaper that produces a national issue with news for Amish and Mennonites, is published in English. A calendar from a Amish publishing house (see Räder) is available both in German and English. Amish reading habits show a tendency towards non-fiction readings, preferring authentic stories to fiction.<sup>11</sup> Books for children are in English, since no children books in PG or Standard German are available. One informant stated he translated a story into PG while reading it but emphasized that his wife does not like translating and thus reads the stories to the children in English. The sermons reflect the dominance of AE in sources besides the Bible: preachers occasionally quote in AE from texts they read.

The Standard German books most commonly used are the Bible (the Luther translation) and the hymn collection *Unparteiische Liedersammlung* in the worship service (see section IV.2). Other books in German that are read in the Anderson County districts are prayer books, Bible commentaries, and story collections or books about the history of Anabaptism. Furthermore, instructional material for German spelling is used (see *Das Neue Spelling Buch*). The books in Standard German are often published by the Amish publishing house *Pathway Publishing*, intended for the use by Anabaptists and set in Fraktur. One way for the Amish to order German books is through *Raber's Bookstore* in Baltic,

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<sup>11</sup> One informant (see interview with Informant 28) described her preference for non fiction texts and gave the reason that she wants to read stories which really happened and have not been invented for mere entertainment.



Ohio. Several books distributed by Raber's are available both in German and English, a bilingual Bible is used for Bible studies, but one preacher stated that he relies on the German version if the two versions differ significantly. The hymn collection exists as bilingual version but is not used by the Amish as it is only offered to visitors who do not understand German. *Der Neue Amerikanische Calender* is also available in a German or an English version. One informant stated that he prefers the English version because of difficulties understanding some of the German words in the *Der Neue Amerikanische Calender* and that he does not have a reason to use the German version. The sociolinguistic norms prescribe German for the sacred texts, but not for the *Der Neue Amerikanische Calender* and thus some informants do not see a reason to read this text in German.

### ***1.2.7) Worship services***

The worship service, in PG the *Gme*: (AE: community), is at the center of Amish theology and community life. Its structure and language use will be described in section II.6. In Anderson County, worship services are conducted every other Sunday at a member's farm, alternating between the North and the South district. Some Amish visit the worship service in both districts, partly depending on the distance to the farm where the church service will be held. Worship services with communion are conducted twice a year, before Easter and in the fall. Around Easter, matters concerning the *Ordnung* are discussed in an extended worship service, the so-called *Ordnungsgme* (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 4). Baptism and wedding-ceremonies do not change the basic structure of the worship service other than the added segment for the wedding or baptism. For a wedding, the seating is arranged differently, with the wedding company taking a central place.

Two ministers, a deacon and a bishop form the full body of church officials, the *Diener* (AE: servants). The Anderson County settlement did not have a bishop for several years and received

assistance from the Reno County settlement: the bishop from the Yoder districts in Reno County visited the Anderson County districts to conduct communion and baptisms. Meanwhile, the Anderson County districts have one bishop, four ministers and a deacon for both districts. The ordination as a *Diener* is a lifetime office and enables one to serve in other OOA districts with a similar *Ordnung*. Candidates are proposed in a church meeting and one of the candidates is then selected by casting lots. A *Diener* can be ordained with or without the authority to preach; in Anderson County, only the ministers and the bishop have the authority to preach, not the deacon. The *Diener* do not have an education for preaching, but they meet with each other to discuss Bible sections and also discuss the sermon prior to preaching (see the *Abrath*, AE: council; see chapter four).

### **I.3) Conclusion**

The findings in studies on the migration history and ethnographic profile of the German speakers in Kansas show that PG-speakers were numerous, but mostly assimilated quickly. Both the older and newly founded OOA settlements are comparatively far away from each other geographically and the OOA in Anderson County are not in proximity to other PG-speaking groups. Linguistic influences can thus mainly be expected to be AE influences from the surrounding AE-speakers and at a much lower frequency PG influences from distant OOA settlements. Both types of communicative contacts will be analyzed in chapter three. Contacts with other settlements can be expected since the migration history of the OOA involves frequent movement between different settlements, thus creating numerous connections through kinship and temporary membership in different districts.

The description of education and media use in the Anderson County community that is based on data collected for the present study shows that the OOA are comfortable with using both AE and PG in daily life. American English has its place in their education and is not treated as a necessary evil that

should be touched as little as possible; even the children who are not attending public school use AE as the language of instruction. Acquisition of a passive knowledge of Standard German takes place in Sunday and Bible schools, however, the number of hours of instruction on Standard German is limited. Pennsylvania German has a stable place in the OOA community, but is not supported by a local infrastructure of PG speakers. PG contacts are geographically distant. The language use of the Anderson County OOA and their communicative networks will also be examined in more detail in chapter three.

The data collected in Anderson County for the present study supports findings from previous studies that describe the factors for ties between OOA of different settlements. The migration history and lifestyle of the Amish with its focus on family ties establishes migration and contacts between settlements (visiting of relatives, mutual aid) as a normal part of being Amish. However, the *Ordnung* of the Amish restricts the mobility of the Amish and Amish theology prescribes a focus on the own family and the district (for the latter aspect, see chapter four). The ethnographic description of the Anderson County OOA districts has shown that the two districts have opened up more than many other OOA districts regarding the use of machinery and allow some types of off-farm work but maintain the primary restrictions on mobility. Chapter three will analyze how many communicative contacts exist, both with other OOA settlements and with outsiders, and in what way the changing occupational structure influences the structure of communicative contacts in the Anderson County OOA community.

## **II) A Linguistic Profile of Anderson County PG**

The focus of this dissertation is on the language use in a multilingual speech community. Multilingualism is always connected to language contact. Linguistic varieties in a multilingual speech community are shaped both by internal changes and by contact to other varieties in the repertoire. Consequently, the description of Anderson County PG in the present study focuses on processes of language change and examines whether these changes are caused by internal change or external influences. The focus on phenomena of change has been chosen because the basic structure of PG has been described in several studies (e.g., Buffington and Barba; Frey, *Simple Grammar*; Haag; Learned; Meister Ferré; Reed and Seifert) and does not need to be repeated. However, grammars and typological descriptions of PG focus on varieties in the Eastern United States and few varieties of PG in the Midwestern United States have been described. Furthermore, scholars disagree whether observed changes were caused by internal developments or by contact to AE and other varieties of PG (see Keel, *Reduction*). The contact to other varieties of PG as possible source of language change attracted attention in recent studies by Steven H. Keiser on the possible development of a "Midwestern dialect of Pennsylvania German" (Keiser, *Language Change* 1), but the findings of these studies have not been compared to many other varieties of PG, especially not to communities in rural areas. Furthermore, research on PG-speaking Anabaptist communities lacks descriptions of AHG and its usage.

The present study sets out to fill these gaps in research in two ways: The description of the linguistic structure focuses on phenomena of language change as described in prior studies on PG and examines whether these changes are caused by language contact or internal change. Focus is on the syntax and morphosyntax of Anderson County PG because these are the areas scholars have described as showing signs of contact-induced language change (e.g., Loudon, *21st Century*; Keiser, *Language Change*). In section II.1 to II.3, each paragraph examines a specific area of Anderson County PG and

compares the findings to the data from prior research on other speech communities. Section II.5 examines possible influences from other varieties of PG on Anderson County PG and analyzes whether Anderson County PG shows signs of a "Midwestern" PG as proposed by Keiser. Section II.6 provides a short description of AHG in Anderson County and where it is used. Each section summarizes findings from research on PG and AHG in Anabaptist communities and then compares these results with the data collected for the present study. The data for Anderson County PG is collected in interviews and by participant observation, data on AHG in Anderson County is solely drawn from participant observation in school and the worship services.

## **II.1 Syntax and Morphosyntax**

### ***II.1.1) Word Order***

The word order of PG is the most salient feature distinguishing PG from AE (Louden, *21st Century* 99). The positioning of the finite verb in the second position, the sentence bracket (i.e., the positioning of the finite verb in second and all other verbs in final position), and the final positioning of finite verbs in subordinate clauses distinguish PG word order clearly from AE word order. However, a common variation of the word order occurs and has been discussed as possible result of convergence with AE: the so-called ‘extrapositioning,’ i.e., the placement of elements behind the second verbal element of the sentence bracket (in the post-field).<sup>12</sup> A comparison of several varieties of German shows that extrapositioning occurs both with and without language contact and is thus most likely not contact-induced. Extrapositioning has been described for several German dialects in Europe (Louden,

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<sup>12</sup> In the terminology of ‘topological fields’-models, the area preceding the first verb in the sentence is called ‘*Vorfeld*’ (pre-field), the area between first verb and other verbs is called ‘*Mittelfeld*’ (middle field), the area behind the last verb is called ‘*Nachfeld*’ (post-field) (see Pittner and Berman 70-95).

*Syntactic Change* 89) and for historical varieties of German as well as New High German (Altmann 54-72). The preference for a sentence bracket with the finite verb as left bracket in second position and the right bracket with infinite verbs (or prefixes, nouns from verbal expressions) in final position developed only in the Early New High German period after 1350 (Ramers, *Verbstellung* 80). It has never become the exclusive rule in spoken German. Placing elements behind the right bracket still exists in spoken Standard New High German (Engel 196-7; Grewendorf 24; Jung 134-6; Zifonun 1650-69). Eisenberg points out that extrapositioning can fulfill specific grammatical or stylistic functions, mainly emphasizing “besonders umfangreiche, semantisch gewichtige oder rhematische Satzglieder” (391). In Anderson County PG, extrapositioning appears with these functions, but a more detailed analysis would be required to decide whether it is restricted to these functions.

Huffines describes an intensive use of extrapositioning in the PG of sectarian speakers, while non-sectarians use it only half as much. She interprets this difference as possible influence from AE in the PG of sectarians and thus as a possible sign of convergence towards AE (*Pennsylvania German* 133-6; *Translation* 186-7; Kopp 38). Huffines acknowledges, however, that the use of extrapositioning cannot clearly be connected to AE-influence (Huffines, *Pennsylvania German* 133).

The extrapositioning of elements in Anderson County PG follows a highly regular pattern, as this has been observed for other regional varieties of PG (Louden, *21st Century* 100). Extrapositioning is usually used with prepositional phrases, adverbs, or expressions for time or location (Huffines, *Pennsylvania German* 134; Kopp 38; Meister Ferré 51). In Anderson County PG, 83.4 percent of extrapositioning involves prepositional phrases (example 1) or expressions for time and location (example 2).

	<i>Vorfeld</i>	Sentence bracket (and <i>Mittelfeld</i> )	Extrapolation ( <i>Nachfeld</i> )
Example 1	<u>september</u> [ <u>September</u> ]	sin ma erschd in <u>Indiana</u> gangə [we did just go to <u>Indiana</u> ]	fer en <u>nephew</u> sei hochzich [for a <u>nephew's</u> wedding]  (Inf. 28, 815)
Example 2	si: [she]	hod en <u>heart attack</u> khatt [has had a <u>heart attack</u> ]	acht jo:r zrick [eight years back] (Inf. 28, 725)

Extrapolation of reflexive elements as found in data from translation tasks (Meindl 435-6) cannot be confirmed in data from interviews. This confirms Huffines's description of the influence of translation tasks on the language use (*Pennsylvania German* 134). In the data from Anderson County PG, extrapolation occurs also in subordinate clauses: approximately 15 percent of all subordinate clauses in Anderson County PG show elements positioned after the verb. However, the verb is nevertheless not in second position, which means that a difference in word order between main clause and subordinate clause is maintained. The amount of extrapolation shows a small increase in the younger generation (see table 1), which could be part of ongoing language change.

<b>Table 1: Amount of extrapolation according to age of speakers</b> (percentage of clauses with extrapolation in all clauses)				
Age	<36 yrs. (9 speakers)	36-45 yrs. (10 speakers)	>45 yrs. (9 speakers)	Total (28 speakers)
Main Clause	45.12%	42.80%	43.42%	43.62%
Subordinate Clause	16.22%	13.55%	14.78%	14.51%

Whether the amount or the pattern of usage of extrapolation in Anderson County PG is unusual cannot be decided without an extensive analysis of comprehensive data from other varieties, which is beyond the scope of this study. More important, the fact that extrapolation is a common pattern in German dialects shows and that it does not develop in an unusual way in Anderson County

PG eliminates the reason to assume an AE-influence and, thus, does not need to be further examined in this dissertation.

### ***II.1.2) Relative Pronouns***

Relative pronouns in PG are in the process of abandoning the differentiation between genders, number, and cases. Studies of different PG speech communities list two forms (Haag 224), three (Louden, *21st Century* 104) or four forms (Meister Ferré 53) for relative pronouns. The relative pronouns in Anderson County PG show the forms /as; was; des; s; wu:/. All forms can occur both in singular and plural. The forms /as/ and /s/ are the most common forms, while /wu:/ is very rare and has only been found three times in 192 relative clauses. This partially agrees with Kopp's finding that /wo/ or /wu/ are older forms of relative pronouns which are only infrequently used in sectarian speech communities (34). However, /as/ is not rare in Anderson County PG. Louden describes a differentiation in usage between /wo/ and /as/ according to animacy, comparable to AE “who” and “that” (*21st Century* 104-5), a finding that does not agree with the data from Anderson County PG. Another connection between /as/ in PG and the rules for subordinate clauses in AE is claimed by Fleischer. In a comparative study on relative clauses in fourteen German dialects, Fleischer emphasizes that the PG relative pronoun /as/ cannot be found in many other dialects. He compares its function to Standard German /dass/ or AE /that/ and concludes that the pattern of relative clauses with /as/ is modeled after AE sentences with /that/ (Fleischer, section 2.6 and footnote 10). However, the data from Anderson County PG does not confirm this hypothesis. The relative pronouns in Anderson County PG are reduced to /as/ and /wu/ as most common forms, both forms not identical with relative pronouns in AE. The data from Anderson County PG does not show usage of /as/ like Standard German /dass/ and uses /as/ as equivalent for both AE /that/ and /who/. Thus, Anderson County PG shows a simplification



process of relative pronouns that does not result in a system similar to AE.

### *II.1.3) Periphrastic /du:n/*

A salient syntactic feature of PG is the forming of sentences with a periphrastic construction of /du:n/ (AE: to do) and an infinitive verb. This can also be observed in Anderson County PG:

Example 3 (Informant 26, 2332):

un in weiter east du:n si: bissl different schwetzə

[and farther in (the) east they do talk differently]

The use of periphrastic /du:n/ has been discussed as being an AE influence, partly because of the amount of usage, partly because of its specific structure. The amount of usage for periphrastic /du:n/ in Anderson County PG is shown in table 2.

<i>Table 2: Amount of Periphrastic /du:n/ in Anderson County PG</i>	
<b>Age of speakers</b>	Periphrastic /du:n/ per all verbal phrases
<b>&lt;36 yrs.</b> (9 speakers)	7.02%
<b>36-45 yrs.</b> (10 speakers)	6.08%
<b>&gt;45 yrs.</b> (9 speakers)	5.79%
<b>Total average</b> (28 speakers)	6.18%

The data show that periphrastic /du:n/ is used in less than 7 percent of all clauses, with only a slightly higher usage in the group of the youngest speakers. This is similar to the amount Patocka documents for relative clauses in various German dialects (303; see Fleischer), which shows that PG does not have an unusual use of periphrastic /du:n/ which is not significantly increasing in the PG of young speakers. The usage of the construction itself is also not exceptional since not only modern

German dialects (see Bucheli Berger; Fleischer; Eroms) but also other Germanic languages use constructions equivalent to periphrastic /du:n/ (Langer 12-97; Wal, Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Leuvensteijn).

Huffines describes periphrastic /du:n/ as limited to emphatic or iterative expressions (*Pennsylvania German* 132-3), which has been disproved by Costello (*Periphrastic Duh* 243). The data from Anderson County PG supports Costello: periphrastic /du:n/ is not limited to specific functions and iterative or emphatic usage is rare. It is often used to express habitual action or work performed over long stretches of time, a usage also described for other German dialects (Schwarz 126). In example 4, the informant describes the routine of food preparation, habitually performed when the family hosts the worship service:

Example 4 (Informant 26, 1730):

du: ma sell un no: some fle:sch ufma:lə un ne:i dezu: du:

[we do this and also grind up some meat and put it in with it]

In example 5, the profession of family members is described:

Example 5 (Informant 25, 1630):

də one in Wisconsin schafft (.) du:d produce raisə (.) un mein bru:da s in Axtell wo:nd er du:d melkə un farmə (.)

[the one in Wisconsin works (.) does raise produce (.) and my brother who lives in Axtell he does milkVERB and farmVERB]

Anderson County speakers have been observed to use the same verb both with and without periphrastic /du:n/ in the same context, as examples 6 and 7 show (both examples by the same speaker in the same section of the interview).

Example 6 (Informant 1, 1655):

die helft fun dem di:n baurə un die anner helft du:d dairyjə

[half of them do farmVERB and the other half does dairyVERB]

Example 7 (Informant 1, 1736):

di: baurə di: de:de we:ze un korn (.) wann se dairyjə (.) henn widder me: korn wachse

[those who farmVERB those would (grow) wheat and corn (.) when they dairyVERB (.) have again more corn growing]

In summary, the data from Anderson County PG show that periphrastic /du:n/ is not limited to the functions of /do/-constructions in AE (i.e., emphatic use, questions), but appears in several other functions. Periphrastic /du:n/ in Anderson County PG shows features similar to the use of the construction in other regional and historic varieties of German. Consequently, several functions of periphrastic /du:n/ are determined by other factors than AE and the use of periphrastic /du:n/ that is identical with the use of periphrastic /do/ in AE can be, but does not have to be the result of AE influence.

#### ***II.1.4) Infinitive constructions***

Another area often identified with language change in PG is the area of infinitive constructions. In older varieties of PG, infinitives were introduced with /zu/ in non-purposive clauses, with /fer....zu/ in purposive clauses (Huffines, *Contact Phenomena* 103; Meister Ferré 99). Several studies found a tendency in sectarian PG to drop /zu/ in both types of clauses (Huffines, *Contact Phenomena* 99-103; Loudon, *Syntactic Change* 87), some speakers maintain /fer/ (see Börjars). In Anderson County PG,

nine out of ten non-purposive sentences are formed without /zu/ (Ø marks where /zu/ would be placed).

Example 8 (Informant 24, 1342):

ich duh a: als mol de me:d helfə ha:särwett (Ø) du:

[I do also sometimes help the girls to do housework]

The majority of purposive sentences (88%) drop /zu/ but maintain /fer/:

Example 9 (Informant 27, 2239):

mir missten en driver hawwə fer nuff uf Lawrence (Ø) gejø

[would would have to have a driver in order to go up to Lawrence]

Scholars of PG draw diverse conclusions regarding the influence of AE on the change in infinitive constructions. Louden describes a connection between the abandoning of /fer/ and AE grammar: he points out that /fer/ is not used where the equivalent AE sentence allows the use of a gerund, the same rule as for AE “for” (*Old Order Amish Verbal Behavior* 273-4). This agrees with the findings in Anderson County PG, as shown in table 3. However, Meister Ferré emphasizes that /fer/ in PG is not used in the same way as “for” in AE (99) and Kopp points out that some of the changes can

**Table 3: Infinitive Constructions in PG compared to Gerund in AE-equivalents**

a	sie du:n helfe <u>presents</u> uffmachə (Informant 13, 4405) [they do help OPENING <u>presents</u> ]
b	geschdern henn sie mitkholfə sell du: (Informant 17, 615) [yesterday they have helped DOING this]
c	mir gle:che nausgehə un <u>picnics</u> hawwə (Informant 20, 1255) [we like GOING OUT and HAVING <u>picnics</u> ]
d	un es gedenkt mich en <u>goat farm</u> hawwe (Informant 22, 1218) [and I think about HAVING a <u>goat farm</u> ]
e	misse ma uschd probiere enner finne fun <u>yoder</u> (Informant 22, 1810) [we just have to try FINDING one from <u>Yoder</u> ]

be observed in a similar way in Palatine and south German dialects without influence of AE (32). Huffines rejects AE contact as cause of the change (*Contact Phenomena* 107) but assumes that the speakers prefer syntax patterns similar to AE in order to facilitate translations (*Translation* 106).

### II.1.5) Progressive

Anderson County PG expresses progressive actions with a construction of /sein/ in combination with either /am/, /an/, or /n/ and the infinitive verb, as it is described for other varieties of PG (see Huffines, *Building Progressive* 141; Kopp 30). Two scholars interpret the development of progressive constructions as convergence with AE: Louden concludes that PG speakers shift to using progressive only where it would be used in AE, a claim contradicted by Fuller (*Role* 42). Louden also claims that the use of progressive spreads is used with an increasing amount of verbs (*Pennsylvania German in*

	Components of progressive construction	Examples
1	/am/ (is am fa:rə)	s'is ə fra: am fa:rə s bei də <u>german baptists</u> is [it is a woman driving who is with the <u>German Baptists</u> ] (Informant 27, 2330)
2	/an/ (is an zimmerə)	de [NAME] i:rə mann er is an zimmerə [the husband of NAME, he is doing carpentry] (Informant 18, 1430)
3	/n/ (is n verlo:rəgehə)	s'is en dā:tsch wort des is (.) n verlo:regehə is [it is a Deitsch word which is (.) is getting lost] (Informant 24, 2429)

*the 21st Century* 101). Both claims have not been tested for Anderson County PG since they require labor-intensive analyses of diachronic data which go beyond the scope of this study. Anderson County PG can however be analyzed regarding an alleged change in the structure of the progressive

construction which Huffines interprets as convergence with AE: Huffines describes a change in the rule for the placement of modified objects in progressive constructions changes (*Building Progressive* 142-3; *Directionality* 52). For modified direct objects, the ‘old’ rule prescribes a placement of the object preceding /am/. According to Huffines, this rule is increasingly replaced with the placement-rule for modified objects, which places the object between /am/ and the verb. This pattern can be found in Anderson County PG (the second lines shows what the 'old' word order would have looked like):

Example 10 (Informant 27, partial translation of WS 47):

wu ich an di: fence fixə war

(\*wu ich di: fence an fixə war)

[when I was fixing the fence]

However, a significant number of informants (11 out of 17 informants) avoided using the progressive for this translation :

Example 11 (Informant 24, partial translation of WS 47):

wu ich dro: war de fence fixə

[when I was in the process of fixing the fence]

It has also been observed in the interview data that speakers avoid using the /am/ (or its equivalents /an/ and /n/) in constructions with /sei/ and infinitive verbs (see Example 12) which might be an ongoing shift away from this construction in Anderson County PG.

Example 12 (Inf. 26, 1259):

zwe: funnə sin in di: schu:l gehə

[two of them are going to school]

The analysis of progressives in Anderson County PG shows that the progressive construction is still clearly PG-specific (even with the changing placements of objects). Whether Anderson County PG changes towards dropping the /am/, shifts to using progressives according to the AE rule or spreads the

use to more verbs requires further research. Whether possible ongoing changes are caused by AE remains to be clarified. Fuller sees AE only as a supporting force for an internal change in PG (*Role* 41).

## **II.2) Case morphology**

### ***II.2.1) Case Reduction and Its Causes***

The case system of PG has been examined in several studies, mainly because of its tendency to case syncretism. PG shows traces of originally four cases (nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive), but genitive and dative case only exist in remnants. In possessive expressions in PG, the genitive has usually been replaced with dative expressions of possession for older forms of PG, a development similar to most other German dialects (Kob 1242-6). These expressions consist of a possessor in dative case and a possessive pronoun following (Haag 40). In newer forms of sectarian PG, the possessor takes common case (Meister Ferré 47), which happens in Anderson County PG (see example 13).

Example 13 (Inf. 10, LAKGD-sentence 10):

sell war mei nachbar sei schda:l

[this was my neighbor's barn]

### ***II.2.2) Dative and Accusative Case***

Non-Sectarian PG maintains the dative case, however with faulty forms, and shows a two-case system for nouns and adjectives and a three-case system for pronouns (Huffines, *Directionality* 50-1). Anderson County PG shows the typical case distribution for sectarian PG (*Discourse Strategy* 129-31):

nouns and adjectives show a common case, e.g., in example 14 after the dative preposition /mit/:

Example 14 (Informant 2, WS 26):

Hinnich unser haas stehn drai scheene klenne ebblbe:m mit klennə roodə ebbl

[behind our house are three beautiful small apple trees with small red apples]

The pronouns show a two-case-system with nominative and accusative forms, e.g. in example 15 after the dative verb /geb/:

Example 15 (Informant 1, LAKGD-sentence 22):

geb mich sell buch

[give me that book]

Several studies report isolated remnants of dative in the pronoun system of sectarian PG, especially in loan translations (Meister Ferré 29), or in the speech of individual older speakers (Huffines, *Directionality* 51). In the data from Anderson County, dative remnants exists in contracted forms, e.g., /midm/ for \*/mit dem/, and one older speaker (age 67) showed a dative form (/mir/) for the personal pronoun in the first person singular:

Example 16 (Informant 10, WS 46):

hoschd du dat də bu: dsenə was mir ən buch gebə will

[did you see the boy there, who wants to give a book to me]

### ***II.2.3) Causes of Case Merger***

Besides the PG grammars (for an overview see Huffines, *Case Usage* 214), detailed descriptions of case usage in PG can be found in several studies, for sectarian PG (Meister Ferré 29-46) or non-sectarian PG (Van Ness, *Changes* 143) or comparisons of both in Huffines's studies (*Case*



*usage; Directionality; Discourse Strategy*). Huffines as well as Louden (*Syntactic Change; 21st Century*) focus on the causes of changing case usage, which has been subject of a controversy (Keel, *Case Reduction* 94-95). Huffines and Louden describe the case syncretism as process of convergence with AE (Huffines, *Case Usage* 223-25; Louden, *Syntactic Change* 84) while other scholars emphasize that case syncretism is also happening in German dialects without AE contact (Keel, *Reduction* 94-100; Kopp 29). Keel (*Reduction* 95) as well as Fuller (*Role*) conclude that AE plays only a minor role in the development of the PG case system. Keel emphasizes the need to examine internal factors as explanation of case syncretism (101). Kopp (28) and in a similar way Van Ness (*Case Syncretism* 14) argue for a “multiple causality”-explanation, with internal processes as cause of the case syncretism, enhanced by AE influence. The data from Anderson County reinforces the results of other studies regarding the process of change in the case system with sectarian PG. Anderson County PG does not show any developments that are not in agreement of equivalent processes in other Germanic languages or dialects. The data do not prove AE-influence being a facilitator of case merger in PG, as scholars have assumed for some developments in PG (Fuller, *Role* 42; Huffines, *Directionality* 56), and also do not provide any evidence that AE has any enhancing influence on the internally caused case merger. Consequently, the case syncretism in Anderson County PG will be considered to be an internal development of PG.

#### ***II.2.4) Expanded Use of the Object Case***

Besides case mergers, another area of case usage in PG could be the result of contact with AE. Louden describes the spread of the object case to the default position (after the verb 'to be'), where originally the subject case (nominative) was used (Louden, *21st Century* 100). The development has also been observed in Anderson County PG:

Example 17 (Informant 24, 1000):

no war's mich

[then it was me]

Both examples show parallel construction of AE expression with the object case (AE: /me/ or PG: /mich/) taking the position of the originally grammatically prescribed nominative case, and thus Louden interprets this development as convergence with the AE system (*21st Century* 100). Since the phenomenon seems not to be common in other German dialects, an AE-influence could be the cause. However, the data from Anderson County do not allow a final conclusion on the causes of this development.

### **II.3) Loan Words**

The lexicon is the area of PG with the most contact-induced change, mainly because of hybrid forms and loan words (Louden, *21st Century* 89; see Enninger, *Language*; Blank; Schach, *Hybrid Compounds*; Seel). The present section analyzes what type of words are borrowed into PG, what speakers borrow these words, and to what degree they are integrated into the morphological and phonological system of Anderson County PG (section II.4). No comprehensive quantitative analysis of the loan words in Anderson County PG has been performed, but the amount of loan words seems to be in a similar range as in other speech communities for which Thomas Knodt determines a quota of 15 percent loan words (56; similar Lambert, ix; Enninger, *Language* 48).

#### ***II.3.1) Identifying Loan Words***

Studies on borrowing face one crucial problem: borrowings cannot be easily identified, mainly

due to three major problems. First, a cut-off point has to be defined (regarding the length and degree of integration) beyond which loan words become PG-words. Studies on loan words in PG have either used the perception of speakers as measure, counting words as loans as long as speakers can identify their AE-roots (see Knodt 53; Blank 77), or they used dictionaries as reference, counting as loan what is not listed in Beam's PG dictionary (Keiser, *Lunch Pail Threat* 11) or what is listed in AE dictionaries (Lambert xxvi-xxvii). Second, words with AE-roots need to be distinguished from PG words with similar forms. Rudolf Post points out that several of the words in Lambert's list actually do not have AE origins and calls for the integration of Palatine sources into lexical studies on PG (Post, *Lexicography* 71-72). Third, borrowing has to be distinguished from codeswitching. While borrowing means the partial integration of an AE word into the PG lexicon, codeswitching represents a change from PG to AE. Both phenomena have some common structural features and functions (Myers-Scotton, *Code-Switching* 227-28). The distinction between borrowing and codeswitching is especially difficult when only one AE word appears in PG (or vice versa). The issue will be discussed in more detail in the section on codeswitching (III.1).

For the purpose of this dissertation, it is not important to find a sharp definition of loan words, but it is important to keep in mind that loan words and PG words cannot always be clearly distinguished. The section on the integration of loan words will elaborate on these issues and on the importance of these issues on the language use in a multilingual setting. For the remainder of this chapter, the term *loan word* is used for all words whose base form can be found in a contemporary AE dictionary.

### ***II.3.2) Types of Loans***

Borrowings from AE into Anderson County PG exist in all word classes, with nouns being the

majority, like in other varieties of PG (Knodt 56; Enninger, *Language* 48). The borrowings often consist of words without equivalent in PG (Kopp 14), but Louden reports an increase in borrowings of words which do not fill a lexical gap in PG (Louden, *Linguistic Structure* 84). The borrowings in Anderson County PG include elements of the core vocabulary, contrary to Andersen's hypothesis that borrowings start with marginal lexical items (97), but in agreement with findings from other PG communities (see Louden, *Linguistic Structure* 84-85).

**Table 5 - Examples for Loans in the Core Vocabulary**

<b><u>Family</u></b>	<b><u>Food</u></b>	<b><u>Machines</u></b>	<b><u>Health</u></b>
aunt brother in law dictionary family family reunion nephew niece uncle	breakfast gravy hamburgers ice cream meal sandwich supper	refrigerator generator heater phone tire tractor trailer van	dementia doctor hospital wheelchair
<b><u>Daily life</u></b>	<b><u>Farm &amp; work</u></b>	<b><u>Plants &amp; animals</u></b>	<b><u>Verbs (integrated, with PG inflection)</u></b>
cabinet color furniture nap sale barn retired settlement	chores construction custom bailing dairy farm factory fence fertilizer lumber shed shop	alfalfa clover corn (some: welschken) crop guinea chicken milo peacock skunk	to babysit to butcher to chose to fix to judge to move to retire to switch to wrap

These core vocabulary items include the numbers, names of months, terms for relatives, also many terms from the areas of farming (see table 5. Discourse markers are a category that is often borrowed from AE, e.g., *well; you know; anyway; anyhow; of course* (Salmons 456-57). Salmons emphasizes that PG also copies the pattern of usage of discourse markers from AE, which he considers to be a characteristic disqualifying discourse markers as codeswitching (474-75).

### II.3.3) Translating and Recalling Words

Borrowing can be a starting point for convergence with AE if the loan words replace PG equivalents. To find out whether this is happening in Anderson County PG, the data of the translation task has been analyzed regarding differences between older and younger speakers. Such generational differences show ongoing changes in the lexicon of the speech community. The analysis has been restricted to eight words which appeared both in AE and PG in the data. The results of this analysis (see table 6) do not necessarily show the natural choice of lexical items, but partly the result of an effort to recall the PG word. The informants sometimes hesitated before translating the words, indicating that they tried to remember the PG equivalent. Some speakers commented on the fact that they cannot recall the PG word or in some instance the spouse prompted the PG word. The numbers of such words are shown in parentheses.

<b>Table 6 Speakers that used PG-Equivalents for common loan words</b>									
[total=27 speakers]									
number in (parenthesis): informant could recall word only after hesitation									
<b>Age</b>	to start	basket	silly	mountain	sausage	birdies	farmer	village	cucumber
	(WS 3)	(WS 6)	(WS 28)	(WS 29)	(WS 30)	(WS 36)	(WS 37)	(WS 37)	(L 17)
< 36 yrs. [n=8]	--	--	--	(1)	2	--	--	3	2
36-45 yrs. [n=10]	--	(1)	5	--	7	--	1 (1)	--	1 (1)
> 45 yrs. [n=9]	2	4	7	4 (1)	9	4	4 (1)	5	4 (2)

The data show that some words were produced in AE by nearly all speakers, e.g., /to start/, while others were mainly produced in PG, e.g., /sausage/. The use of PG forms does not directly correlate with the age of the speakers. Some words were more often produced as PG forms in the youngest generation than in the middle-aged generation. However, if PG equivalents are used, the oldest generation always shows the highest number of speakers using them. The data shows a tendency towards a replacement of PG-words by AE-equivalents for certain words, however partly overruled by preferences of individual speakers.

#### **II.4) Morphology: Integration of Loans and Hybrids**

In order to fully describe the influence of AE on the lexicon, it is also important to what degree words get integrated into the language system. The degree of integration determines whether loan words can be considered to be PG or a part of a convergence process towards AE. The patterns of integration of loans will be analyzed in the present section, partly drawing on knowledge of the general morphology of Anderson County PG. The general morphology of Anderson County PG follows the same rules as other PG varieties which have been described in Helga Seel's study *Lexikologische Studien zum Pennsylvaniadeutschen* and less detailed in other studies (e.g., Meister Ferré 24-92; Buffington and Barba; Frey, *Simple Grammar*).

In order to determine the AE influence in PG morphology, it is important to distinguish between the elements that form words (morphemes) and morphological rules that govern the formation of words. While borrowings mostly contain AE morphemes (exceptions are calques, where only the semantics are taken from AE), the morphological rules are usually drawn from PG, e.g., inflection, compound-formation, derivation etc. AE-morphemes do not appear in all positions: they are used as

parts of compounds, but prefixes and derivative suffixes are usually only drawn from PG.

#### ***II.4.1) Degree of integration***

Studies on loan words in PG show that loans usually maintain the AE phonology, but are morphologically integrated to different degrees. Scholars have developed different criteria for the degree of integration of AE loans (see Kopp, 16-18; Keiser, *Lunch Pail Threat*, 10; *Language Change* 183; Fuller, *Role* 43-44; Louden, *Linguistic Structure* 82-84) which do not play any role for the purpose of our study.

The integration of loan words results in hybrid forms. In this study, all elements which include any AE element on the morphological, phonological, or semantic level are considered hybrid forms. Seel and in a similar fashion Blank list several subtypes of hybrid forms, which are partly difficult to distinguish and are not necessary to be analyzed for the purpose of this study; it is sufficient to demonstrate that Anderson County PG follows the pattern of other PG varieties in producing hybrid forms which create an area of overlap of the linguistic system of Anderson County PG and AE. Hybrid forms result from inflectional forms or compounds with both AE and PG morphemes, either from complete words or by adding suffixes. Other hybrid forms result from homonyms (phonologically identical or similar elements), the adaptation of PG phonology to AE loans, and from semantic transfers (e.g., loan translations), the latter combining the meaning of AE words or expressions with the formal elements of PG. These six processes of hybrid-creation will be described in the following section.

### ***II.4.2) Inflection***

Borrowed verbs are inflected according to PG patterns, both in present and past tense and thus can be considered to be partly integrated hybrid forms. Borrowed verbs are mainly used in periphrastic /du:n/ and thus mostly infinitive forms:

Example 18 (Informant 11-1, 1140):

un er du:d lot (.) fenschdrə replacə

[and he does lot (.) replacing windows]

They occasionally also appear as past participles:

Example 19 (Informant 22, 2003):

die rubber-tire-gme: hod geprospered

[the rubber-tire-community has prospered]

Past participles of AE verbs follow the PG rule that verbs with unstressed first syllables do not receive a /ge-/ prefix (Buffington and Barba 62; Haag 146-47; Fuller, *Role* 44). If a weak verb does not receive a prefix, its past participle is nearly completely identical with the AE equivalent since the only possible distinguishing element, the ending, is phonologically ambiguous (AE ending /-ed/ and German ending /-t/; see Fuller, *Role* 44).

### ***II.4.3) Compound-Words***

A large group of hybrid forms in PG are compound-words with an AE and a PG element; most of the compounds are nouns, followed by verbs, some can be found in adjectives and adverbs (Seel



157; for nouns Schach, *Hybrid Compounds*). In hybrid compound nouns in Anderson County PG, the AE element can be in every position, e.g., /fruitba:m/ (AE: fruit tree) and /hochzichfeast/ (AE: wedding feast). A very common PG element for hybrid compounds in Anderson County PG is /arwett/ (AE: work), e.g., in /memoryarwett/, mechanicarwett, carpenterarwett. Compound forms in the verb class are mainly AE verbs with PG prefixes (Seel 159), e.g., /nuffmoveə/ (AE: to move up; Inf. 10, 2147), but also PG verbs with AE prefixes, e.g.; /readykriggə/ (AE: to get done; to get prepared; Inf. 12, 3630). Mixed compound adjectives have been observed in some speech communities (Seel 161-2), but in the small data sample for Anderson County PG, mixed compounds could only be found in the class of adverbs and pronouns, not in adjectives. Seel (162) as well as Schach (*Hybrid Compounds* 127) list compounds on AE /-ever/, but in Anderson County PG, only isolated instances have been observed (e.g., /wu:ever/, AE: wherever; Inf. 10, 2125). Some hybrid compounds with other elements could be found, e.g., /anyebbes/ (AE: anything; Inf. 20, 1225).

#### ***II.4.4) Homophones***

As related Germanic languages, PG and AE contain homophone morphemes or words.

Homophone morphemes are the plural /-s/, which exists in both languages, and to a certain degree the endings of the past participle of weak verbs (PG /-t/, AE /-ed/), which are phonetically very close (see Fuller, *Borrowing Trouble* 196). Some words are completely identical in PG and AE, as the examples in table 7 show.

	<b>PG</b>	<b>AE</b>
1	eis	ice
2	mei	my
3	in	in
4	ä	a
5	end	end
6	meil	mile
7	du:	do

Homophones are ambiguous regarding the language they belong to. This ambiguity is even bigger if he words are used in combination with loan words:

Example 20 (Informant 28, 560):

ob ich ever do/du:

[whether I ever do]

In this example, the verb PG /du:n/ or AE /to do/ is homophone in the first person singular and could thus be from either language. The immediate preceding loan word AE /ever/ supports the interpretation of the word as being AE. Similar combinations of hybrid forms and loans are not uncommon in Anderson County PG because the indefinite article (PG /ä/, AE /a/), the possessive adjective (PG /mei/, AE /my/), and the preposition (AE/PG /in/) usually appear directly with nouns and thus often with loans (e.g., mei/my dad).

#### ***II.4.5) Semantic Transfers and Shifts***

The contact with AE can also create hybrid forms on the semantic level when PG words are

used in a meaning the literal AE translation would have. The AE semantics can be assigned to a common PG-word or can result in the creation of a new PG-word.

Example 21 (Informant 11, 209):

no: hab ich iwwagedre:t zu mei (.) bu: NAME

[then I have turned over to my boy NAME]

In the example above, the AE word /turning over/ with the meaning of ‘handing over business responsibility to somebody else’ is literally translated with PG /iwwerdrehə/. The PG is a possible compound verb created from the verb /drehə/ (AE: to turn) and the prefix /iwwer/ (AE: over). As PG creation, it would mean “to turn or twist something too far,” but it is used here with the meaning of the AE expression ‘to turn over.’ Loan translations can be compound words or phrases and exist in two main types in Anderson County PG: on the one hand loan translations in the strict sense, with all elements translated into PG, on the other hand partial loan translations, where some words or morphemes remain AE. Examples for both types of loan translations are given in table 8. Both types of loan translations have to be considered

**Table 8: Loan Translations in Anderson County PG**

Complete Translations			Partial Translations		
	Loan Translation in PG [AE Equivalent]	Source		Loan Translation in PG [AE Equivalent]	Source
1	oftzeits [oftentimes]	Inf.13, 4144	6	<u>broke</u> gangə [went <u>broke</u> ]	Inf. 12, 2828
2	in drei dags zeit [in three days time]	Inf 14, 2940	7	sort'a crazy gangə [gone <u>sort'a crazy</u> ]	Inf. 20, 1520
3	də weg [that way]	Inf. 17, 420	8	<u>ends</u> machə <u>meetə</u> [making <u>ends meet</u> ]	Inf. 13, 2045
4	isses nunnergschnittə [has cut down]	Inf. 22, 1611	9	henn kenn <u>clue</u> [not having a <u>clue</u> ]	Inf. 23, 2415
5	es hod ned gschafft [it did not work]	Inf. 22, 1225	10	<u>naps</u> nemmə [taking <u>naps</u> ]	Inf 22, 1210

hybrid elements since they have at least the semantic structure (the connection between meaning and form) imported from AE, but have at least some formal elements from PG.

#### ***II.4.6) Phonologically Integrated Loans***

Another form of hybrids are phonologically integrated loans. The semantics and parts of the phonologically integrated loans is still AE while the phonology is PG. The example given in table 9 show that phonological integration can involve vowel or consonant changes (examples 1 – 4), but is often restricted to the palatalization of /s/ (examples 5-7). Anderson County PG also contains some newly created words based on AE influence, e.g., /kärrə/ for AE /car or /saudə/ for AE /south/. The hybrid /schiplə/ for AE /sheep/ has a PG diminutive ending added to the phonological change. The word /boi/ for AE /pie/ looks on the first glance like a phonologically integrated noun, but Meister Ferré traces this form back to a North England or New England pronunciation (36).

<b>Table 9: Phonologically integrated loans</b>		
	<b>Integrated Loan</b>	<b>AE</b>
1	tschumbə	to jump
2	boggi	buggy
3	schtärdə	to start
4	baschdad	pasture
5	schdo:r	store
6	schbelling	spelling
7	schdori	story

#### **II.5) Midwestern Pennsylvania German**

Louden was the first to make the claim of a specific form of PG in the Midwest which is different from PG in Pennsylvania (see *Linguistic Structure*). Steven Hartman Keiser (see *Language*

*Change; Sound Change*) examined how a common Midwest PG could be created: he analyzed the possibility of linguistic changes spreading throughout the Midwest (see I.5.1) and concluded that the Midwest forms a loosely connected “speech archipelago,” with sufficient contact between the speech islands to spread linguistic changes (*Language Change* 240). The common features of Midwestern PG are mainly described as a small set of phonological and lexical features, as well as a different amount of loan words and few grammatical differences (Louden, *Linguistic Structure* 42; Keiser, *Language Change* 6), which will be examined for Anderson County in the following section. The goal of this analysis is to determine the degree of language change caused by contact to other varieties of PG.

### ***II.5.1) Phonological Change: Monophthongization of /ei/***

Pennsylvania German in Pennsylvania exhibits retroflex /l/ and tapped /r/, similar to AE phonology but different from Midwestern varieties of PG. Keiser observed that two Midwestern varieties of PG are in the progress of the monophthongization of /ei/ (Keiser, *Language Change* 221-23). He excludes AE-influence as well as internal linguistic factors as (sole) cause for the change and assumes that the change serves as marker of Midwestern identity (241-44). The shift from the diphthong /ei/ to a monophthong occurs in words which had long [i:] or [y] in Middle High German (Keiser, *Language Change* 151). In order to see whether the monophthongization of /ei/ is happening in Anderson County PG, seven words have been examined (see table 10). The analysis has been restricted to distinguish between diphthong, monophthong or an intermediate phoneme. The intermediate phoneme was not clearly identifiable as monophthong or diphthong without further phonetic analysis. The seven examined words have been chosen from the translation task, in order to ensure comparable data from all speakers (one informant did not participate in the translation task, therefore 27 informants can be compared). The analysis shows that monophthongization is taking place in some words and in

the repertoire of some

Table 10: Monophthongization of /ei/			
PG word (form with diphthong)	Monophthongization	AE meaning	Source
● schneijə	most speakers	to snow	WS 2
● zeidə	no	times	WS 13
● heit	most speakers	today	WS 22
● kreischə	most speakers	to yell	L 5
● gleichə	no	to like to	L 9
● reich	no	rich	L 10
● deutsch	most speakers	Pennsylvania German	L 26

speakers, and also confirms Keiser's findings that monophthongs and diphthongs occur parallel in the repertoires of speech communities. In Anderson Couty PG, the words /gleichə/, /zeidə/ and /reich/ were produced with diphthong by nearly all speakers (with 4 or less speakers producing monophthongs). The word /schneijə/ has been produced with monophthong by 20 out of 27 speakers, 5 produced a diphthong /ei/ (2 avoided the word).

Similar results show /heit/, /kreischə/, and /deutsch/, which are mainly produced with monophthong by most speakers; /deutsch/ shows, however, 3 diphthongs and 6 intermediate forms. The distribution of monophthongization is not clearly connected to specific speakers or their age. One speaker might use a monophthong in the one word, but a diphthong in the other. One weak sign of a tendency can be seen in the three diphthongs produced with /deutsch/: they have all three been produced by speakers from the oldest age group, which might be a sign of a changing system with remnants of old forms in the speech of older speakers. The fact that /deutsch/ seems to shift to monophthong slightly slower than other words with similar phonological structure might be connected to the status of /deutsch/ as name for the group language and the its connection to the identity of speakers. A symbolic

function can shield words from change.<sup>13</sup> More research is needed in order to establish whether the phonology of Anderson County is undergoing monophthongization of /ei/. Furthermore, the analysis of a greater sample of words could establish whether monophthongization of /ei/ in Anderson County is connected to the phonetic environment.

### ***II.5.2) Grammatical Change***

One grammatical phenomenon Keiser lists as a marker of Midwestern PG is the spread of an innovation in the gender assignment for feminine nouns (*Language Change* 39). Van Ness has shown that young women in Ohio started to use neuter possessive adjectives, definite articles and pronouns for formerly feminine nouns (*Ohio Women* 72-75; see *Pressure of English*). She describes this innovation as starting with the noun /me:d/, which had originally been neuter, was then assigned a feminine gender. Later, young women started to reverse this change by again assigning neuter to /me:d/ and now expand the neuter gender to other nouns (*Ohio Women* 69). According to Van Ness, the change is now spreading to other nouns, to other modifiers or pro-forms (definite articles, possessives, pronouns) and to young male speakers (75-76). Some scholars assume that the change might spread through the Midwestern Speech communities (see Louden, *Linguistic Structure*; Keiser, *Language Change* 39). Burrige points out that the change has not yet been observed in many other speech communities (*Creating* 234), while Keiser confirms an ongoing shift to neuter possessives in one examined speech community, but a different development (towards enclitic /s/) for the second examined speech community (*Language Change* 229-31).

The data from Anderson County shows that speakers of all ages and both sexes use neuter definite articles for feminine personal names, usually reduced to /s/.

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<sup>13</sup> This connection was pointed out to me by William Keel in a personal conversation.

Example 22 (Informant 15, 227; male, middle age group):

s (FEMALE NAME) war fun do

[theNEUTER (FEMALE NAME) was from there]

Most speakers do not use neuter for originally feminine nouns in any other position, only two informants (one male, one female) from the middle age group used neuter/masculine possessive adjectives (/sei/) with /memm/ (AE: mother):

Example 23 (Informant 16, 1000; male, middle age group):

mei do:di lebt nimmi uf mei memm sei seit

[my grandfather is not alive anymore, on my mother it/his side]

Based on this data, a clear tendency in the development of gender assignments can only be confirmed for the definite articles with names of females. The use of neuter definite articles with female names is not a specific development of PG but does also exist in Palatine dialects (Post, *Pfälzisch* 116; Henn 81) and other dialects in Germany without contact to AE; see Van der Elst).

### ***II.5.3) Phonology and Lexicon***

Keiser describes lexical differences between PG in Pennsylvania and PG in the Midwest. One of the examples he lists is the use of /spo:tja:r/ (AE: 'fall') as marker of Midwestern PG vs. /harebscht/ in Pennsylvania PG (Keiser, *Language Change* 223). However, this is contradicted by Seifert's word atlas for Pennsylvania German which lists both lexical variants for Pennsylvania (102) and the Anderson County data. In Anderson County, speakers mostly use the AE loan ('fall'), but if they use the PG equivalent, they use /spo:tja:r/.



**Table 11: Auxiliary verb /zellə/**

	Source	Example
1	Inf. 8, WS 11	ich zell dich klobbə um die o:rə rum midm holzichə leffel, du <u>monkey</u> [I will beat you around the ears with the wooden spoon, you <u>monkey</u> ] (Translation of: I am going to hit you around the ears with a wooden spoon, you monkey! )
2	Inf. 15, 2304	ja s zelle <u>a bunch of fremdə</u> leit do sei derə <u>weekend</u> [yes, there will be a bunch of strange people this weekend]
3	Inf. 16, 1309	grad naus sin's fi:r <u>families</u> (.) drei funne zelle melke un de ähnd zelld (.) <u>flooring</u> . duh denk ich [righ now there are four <u>families</u> (.) three of them will milk and the one will (.) do <u>flooring</u> , I think
4	Inf. 22, 1725	no zellə ma en <u>reunion</u> hawwə uf mei mem ihrə seit [then we will have a <u>reunion</u> on my mom's side]

Furthermore, Keiser describes that Midwestern PG uses /figgerə/ as auxiliary for the future tense, while PG-speakers in Pennsylvania use /ze:le/ (Keiser, *Language Change* 6, 42; Louden, *21st Century* 101; see Burridge, *Changes*). This is contradicted by the data from Anderson County where speakers mostly use /ze:le/ as future auxiliary verb (table 11). In the examples 2 and 3 in table 11, /zellə/ can also be interpreted as auxiliary verb expressing uncertainty rather than future auxiliary verb, two functions which cannot always be clearly distinguished. Anderson County PG does not use /werrə/ as future auxiliary, as it is described in PG grammars (Buffington and Barba 67; Haag 233; both using the spellings /warrə/ or /waerrə/) and in studies on some PG speech communities (see Huffines, *Functions* 137). The verb /figgerə/ is occasionally used in Anderson County PG, as can be seen in table 12. In the examples 1-3, /figgerə/ could serve as future auxiliary, example 4 is a clear example of the use of /figgerə/ in the present perfect tense.

	Source	Examples
1	Inf. 25, 2210	<u>bout</u> all figgerə melkə <u>except</u> e:na (.) drei figgerə melkə [ <u>bout</u> all plan to milk <u>except</u> one (.) three plan to milk]
2	Inf. 10, 2210	un mir figgere dort nuffgehə [...] fer'n ä <u>family reunion</u> hawwə [and we planned to go up there [...] in order to have a <u>family reunion</u> ]
3	Inf. 22, 1430	menschd funnə figgerə drin wu:nə (incomprehensible) fer ihr le:wə [most of them plan to live in it (incomprehensible) for their live]
4	Inf. 27, 2135	mir hen gfiggerd mitge: wann sə gezochə sin (.) ball en ja:r zrick no: s'hot ned ganz a:usgschafft [we had planned to go with them when they moved (.) nearly a year ago, then it did not work out]

## **II.6) Amish High German and its Use**

### ***II.6.1) The Structure of Amish High German***

Early studies already noticed that PG-speech communities use at least two distinct varieties of German, one of them linguistically close to New High German.<sup>14</sup> In more recent publications, this variety is referred to as Amish High German (AHG).<sup>15</sup> Most studies that mention AHG emphasize the fact that Amish usually do not produce AHG and therefore have only passive competence in AHG (Frey, *Amish Triple Talk* 85; Enninger and Wandt, *Social* 50; Huffines, *Pennsylvania German* 48).

Despite the early awareness of the existence of another German variety next to PG in the linguistic repertoire of Anabaptists, few studies are dedicated to the structure or use of this variety.

<sup>14</sup> For early studies referring to a High German variety in the repertoire of OOA see Enninger, *Structural* 61.

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., Huffines, *Pennsylvania German* 48; Raith, *Variation* 37. Enninger lists the following alternative terms for AHG from different studies: Standard German; Pennsylvania High German; deutsche Standardsprache; Lutherdeutsch; deutsche Schriftsprache bei den Amischen; liturgical High German (*Structural* 61).

Many studies treat AHG only briefly (e.g. Huffines, *Pennsylvania German*; Johnson-Weiner, *Teaching Identity*), but several detailed studies exist. An early example of a detailed description is William Frey's study on *Amish Triple Talk* from 1943, in which he refers to AHG as “Amish High German” (86) or occasionally simply as “High German” (86). Frey traces the origin of this variety back to “German-preaching days in Pennsylvania churches” during the nineteenth century. He describes AHG as similar to spoken German in Pennsylvania in the 18th and 19th century, however distinguished by “some peculiarities in pronunciation that are typically Amish” (86). Frey provides an overview of the phonology and morphology of AHG (91-95), including a short account of the usage of loan words (94-5). The origins of AHG are the topic of a study by Ralph Wood who describes the roots of AHG in the written and spoken German in the eighteenth century Pennsylvania. Wood emphasizes that AHG results from the interplay of spoken and written varieties of German (314). The most detailed description of the linguistic system of AHG is Werner Enninger's study *Structural Aspects of Amish High German*. Enninger includes linguistic data from other studies in his work but stresses the lack of research on the system and functions of AHG (*Structural* 61-62). He gives a description of the linguistic features of AHG as well as its function in the Amish society.<sup>16</sup>

The use of AHG consists mainly of reading or reciting written sources, the production of AHG is limited to a small number of speakers and functions (Enninger, *Structural* 67). For example, one informant in the Anderson County speech community reported that one or two other district members occasionally translate English songs into AHG (see Interview with Informant 11). An important factor shaping the linguistic system of AHG is its characteristic as a spoken version of the literary German, mainly determined by its status as sacred language. Because the Amish do not acquire AHG as a fluently spoken language, but only read and recite religious texts like hymn collections, the Bible, or

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<sup>16</sup> A detailed description of the functions and use of AHG in the worship service is Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography*.

traditional prayer collections, the pronunciation of some elements of written German is based on the phonological rules of PG.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, AHG in Anderson County shows lexical archaisms, reduced productivity, transfers from AE and PG, and destandardization, all features that have been described for AHG in general (Enninger, *Structural* 67; Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 80). The phonology of AHG differs from spoken NHG in the umlauts /ü/ and /ö/ as well as the diphthong /oi/ which are produced without rounding (Frey, *Amish Triple Talk* 93, Enninger, *Structural* 69). Like PG, AHG shows [p, t, k] only before syllabics, in all other positions the lenes [b, d, g] appear (Frey, *Amish Triple Talk* 94). However, AHG exhibits phonological features that neither agree with the phonology of PG nor modern Standard German: equivalent to New High German, AHG has full unstressed endings which are weakened or dropped in PG (Frey, *Amish Triple Talk* 93) and usually reduced to [ə] in New High German. In Amish hymn singing, the endings are stressed, maintained as [e], and often lengthened (Frey, *Amish Triple Talk* 93). This is probably the result of the modality of slow Amish hymns which interferes with the intonation pattern of natural speech.<sup>18</sup> A third characteristic phonological feature of AHG is the retroflex /r/, similar to the phonology of American English, however only appearing in final or medial position (Enninger, *Structural* 71). The retroflex /r/ is a phenomenon also known for PG, but only for PG-varieties in PA, not in the Midwest. The Pennsylvania varieties of PG also exhibit a velarized /l/, which Frey does not describe for AHG. However, Enninger reports of a sound between a dark, velarized /l/ and clear, not velarized variant (*Structural* 69). Furthermore, spoken AHG exhibits the realization of [st] with a velarized [□□], and the fortition of /b,d,g/ in final position (NHG: Auslautverhärtung). AHG shares these features with PG, but they distinguish it from AE (Enninger,

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<sup>17</sup> The PG phonology finds its way back into the spelling of PG texts that have been produced in the twentieth century (Enninger, *Structural* 72).

<sup>18</sup> For the intonation patterns of Amish hymns singing see Enninger and Raith, *Ethnographic* 23-30.

*Structural* 71). Overall, the data on the structure of AHG in Anderson County confirms the typologies of AHG Frey's study of the Amish trilingualism (*Amish Triple Talk*) and the studies by Enninger (Structural) or Enninger and Raith (*Ethnography*).<sup>19</sup>

Enninger (*Structural* 72) as well as Enninger and Raith (*Ethnography* 66) describe prosodic features typical for AHG in the ceremonial context (but not in the school). If AHG is used in a ceremonial setting, it is usually presented in psalmodic, leveled psalmodic, or declamatory modality, thus distinct from PG by its intonation pattern.<sup>20</sup>

Since AHG is mainly reproduced from written texts, its linguistic form depends on the linguistic form of the texts the speakers reproduce. Amish groups use the Luther translation of the Bible and the hymn collection *Ausbund* (see Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 23; Kadelbach). The *Ausbund* was first published in 1564, in the same period as the Luther version of the Bible (1523) and therefore Huffines describes the AHG as “Luther German with PG phonology” (Huffines, *Pennsylvania German* 48). However, the Garnett districts use another hymn collection, the *Unparteiische Liedersammlung* (AE: Non-partisan Hymn Collection). This hymn collection includes some songs from the *Ausbund* and others from other hymn collections (*Unparteiische Liedersammlung* iv-v). The *Unparteiische Liedersammlung* was published the first time in 1892, and is now used in reprints, not in new editions. Some other groups use older hymnals, from 1860 or 1804 respectively,<sup>21</sup> which also compile hymns from *Ausbund* and other sources, but with fewer songs from the *Ausbund* than the *Unparteiische*

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<sup>19</sup> However, my data collection on AHG is restricted to observations and field notes which were mainly taken after the actual speech event. My observations are therefore not systematic and do not capture all linguistic features of AHG in the Anderson County OOA-districts.

<sup>20</sup> Enninger describes further characteristics of AHG which appear in writings of AHG (e.g., PG influence in spelling, inconsistent case endings, semantic shifts) and are not important for this study and thus not described here (see Enninger, *Structural* 68-72).

<sup>21</sup> The hymnals are *Unpartheiische Lieder-Sammlung* (1860) and *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* (1804).

*Liedersammlung* (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 24). Prayers are usually taken from the collection *Christenpflicht*, first printed in the United States in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1745 (*Christenpflicht* 267).

Johnson-Weiner reports that only very conservative Amish retain a distinct AHG while more progressive communities develop a “common German” as merger of PG and AHG (*Teaching Identity*, 17). The Garnett districts are Old Order Amish and as such a rather conservative group within the spectrum of all Anabaptist groups, but in some aspects more liberal than some other OOA groups. The *Ordnung* in the Garnett-districts (with its permission of tractors, telephones on the farm, use of generators etc.) is clearly less restrictive (or “more progressive”) than the Swartzentruber Amish Johnson-Weiner categorizes as “very conservative” (*Teaching Identity*, 1, 4). The AHG in Garnett is usually clearly distinct from PG and also perceived as distinct by the speakers. When asked about their German competence, the speakers in the Garnett districts regularly refer to the difference between PG and High German. That is similar to findings by Johnson-Weiner, who reports that speakers in conservative OOA communities describe AHG as a different language which is hard to learn (*Teaching Identity* 7).<sup>22</sup> Anderson County OOA repeatedly refer to High German as “real German,” one informant evaluated it as “original” while referring to the interviewer being from Germany:

Example 24 (Informant 10, Interview II, 0-19):

Du hoschd ebbes, s mir ned henn, because du: bischd do driwwə, wu di original, we:schd (.)  
cause (.) german (.) ich kann a: german vaschdehə (.) awwə ich kann’s (.) we:schd no[t]  
 schwetzə (.) ich kann’s gut lesə und vaschdehə, we:schd.

[you have something which we do not have because you are over there where the original,  
 you know (.) cause (.) German (.) I can understand German, too (.) but I can (.) you know,

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<sup>22</sup> In the more progressive groups, which according to Johnson-Weiner merge AHG and PG, the distinction between the two languages is less clear (*Teaching Identity* 11-12).

not speak it (.) I can read it well and understand it, you know]

To a remark by the interviewer that her language would be a kind of German, she replied:

Example 25 (Informant 10, Interview II, 20-30):

ja, awwa s'is we:schd s pennsylvania dutch is

a: noch e kle: bisslō diffrent.

[yes, but it is, you know, the Pennsylvania Dutch is, too, a  
little bit different]

The statements show that the informant considers the written variant of AHG as identical with the High German in Germany („do driwwə“), which she can read and understand. The informant also comments on her inability to speak High German (a skill she apparently regards as desirable). In the last sentence, the informant distinguishes between PG and High German, but describes the difference between both varieties as small. Johnson-Weiner reports OOA who evaluate AHG and New High German as two different varieties, defining New High German as the language of the Bible (*Community* 377). This distinction has not been made explicitly by informants in the Anderson County districts, but they see a difference between written and spoken AHG. Several informants commented on the difficulties of pronouncing High German (see the metalinguistic remarks regarding these issues; see IV.3.1). The difference between spoken and written High German is obvious when the umlauts /ö, ü/ are encountered which do not have an equivalent in AHG phonology. One informant asked the researcher how these letters would be pronounced in Standard NHG.

### ***II.6.2) The Use of Amish High German***

Old Order Amish use AHG only passively, for the reproduction of written texts in quotes or

singing (Enninger, *Structural* 67; Frey, *Amish Triple Talk* 85). Anabaptists do usually not have full competence in AHG, do not understand all grammatical features (e.g., case endings) and do not understand all AHG words without help of a dictionary. Most descriptions of language use in Amish communities describe the usage of AHG as restricted to preaching, praying and hymn-singing in the worship service (e.g., *Amish Triple Talk* 87). According to Frey, an Amish speaks AHG only seldom, and “[...] if he never holds a *Diener* position, he may practically never discourse in High German, except to quote from the Bible” (87). However, such descriptions ignore the passive use of AHG in the domains school and family which are partly described in Johnson-Weiner's studies on Amish schools (see *Teaching Identity; Reinforcing*) and Enninger's description of the linguistic structure of AHG (*Structural*). The observations in the Anderson County OOA districts show that AHG is read in the private Bible studies within the family, in the one week Bible school and the bi-weekly Sunday school. In Sunday and Bible school, scripture verses in AHG are read, memorized and spelled, however, the language of instruction is PG (see section I.2.5). Bible verses are read out loud, partly translated into AE, and interpreted. In the Summer Bible school, the students read Bible verses aloud and discuss them in a smaller group. Some Bible verses are memorized and presented to the parents at the end of the Summer school. The interpretation of Bible verses includes the translation of words or phrases that are difficult to understand. To prepare Bible interpretations, the teachers and ministers use dictionaries and bilingual editions of the Bible (with the German and English text parallel). Informants also report to study the Bible at home with their family, using bilingual Bible editions and dictionaries for better understanding.

All these usages of AHG are reproductive, only a limited active production of AHG has been reported by informants in the Anderson County district. A Bible school teacher (informant 12) occasionally translates songs from English into AHG, in order to be able to use the songs in the Bible



or Sunday school. According to the informant, only few members of the Anderson County district translate songs or poems from English into AHG and the translation process causes difficulties. The informant emphasizes that the translation into AHG requires a more intensive use of dictionaries:

Example 26 (Informant 12, interview 2, 22):

ich du: fi:l dictionary usə wan ich (.) especially wan ich ä: wan ich ä: (.) translatə du:

[I do use dictionary a lot when I (.) especially when I translate]

The data from the Anderson County OOA community shows a nearly exclusively reproductive use of AHG with strong focus on ceremonial texts. However, the acquisition of the limited AHG-skills not only takes place in more situations than the worship service, but also in the Bible and Sunday schools as well as the family. The worship service, the major domain for AHG use, will be analyzed in chapter four.

## **II.7) Conclusion**

The linguistic analysis of Anderson County PG has shown that most areas of the linguistic structure maintain PG rules. Especially the most salient features of the PG structure show little AE influence, e.g., the word order and the verbal inflection. Most changes in Anderson County PG turn out to exist in a similar way in other varieties of German without AE contact. For these changes in Anderson County PG, influence from AE is still a possible source, but not a necessary factor. AE-influence can be identified for changes in the vocabulary and possibly some areas of the grammar (e.g., the usage of infinitives without introduction), but mostly do not result in convergence with AE. While the simplification of infinitive constructions or the changed pattern in the usage of progressive might be influenced by AE, both constructions are still clearly different from AE. The future auxiliaries /zellə/

and /figgerə/ deliver an even clearer example: while the latter is an AE loan and the former semantically close to it, their use as future auxiliaries differs significantly from the AE auxiliaries for future ('will'). Such results of AE-influence have similarities to interlanguage, i.e., results of language contacts which do not completely follow the rule of any source languages (see Selinker; Færch and Kasper). Convergence to a certain degree can be seen in the vocabulary since some loans show a weak tendency to replace PG equivalents in the speech of younger speakers. However, most loans are morphologically well integrated and thus remain distinct from AE words. One of the few strong suspects of AE influence is probably the increase in the usage of the object case where formerly the subject case has been used.

One conclusion can be drawn for the methodology of studies on multilingual speech communities: the importance of comparative analyses with other varieties of the same language or language group has been reinforced (see Keel, *Reduction*; Post, *Lexicography*).

An important result of the linguistic analysis of Anderson County PG is the status of loan words and hybrid forms as normal part of the lexicon. This status shows in the appearance of loans word and hybrid forms on a regular basis and often filling lexical gaps in PG. As a result of the regular occurrence and importance of loans and hybrid forms, PG and AE are usually not completely distinct, despite the relatively stable core structures of the PG grammar. Even in speech situation with strict sociolinguistic norms, a certain amount of AE elements is present which causes a softening of sociolinguistic norms. This softening of the sociolinguistic norms allows the use of communication strategies that are based on codeswitching in all speech situations. Amish High German also has structural overlap with PG, but maintains lexical and grammatical features that do not exist in PG and, consequently, cause problems for the speakers. This limited AHG-competence of the Anderson County OOA is partly caused by the fact that the acquisition of AHG is tied to use of sacred texts. However,

using AHG is not solely limited to the worship service, but stretches in a limited way to Summer and Bible schools and scripture studies at home. The limited corpus of AHG-texts, its relatively frequent use and the possibility of using dictionaries or bilingual versions of the scriptures enhances the familiarity of speakers with the AHG-texts in use. However, this does not eliminate all sources for communication issues that are caused by the limited competence in AHG.

### **III) Language Choice in Anderson County**

Research on multilingual speech communities developed several models to explain what language is used at what time and which rules govern the selection of languages. Some models of language choice describe language selection within a speech situation level or even within a single utterance, i.e., codeswitching. These models are described in III.1.1. The remaining paragraphs of section III.1 describe models for language choice at the situation or community level, i.e., the connection between language and situation or between interlocutor and language choice. The existing models of language choice have theoretical deficits which will be described in each section. In section III.2, the models of language choice for situations and networks are applied to the data from the Anderson County speech community and tested regarding their ability to explain the language choices by members of the speech community. In this context, section III.2.2 describes different patterns for the integration of speakers into communicative networks that have been observed in the Anderson County OOA-districts. For the analysis of language selection in the Anderson County speech community, linguistic data from interviews is used, as well as ethnographic data from participant observations and interviews.

#### **III.1) Models for Language Choice in Multilingual Speech Communities**

In multilingual speech communities, the contact of the involved languages influences their linguistic systems as well as the linguistic competence of the speakers and the patterns of language use (Clyne 303). The influence of language contact on the linguistic system of Anderson County PG and the structure of AHG have been treated in chapter two. The effects on the competence of the speakers will not be of interest for this study and will only be briefly described in section III.2.1.

Language use in a multilingual society can be described on the level of the speech community or the individual speakers. On the community level, studies focus generally on the factors determining the uneven allocation of languages to different speech situations while studies of language use on the speaker-level analyze the factors of language choice within a speech situation on the background of linguistic competence and linguistic repertoires of speakers (Mackey 702-06). However, the two levels of language use are not independent from each other: the rules for language distribution on the community level provide the framework for the language choice of individual speakers within different speech situations. Consequently, our analysis of the language use in the sermons take both levels of language use into account.

Scholars on multilingualism have debated whether the speakers and their social context, or the linguistic system are the decisive factor for linguistic change in language contact situations. Thomason and Kaufman see speakers and social factors as the dominant force (see *Language Contact*), while others emphasize the dominance of the linguistic system (see Treffers-Daller; Bradshaw). For the analysis of language choice in the Anderson County OOA community, I follow the scholars who see both social factors and the linguistic system as influences on language contact (e.g., Singh 88; Stolz 93) because speakers and social factors shape the linguistic system as well as the characteristics of the linguistic system influence the form of language change (see Klenk).

The following two sections describe models for language contact resulting in language change (III.1.1) and for the alternating use of two or more languages in contact (III.1.2). Models for the language choice in multilingual communities are analyzed in the following sections, for the macro-level domain model and network model in sections III.1.3 and III.1.3. Each model on its own is insufficient to explain the dynamic language use in the sermons in the Anderson County speech community, but the models set the context for the application of the model of communication strategies

to the language use in sermons (chapters four and five).

### ***III.1.1) Language Contact and Language Loss***

Language contact can be part of a stable linguistic setting or a factor in processes of language shift and death. As the linguistic description in chapter two has shown, Anderson County PG is not in a process of language shift and consequently the major part of this chapter is dedicated to results of language contact in stable multilingual settings.

The disappearance of a language is a common result of linguistic contact situations.<sup>23</sup> Two processes can lead to this result: Language Death refers to the loss of linguistic competence in a population of speakers to the point where no proficient speakers of the first language are left. Language Shift is the process in which one language is less and less used in a speech community. It can take the form of the convergence of two languages. In a convergence process, one language changes its structure more and more towards the linguistic structure of the other dominant language (see Auer and Hinskens; Huffines, *Convergence and Language Death*).

Loss of a language without convergence is often described as attrition (see the contributions in Schmid; also Köpke; Köpke and Schmid; Craig). Attrition describes the loss of linguistic competence within one generation, while language shift usually occurs across generations (Yağmur 136). The principles of language shift with or without complete loss of the L1 are identical (Brenzinger and Dimmendaal 3-4; Meindl 432). Therefore, observers of language shift in progress can often not decide whether they are observing language change or language loss. Studies on language loss have examined

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<sup>23</sup> For non-sectarian PG see Huffines, *Pennsylvania German*; for other languages c.f. Dorian; Brenzinger; Brenzinger and Dimmendaal; Gal, *Language Shift*; Gal, *Lexical Innovation*; Sasse, *Language Decay*; Sasse, *Theory*.

German dialects in general (c.f. Mattheier, *Dialektverfall*), the setting of speech islands (c.f. Mattheier, *Sprachinseltod*), and specifically the situation of PG. A number of studies have identified indicators of language loss in PG (c.f. Van Ness, *Changes*; Kopp), examined the differences in language development between sectarian and non-sectarian PG speech communities (e.g., Huffines, *Pennsylvania German*; Huffines, *Strategies*; Louden, *Bilingualism and Diglossia*), or examined different areas of the linguistic structure.<sup>24</sup> However, several studies have pointed out that many of the changes in PG have been caused by internal developments, not by language contact, and might not result in language loss (e.g., Fuller, *Role*; Costello, *Remarks*; *Periphrastic Duh*). Louden emphasizes the function of unstable bilingualism for the loss of PG in non-sectarian communities (*Bilingualism and Diglossia* 20-26), a factor also described for other languages (*Brenzinger and Dimmendaal* 4).

### ***III.1.2) Codeswitching and Borrowing***

The use of more than one language within one speech situation is mainly described as borrowing (see chapter two) and codeswitching. Codeswitching (CS) is the “use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode” (Heller 1), a definition that could also be applied to borrowing; thus, both phenomena are difficult to distinguish (Heller and Pfaff 601-02; see also chapter two). The various proposals to distinguish CS and borrowing include attempts to use structural differences (Poplack, *Sometimes*; *Syntactic Structure*) or the frequency of the occurrence of lexical items (Myers-Scotton, *Comparing*). Other approaches assume different functions for CS versus borrowing, defining the latter as means of filling lexical gaps; codeswitching is then defined as all language alternation with other functions (see Eastman 4). Several scholars do not draw a sharp line

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<sup>24</sup> For syntax see Louden, *Syntactic Variation*; *Syntactic Change*; for case syncretism see Huffines, *Convergence and Language Death*; for aspect see Huffines, *Building Progressive*; *Functions*).

between borrowing and CS, but locate the two phenomena on a continuum of linguistic forms and code choices between two languages (Eastman, 16; see Gardner-Chloros; Goyvaerts; Swigart; Jacobson).

Jacobson identifies two types of codeswitching that were described in research: the first type is switching to a second language and maintaining it, the second type is embedding a phrase in the second language within in the first language utterance. Jacobson adds a third type of codeswitching with utterances that are constructed from elements of both languages and thus constitute a mixed code (59). Gysels rejects the possibility of distinguishing borrowing from CS by structural features and questions the need to distinguish the two phenomena. She argues that understanding communicative interaction only requires understanding the functions of the two phenomena (50; 53-54). This functional approach has been adopted for my analysis of the language use in sermons since it explains the data well and the language use does not seem to be contingent on a clear distinction between CS and borrowing - the speakers also do not seem to make that distinction. The present study will describe as borrowing all words that appear frequently in the lexicon and/or are phonetically integrated. Other instances of language change will be categorized as codeswitching.

The functions of CS have been examined in two models: Myers-Scotton's markedness model (see *Negotiation*) describes symbolic use of CS as “marked” language use and intentional violation of sociolinguistic norms (Eastman 1). Blom and Gumperz introduce different motivations for CS. “Situational” CS occurs when the definition of the situation changes, “metaphorical” CS is the change of the language within the same situation, e.g., when the topic of the conversation changes (Blom and Gumperz 424-31).

For the OOA sermons, CS can mainly be expected in pragmatic functions since the conditions for symbolic (marked) or metaphorical CS are not given: the speech situation is highly regulated and its definition cannot be expected to change; furthermore, the participants are homogeneous. Symbolic



language use is more common in confrontation with outsiders or changing speech situations.

Codeswitching as normal way of speech should be restricted by the strict sociolinguistic norms of the sermons (prescribing PG for free speech and AHG for the scripture readings; see chapter four).

Codeswitching can occur wherever speakers share the linguistic repertoire and norms of language use, but it is not employed by all speakers or in all situations (Heller 9). Different models have been created in order to explain the rules for the occurrence of CS. Early static models were based on grammatical constraints, e.g., Myers-Scotton's matrix-frame-model (see *Dueling Languages*), but have more and more been replaced by dynamic models that are based on the social functions of CS (Heller and Pfaff 598-602; Heller 3; see Myers-Scotton, *Social Motivations; Codeswitching as Indexical*; Auer, *On the Meaning; Conversation Analytic Approach; Bilingualism; Pragmatics of Code-Switching*). Functions of CS can be assigned to three categories: first, pragmatic functions for the organization of the discourse, e.g., as communication strategies (see chapter five; Eastman 6-8). Second, functions as social symbol (e.g., to mark group membership or identity; see Treffers-Daller 6). This is the function that includes most instances of metaphorical CS as described by Blom and Gumperz and marked language use in the sense of Myers-Scotton's markedness model. Third, as normal way of speech, without any specific social or pragmatic function (Heller 7). For the present study, the pragmatic function of CS is the most important since the focus of the analysis of sermons is on communication strategies with a pragmatic function in discourse management. The models for metaphorical CS and markedness are not employed because they explain symbolic language use which is not in the focus of the present study and can be assumed to be of little importance in the worship service with a homogeneous group of speakers and very limited space for marking any other identity than the one as Amish (see chapter four).

### ***III.1.3) Speech Situations, Domains, and Language Choice***

#### ***III.1.3.1) Domains***

A model which analyzes language choice on the society-level (macro-level) is the domain-model. The concept of domain describes an abstract speech situation, defined by the interplay of the communicative action and several situational factors. According to Romaine, the term domain “refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships” (29) which is connected to the use of a specific language (Fishman, *Domains*, 450; Romaine 30). The concept has been developed by Fishman (*Domains* 441) within the framework of ethnography of speaking (*Domains* 442-43). Like all ethnographic concepts, domains have to be defined specifically for each culture (Fishman, *Domains* 441). The norm of language use (or its violation) in a domain expresses the values of the speech community (Rindler-Schjerve 800).

In their study *Bilingualism in the Barrio*, Fishman, Cooper and Ma categorized five domains (family, friendship, religion, employment, education) and tested whether the speakers perceived these domains as distinct entities (see Romaine 29). This test addresses the postulate of ethnographic approaches to use descriptive categories that are salient in the observed culture. Most studies are based on the assumption of the following domain-structure: Pennsylvania German is used for communication within the domain family, with friends and other Anabaptists; Amish High German is only used in the religious domain and taught in school. American English is used in all communication with outsiders (Frey, *Amish Triple Talk* 86-87). However, few studies on PG have described the domains of PG communities in detail or tested the salience of domains in the speech community. The most detailed analyses of language use in OOA communities include a possible domain structure, but focus on role-dependent language alternation within speech situations/domains (Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp*; Enninger and Raith, *Variation*; Enninger and Wandt, *Pennsylvania*). Classic domain models

describe CS as norm violation and have no flexibility to integrate the use of more than one language (Fishman, *Domains* 450). Because of the restriction of classical domain models to the use of one language per situation, scholars have criticized them as too static (Rindler-Schjerve 802, Heller 1). Dynamic processes like codeswitching and all decisions of speakers regarding the language choice are ignored in the domain concept and strategies like negotiations of social relations and identity by language choice like metaphorical codeswitching are excluded (Kremnitz 211; Rindler-Schjerve 801). Gardner-Chloros describes the majority of multilingual speech communities as dominated by mixed codes, dismissing the separation of codes for many speech communities as well as the possibility of distinguishing between CS or borrowing. Even where varieties with clearly distinct functions or prestige exist and varieties are used in different domains (e.g., H- and L-varieties; see section III.1.3.2), the varieties often start converging over time (Gardner-Chloros 72-75). A solution for the deficits of a static domain model is the use of a model of linguistic norms which allows a certain degree of divergence from the norm. For many speech situations, one language is dominant but not exclusively used. Codeswitching and hybrid forms (or *codemixing*; see Eastman 1) should be accepted as regular language use, not dismissed as norm violation. The research on CS has shown that different varieties in the repertoires of multilingual speakers are often not used as completely separate entities and cannot be clearly distinguished by linguistic means (see Blom and Gumperz 416; Mioni 175; Schiffman 210-11). Section III.2 of the present study will test whether clearly distinguished domains can be found in the Anderson County speech community and a domain model can be applied. Section III.2 will also address the lack of detailed data on language use by describing the language use in different speech situations in the Anderson County OOA-community.

### ***III.1.3.2) Diglossia***

A special case of the connection between domains and language use is diglossia. The concept was introduced by Ferguson and originally describes the complementary distribution of two languages in domains. The more prestigious language (High or H-language) is used in formal, public domains, while the less prestigious (Low or L-Language) is used in intimate and informal domains. The concept has later been expanded to more than one language and more complex patterns of language distribution (Romaine 31-34). According to the diglossia-model, the principles of language distribution in speech communities with more than two languages (polyglossia) do not differ from diglossic speech communities (Kremnitz 209). The connection between diglossia and language change has been described in very different ways. Diglossia has been described as supporting language maintenance (Vandekerckhove 291), but also as an intermediate stage of language loss and a first sign of language death (Munske 1004; Willemys 133). The role of diglossia in language maintenance and change has attracted the interest of PG-researchers, notably Mark Loudon. He sees a connection between diglossia and language maintenance which he describes in his concept of stable bilingualism.

### ***III.1.3.3) Stable Bilingualism***

Based on the differences between the use of PG in sectarian communities which maintain PG and non-sectarian communities which abandon PG, Loudon analyzed the role of domains and diglossia in language change. Loudon dismisses the characterization of bilingualism in non-sectarian speech communities as diglossia because of the lack of clearly defined domains in those communities (Loudon, *Bilingualism and Diglossia* 26). He proposes an alternative model, categorizing sectarian speech communities as *stable bilingualism* and non-sectarian speech communities as *unstable bilingualism* (20). Referring to the first language as L1 and the dominant contact-language as L2,

Louden defines stable bilingualism as the “active use of L1 and L2 by all speakers in a given speech community with little change over time” (20) while the use of L1 and L2 in unstable bilingualism differs by generation and shows no clear connection to roles of the speakers. Stable bilingualism supports language maintenance while unstable bilingualism occurs with language shift (20). Louden identifies three factors for stable bilingualism and the maintenance of the L1, which is in his example PG: First, the L1 must be acquired early. Second, domains of language use must be clearly defined. Third, the speakers need to have attitudes towards the L1 which allow them to use the language freely. Louden sees all three conditions as fulfilled in OOA communities but not in non-sectarian communities. Old Order Amish speakers acquire PG as their first language, maintain the use of PG in specific domains as marker of identity and have neutral attitudes towards the use of PG while non-sectarians are ashamed of PG (Louden, *Bilingualism and Diglossia* 20-24).

#### ***III.1.4) Network Models of Language Choice***

Network models of communicative interaction describe language choice on the intermediate level between society and discourse, i.e., within the speech situation, but above the level of sentences or words. Network models focus on language choice as determined by the transactions between people; these transactions are in turn determined by the quality and intensity of connections between people and the rights and obligations connected to social transactions, e.g., what language is perceived as appropriately formal or polite in a specific situation (Milroy, *Language* 47-49). The concept of communicative networks has mainly been developed by Blom and Gumperz and later Lesley Milroy (*Language*). The concept has later been applied to language change (see Milroy and Milroy, *Linguistic Change*) and codeswitching (see Milroy and Wei). The network model is a dynamic model of language behavior, located in the framework of ethnography of speaking: network descriptions draw data from

field observations and focus on the descriptions of patterns of language behavior, the latter understood as co-occurring with other social behavior (Milroy, *Social Networks* 552; Wei 805). Despite the roots of network models in qualitative methods of data collection, several approaches have used quantitative data, e.g., the 'network strength scale'-model (Wei 807-08; Milroy, *Social Networks* 554-56).<sup>25</sup>

Network models analyze the connections of a speaker to several other speakers by categorizing them regarding their density and multiplexity. Network ties are dense when they connect several people to each other. Multiplexity means that speakers are connected by several ties (e.g., as community members, co-workers, friends). Other factors determining the network ties are the duration of the connection and the frequency of contacts between the speakers (Milroy, *Language* 50-51).

Milroy and Milroy distinguish weak and strong network ties. The strength of the ties is determined by the duration, intensity and intimacy of the contact, the degree of multiplexity, and the amount of reciprocal services exchanged between the speakers. Strong ties are thus dense and multiplex, characterized by intense, intimate contacts (Milroy and Milroy 354) and exist mainly in rural communities with a high degree of social cohesion. Internal cohesion creates a high degree of distinctiveness from other groups and thus creates insulated networks which are common in rural settings, while urban settings produce networks more integrated into the larger community (Wei 808).

Strong ties between speakers, especially in rural speech communities like Anderson County, are connected with a conservative language, which is often the non-standard or vernacular variety.<sup>26</sup> Strong ties resist social and linguistic change and break if social change occurs or the speakers move (Milroy and Milroy 344-66). Weak ties (see Granovetter) are characterized by loose-knit connections between

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<sup>25</sup> Quantitative analyses focus on the structures of networks of individual speakers which do not have to be analyzed for a description of language use in different situations. Therefore, quantitative models will not be described in this study.

<sup>26</sup> For the connection of rural networks and the maintenance of vernaculars see Gal, *Language Shift*; Wei 808.

the speakers. Milroy and Milroy identify weak ties as the channels of language change (343-44). They follow Labov's model of language change (Labov, *Principles*), which suggests that linguistic change starts with the innovation of linguistic variants. Selected variants spread through a speech community and are finally generalized as new form of speech (see Mattheier, *Verhältnis*). The main channels for the spread of innovations are weak ties, especially the type of weak ties which Milroy and Milroy call bridges. Bridges are single weak ties between speakers of different groups and can transport innovations over far distances (Milroy and Milroy 365-75). Weak ties are suitable for the spread of innovations because they are restricted by sociolinguistic norms of a group. Despite being of low intensity, weak ties can be of great importance for speakers, e.g., because of exchange of mutual aid, and thus be seen as a source of prestigious language (Milardo 26-36; Milroy, *Social Networks* 550-51).

A network model has been applied to Pennsylvania German by Keiser in his study on the spread of a phonological change in Midwestern Amish Communities (*Language Change*; see also *Sound Change*). Keiser postulates a common Midwestern PG, based on a common migration history of the speakers and the spread of linguistic innovations throughout the Midwestern PG speech communities (*Language Change* 100-54). He emphasizes that linguistic innovations can spread without regular and intense contact (*Language Change* 58), and concludes that Amish in the Midwest have sufficient contact between speech islands to make a spread of innovations possible (*Language Change* 76). The network connections of speakers from Anderson County are shown in the following section.

Network models show a weakness of domain models: Networks cross speech situations and consequently contradict a strict connection of language and domain. An overlap and contradiction of domain-characteristics like roles of speakers, topic of conversation, locale, or status has already been emphasized by Breitborde (19-22). Romaine (31) concludes that the linguistic norm of a domain can be overridden by functional needs or individual preferences of speakers. Based on similar observations,

Gardner-Chloros proposes to dismiss clear distinctions of domains (72). The present study sets out to examine whether the network connections in the Anderson County speech community extend to all speech situations or whether speech situations remain that demand the use of one specific language independently from communicative networks.

### **III.2) Speech Situations and Networks in Anderson County**

Louden's model of stable and unstable bilingualism contributes to explaining language maintenance and shift in a comparison of sectarian and non-sectarian speech communities. The model of stable bilingualism is based on the existence of clearly defined domains of language use, which is also a condition for the diglossia model. The following section will analyze whether the concepts of domain, diglossia and stable bilingualism are sufficient to describe the language use for the Anderson County speech community, in particular whether these models explain the language use in the worship service. Table 13 shows the major speech situations in the Anderson County OOA community. This list of major speech situations has been based on Fishman, Cooper and Ma's list of five domains (family, friendship, religion, employment, education) and has been modified according to statements of the informants on the connection of their language use with speech situations as well as the following considerations: The speech situation-type "employment" has to be subdivided because on-farm and off-farm employment in Anderson County show significant differences in setting and role-relations, which is reflected in the language use. The communication with Anabaptists from outside of their own group has been categorized as separate speech situation since informants identified it as a distinct type of communicative interaction which is a defining factor in the domain-model (see III.2.1). One informant explained that he initiates



**Table 13: Major Speech Situations in the Anderson County****OOA districts**

- Family
- Friends and in-group communication
- Communication with other Anabaptists
- Education in public school
- Education in Bible and Summer School
- Employment on-farm
- Employment off-farm
- Communication with non-Anabaptists
- Religion (Worship Service)

conversations with unknown Anabaptists in AE, if he meets them outside an OOA community. He explains that the signs of being Anabaptist (dress, hair) are not sufficient to guarantee that the conversation partner speaks PG since some Anabaptists do not speak PG. Thus he avoids embarrassing situations by using AE. Secondly, some PG- or German-variations are difficult to understand for Anderson County Amish and thus they often use AE as a *lingua franca*.

The speech situation “religion/worship service” matches the domain-concept the least. The speech situation “worship service” (as well as the worship Sunday as a whole) is sub-divided into several speech events, i.e., a part of a speech situation which has a marked beginning and end, e.g., a prayer is a speech event within the speech situation worship service (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Speaking* 664; see chapter four). All nine possible domains have one characteristic in common which contradicts the classical domain concept: none of the situations is connected with the use of

exclusively one language and most of them are open for codeswitching to a certain degree. This can be seen in the following descriptions of speech situations in Anderson County which are based on self-reports by speakers and participant observation:

1) Family communication: Pennsylvania German is dominant for communication within the family and informants emphasize that they encourage its use. Pennsylvania German is maintained as the first language of the children. The overt norm of language use (as described by the informants) prescribes PG-use, but the informants also report exceptions from this rule. Usually, the children are taught some AE in order to prepare them for school. In family communication, PG is dominant but codeswitching to AE can occur and basic AE knowledge is taught to children before they enter school.

2) Friends and in-group contacts: Communication with friends and fellow Amish from the own community is dominantly performed in PG. Codeswitching takes place, but is rarely used for longer stretches. Certain topics trigger increased codeswitching as well as when quoting AE-speakers. As soon as one outsider is present, the situation is re-defined as communication with outsiders and AE is used.

3) Communication with other Anabaptists: The language choice for conversations with other Anabaptists depends on the linguistic competence of the interlocutor and mutual comprehensibility. These factors are strongly connected to the time and setting of the conversations, since Anabaptists without PG-knowledge are mainly encountered outside of Amish communities, encounters on worship Sundays and connected to worship meetings generally take place between PG-speaking Anabaptists who have a similar theological background and lifestyle (the fellowship network; see III.3.2).

4) Public school: Most of the children in the Anderson County OOA districts attend the public school in Mont Ida, where most but not all children are Amish. Language of instruction is AE and the teacher does not have PG competence. Some children are taught in an Amish school, but this involved only four children during the school year 2007-08. The teacher in the Amish school is Amish, but the

language of instruction is nevertheless AE in order to ensure that the children acquire sufficient proficiency for life in a mainly AE-speaking country (see Johnson-Weiner, *Reinforcing*).

5) Sunday and Bible Schools: In the biweekly Sunday school (which is not held in the winter) and the one week of Bible School in the Summer, the language of instruction is PG. One important part of the curriculum is instruction in reading AHG, spelling exercises with AHG words, reciting of Bible verses and interpreting them. Through these exercises and the singing of hymns, the children acquire some skills in understanding and pronouncing AHG. AE is used to translate difficult words from AHG and the Bible lessons use an AE version of the Bible as supporting material to understand the AHG version.

6) On-farm employment: In traditional on-farm employment, the roles of the interlocutors overlap, i.e., a father-son relation overlaps with the roles as co-workers or employer and employee. All these roles are connected to PG, except in cases where other occupations than farming are pursued (e.g., cabinet making). This can lead to contacts with non-Amish customers and thus to AE contacts.

7) Off-farm employment: The connection between off-farm employment and language choice is intertwined with the linguistic competence of the interlocutor and communicative networks. The dominant language is AE since co-workers, employer, and customers are usually non-Amish. In some cases, off-farm employment results in having PG-speaking co-workers or employers/employees (e.g., in Amish-owned construction businesses). However, PG is in general only chosen as long as no non-Amish are present. This occurs more often in OOA communities in Anderson County than in areas with dense PG-speaking population since no PG-dominated business-infrastructure exists in Anderson County.

8) Non-Anabaptists: Conversations with outsiders are performed in AE. If an outsider has PG-competence, conversations might be performed in PG but, the choice of language is biased towards the use of AE with outsiders. The informants mostly initiate conversations in AE and show a strong

tendency to switch to AE, even when the outsider attempts to speak PG. Pennsylvania German is strongly connected with the status as Amish and group member; having PG-competence does not make one Amish and thus the language for outsiders (AE) remains the obvious choice. In contact with the interviewer, the informants tend to switch to AE because of the imperfect PG-competence of the interviewer.

9) Religion/Worship Service: The worship service cannot be defined as a homogeneous speech situation (see chapter four). The different sub-divisions of the speech situation (speech events) are connected with religious ceremonies trigger different structures of language choice and codeswitching. Speech situations with religious character are dominated by the choice of German varieties (PG and AHG), but not completely closed off against AE and codeswitching (see chapter five).

### ***III.2.1) Networks in the Anderson County Speech Community***

Understanding the main patterns of communicative networks in the Anderson County OOA districts is necessary to provide the framework for language use in the worship service. For this purpose, it is sufficient to understand what main types of communicative networks exist in the speech community and comprehensive analyses of network-connections of individual speakers can be neglected. Important for any analysis of communicative networks in OOA communities are the work-related networks since recently several studies have described changes in the employment structure in Amish communities and in turn change communicative networks. According to Kraybill, these changes in the employment structure result in the perception of a “lunch pail threat” by the Amish, i.e., the fear that the change in occupational structure will destroy Amish lifestyle by increasing the use of AE and creating more and more connections to the non-Amish lifestyle (192). However, studies on the lunch pail threat do not confirm the assumed direct connection between social change and change in language

use. Meyers describes a shift from traditional farming to cabinet making, carpentry and factory work for densely populated Amish communities, connected with an increase in available cash and leisure time and a change in social roles, but concludes that the core structure of Amish families and communities remains intact (174-81). Kraybill and Nolt describe similar developments in the employment structure of Midwestern Amish and come to the conclusion that “occupational change has not altered key components of Amish life” (174). The assumption that the change in the employment structure towards off-farm employment will lead to more AE and less PG usage has also been contradicted by Keiser. He has shown that the connection between off-farm employment and language use is weak or nonexistent in those communities which are surrounded by other PG speech communities. He emphasizes that speech communities without surrounding PG speech communities might show different tendencies (*Lunch Pail Threat* 16-17). The Anderson County OOA districts form such a community without other PG-speakers in close proximity and therefore it is interesting to see whether the networks of speakers with off-farm employment in Anderson County show an increase in AE-contacts and/or a decrease in the use of PG. The present study sets out to examine this question in the analysis of the integration of speakers into communicative networks (section III.2.2) because the increase of AE-use and the decrease of PG use depend to a large degree on the communicative networks.

Raith describes four major types of communicative networks for OOA: First, within their own districts, second, with other OOA congregations that have a similar *Ordnung* (“fellowship”-network), third, with OOA districts that have a significantly different *Ordnung* but are still considered Old Order Amish (“affiliation”-network) and, fourth, with non-Amish (“mainstream”-network; Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 176). Within or beyond these major networks, all speakers are members of other networks, e.g., family, friendship, or work-networks. The frequency and intensity of the contacts

is the highest within one's own district or neighboring districts with similar *Ordnung* (fellowship network), especially when the neighboring district is a split-off from one's own district, as this is the case in Anderson County. Contacts in affiliation-networks can be rare, despite the common background as Anabaptists: the Anderson County districts and the districts in Fort Scott, Kansas, do not have much contact, despite Fort Scott being the closest OOA settlement to Anderson County. According to one informant, the *Ordnung* of this congregation is too different to feel connected and only one member of the Anderson County districts has relatives in the Fort Scott settlement. The Anderson County Amish have more contact to the settlements in Chetopa and Reno County which are geographically farther away. While the contacts with non-Amish might have a higher frequency, they will remain on a low intensity since the Amish theology demands separation from non-Amish. The religious affiliation is the most important factor for all communicative networks of OOA (Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 176).

Due to the geographical isolation from other Amish districts, network connections between Anderson County and other districts cannot be maintained with a high frequency of direct contact and thus remain weak ties. Visits to any other districts require traveling longer distances, what distinguishes the Anderson County Amish from those in states with a high density of PG-speakers, e.g., Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana (see Keiser, *Sound Change; Language Change*). On the one hand, the isolation of the speech community requires contacts to AE speakers because of the unavoidable non-Amish business contacts. An informant in Anderson County emphasized this difference and described that Ohio or Indiana Amish are able to go shopping in Amish-owned businesses without speaking AE (see also the description in Kraybill 250-59). On the other hand, the Anderson County districts do not remain completely isolated from influences of other PG-speakers because weak ties (*bridges*) between speech communities have been shown to transport linguistic innovations over long distances. Despite geographical isolation, the Anderson County districts maintain such weak ties to districts besides

kinship ties in form of occasional visits to worship services in other districts, and support for new districts in Kansas with the organization of the worship service. The Anderson County Amish would also help districts in Missouri or Oklahoma with clean up after storms and similar tasks. Therefore, weak ties to other OOA districts can be considered first order networks, i.e., they are considered to be important, despite being of low frequency, intensity and intimacy of the contact. First order ties exist with the districts in Reno County as well as to some districts in Oklahoma and Missouri, and possibly develop to the new districts in Chetopa and Marysville; the contacts to the new districts in Thayer and Fort Scott are less intense, due to differences in the *Ordnung*. According to the informants in Anderson County, the Amish in Thayer allow smoking which the Anderson County OOA denounce. They consider the *Ordnung* in Thayer to be too lax while they evaluate the *Ordnung* in Fort Scott as too strict. Informants from Anderson County report that the *Ordnung* in Fort Scott does not allow any engines and prohibits any kind of plumbing in the houses, both rules the OOA in Anderson County describe as going too far.

The importance of fellowship ties supports Keiser's hypothesis that weak ties between speech islands are the channel for linguistic innovation because the importance of ties can assign prestige to the linguistic innovations transported through these ties and motivate speakers to adopt them. Furthermore, while the geographical isolation of a speech community limits contacts to other speech communities and increases AE-contacts, it also re-enforces the strong ties within the own group and supports a separate group identity. Isolation shifts more contacts towards the own group and thus creates multiplex and dense network ties.

Network ties are connected to rights and obligations, i.e., being member of a network entitles one to be integrated into interaction and treated according to certain rules, but also requires to obey to these rules of behavior. In Amish communities, rights and obligations in interaction are regulated (to a

relatively high degree) by the *Ordnung* and the expectations of other group members towards an acceptable Amish lifestyle. With its restrictions on occupation and focus on in-group contacts, the *Ordnung* supports dense and homogeneous networks. Nonetheless, speakers show differences in the networks in which they are integrated and the degree of integration into the networks. Furthermore, every speaker is a member of several networks (family, district, work, relatives etc.) which do not always have the same size and structure. Besides the differences in work-related networks, individual differences exist for the extension and density of kinship-networks. Differences exist regarding how many relatives a family has, how many of them live in close proximity, and how often visits to other districts are undertaken, but visits to relatives in other states are usually not undertaken more than once a year, but most informants attempt to meet with relatives once every year or every other year. In the interviews, informants reported on their family contacts and listed seventeen US States in which they have relatives.<sup>27</sup>

Some of these states (e.g., Oregon) are outside of the Midwest and the relatives in these states are often non-Amish, thus not living in Amish settlements. The states in which the most informants have relatives (see map 4) are not necessarily the closest to Kansas.

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<sup>27</sup> Named by more than eight informants: Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma; named by less than eight informants: Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, Wisconsin, Manitoba (Canada); Florida has been mentioned as destination for vacation and as winter-residence.



*Map 4: States with the most family contacts (as named in interviews)*



The information given in the interviews does not comprehensively describe the quality and quantity of the contacts. Yet, the list is sufficient to illustrate general tendencies in the communicative networks reaching beyond the Anderson County Amish districts:

- Most of the relatives live in Anderson County or Reno County, due to the marriages between the districts and the common migration background. Visits in Reno County are more frequent than to other states, but do usually not exceed four or five visits a year. Several informants stated they traveled to Reno County no more than two or three times a year. Visits to other

states are mostly restricted to one visit a year or even fewer. Often, the trips to other states alternate with visits by the relatives in Anderson County. Thus, relatives in Anderson County and other states have face-to-face contact once or twice year, sometimes fewer. Some informants stated to have not had direct contact to relatives in distant states for several years.

- Contacts to the new districts in Kansas are focused on two of the new districts (Marysville and Chetopa). Connections to both districts are partly due to the ties to Oklahoma or Reno County, which result from migration history. Nobody reported to have direct relations to the districts in Fort Scott or Thayer, both districts with significant differences in the *Ordnung* and consequently, these districts are usually not visited. Occasional visits to other districts in adjacent Missouri or Oklahoma take place in order to maintain fellowship-networks, additionally to visits of individual members of the congregation to relatives. These visits are usually not undertaken every year.
- Contacts stretch over large distances and establish extensive PG-networks with weak ties. Some of these network-contacts extend to relatives who are not Amish (anymore) and do not live in Amish districts. Some informants in Anderson County have relatives in Oregon where Amish had districts but moved away. Another informant has a non-Amish relative in Washington. These states are too far away for regular visits.
- Having non-Amish relatives influences the visiting patterns, since the non—Amish usually own cars and thus are much more flexible in traveling. Some informants reported that they usually let the non-Amish relatives come for a visit and also travel with them together to see other relatives.
- The network contacts outside of the Anderson County Amish districts are not equally distributed throughout the mentioned states but are concentrated on Reno County and six states

(see map 4). The contacts of the Anderson County OOA confirm Keiser's description that Midwestern OOA have contacts among them across large distances, but do not have many contacts to Pennsylvania.

- The frequency of travels to distant destinations depends on the occupation of the speech community member, but only to a limited degree. Traveling to other church districts requires absences of several days which are difficult to organize for family farmers. Nevertheless, OOA of all occupations maintain contacts to relatives in other states.

### ***III.2.2) Integration into Communicative Networks in Anderson County***

All members of a speech community are members of several communicative networks, e.g., kinship networks or co-worker networks. Raith identified four major networks of OOA: the network of members of the same district, of OOA in districts with similar Ordnung (fellowship network), of OOA in general (affiliation network) with non-Amish (mainstream network; Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 176; see III.2.1). The way speakers are integrated in these networks differs for every individual. Some have smaller kinship networks or less frequent contact to kin than others. Some have many contacts to non-Amish or Amish in other districts, some have few contacts outside of the own district. The combination of density and frequency of integration in different networks differs for each individual, but the analysis of the Anderson County speech community identified types of constellations of network-membership for Anderson County OOA. The present section describes five major constellations of integration into communicative networks in Anderson County:

- 1) Family Farmer
- 2) Other occupation, on-farm

3) Off-farm occupation

4) Retirees

5) Non-baptized teenagers

The descriptions are based on data from interviews and participant observation. The integration into the own district is not given as much attention as the integration into other networks because OOA districts are very homogeneous and the district members show a nearly identical integration into the district network. Emphasis is given to occupation-related network contacts since the occupational structure Anderson County undergoes a change, like in many OOA-communities, and this process is suspected to cause an increase in contact to interlocutors that do not speak PG.

### ***III.2.2.1) Type 1: Family Farmer***

The traditional employment of Old Order Amish is farming on the family farm which is by many seen as closely connected to the maintenance of the Amish lifestyle (Kraybill, *Riddle* 238-40). Working on the family farm establishes multiplex communicative networks in which the speakers are at the same time connected as family members, fellow Amish, and co-workers. Family farm networks consist of strong ties since the contacts are of long duration, intense, intimate and dominated by regular face-to-face interaction. On traditional Amish family farms, the male children work on the farm. Thus, they stay within the family network and under their parents' influence except for the time they attend school. They speak PG during work and in their free time and encounter AE mainly connected to school and with non-Amish neighbors. However, the unbaptized teenagers sometimes own cars and spend their free time partly away from the farm, thus having more opportunities for AE-contacts.

Contacts with non-Amish are not very often necessary when a family lives from the products of

their own farm. Other network contacts are usually connected with the membership in the Amish community and kinship. Contacts to AE speakers can then be restricted to a limited number of neighbors and the interaction while shopping in non-Amish stores. In Anderson County, approximately a third of the community members still pursue the traditional way of farming without any other major sources of income.<sup>28</sup> However, the OOA districts in Anderson County as well as in Reno County use tractors for farming. This increases the contacts with non-Amish Americans since machinery requires supplies, e.g., gas, and spare parts. Additionally, the use of tractors for shopping trips to Garnett expands the mobility and increases AE-contacts of speakers of the Anderson County OOA.

The work demands of a family farm limit the possibilities of visiting relatives in other districts. This is expressed in the following answer by an informant to the question whether he visits relatives in Reno County:

Example 27 (Informant 23, 2203):

ja (.) als emol (.) ned oft (.) cause mir du:n (.) mir missə als ebber kriggə fer chorə wann ma  
fortge: wellə (.) so du:n ma ned so oft as ma gleichə de:də

[yes (.) sometimes (.) not often (.) cause we do (.) we have to get somebody sometimes to do  
chores if we want to leave (.) so we do not go as often as we would like]

Organizing somebody to take care of the chores on the farm is an additional cost of traveling, according to statements from informants an important factor in the decision not to travel to other districts very often.

Besides traveling himself, the informant quoted above has another possibility to keep contact with relatives not living in Anderson County. The couple is consequently able to keep contact to large parts of the family without traveling since most of his siblings are not Amish anymore. They come to

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<sup>28</sup> According to an informant, thirteen out of thirty one families that are listed in the 2004 directory.

Anderson County for visits, being more flexible with their schedules and the means of transportation. Furthermore, the parents of the informants live on the neighboring farm, providing another reason for the siblings to come to Anderson County. Most relatives of the informant's wife also live in Anderson County. However, the relatives in Kentucky, Ohio and Wisconsin are visited less often. According to the wife, the contacts to the relatives in Kentucky and Indiana are maintained by annual visits by the relatives in Anderson County. Another family farmer (Informant 11) has his adult grandsons substituting on the farm while he is traveling with family members. The informant reports visiting relatives in other states once a year, mainly for annual family reunions. He also visits the Reno County districts for events, e.g., weddings, a town festival, etc. For longer trips, for example, visiting one daughter who lives in Canada, he and his wife can drive with a non-Amish son.

### ***III.2.2.2) Type 2: Non-farming occupation on the farm***

Farming is the preferred line of work for Amish, but not everybody in the Anderson County districts can make a living as farmer. An informant describes the different situation in Anderson County as follows:

Example 28 (Informant 22, 1322):

si: welle s'li:bscht wonn ma all farmers wä:rə awwer mir kennə ned all farmə (.) s'is ned genug land (..) ma kann gu:d du: in schreinerə

[they would like the best if we would all be farmers but we cannot all do farming (.) it's not enough land (..) one can do well in cabinet making]

The shortage in farmland makes it necessary for community members to pursue other lines of occupation. Occupations other than farming on the family farm changes the structure of the communicative networks by increasing AE contacts, leisure time and disposable income. Speakers with

different occupations than farming exist in two different categories: one category includes speakers with non-farming occupation as self employed or with an Amish employer, mainly performed on the farm (network type 2). The other category includes off-farm occupation (see network type 3).

Common non-farming jobs which are mainly performed on the farm are cabinet making in the self-owned woodworking shop (often cabinets) and breeding dogs. Speakers with those occupations perform their work close to the family and without non-Amish co-workers. However, they have non-Amish customers and thus some weak ties to monolingual AE-speakers in their work-related communicative network. The contacts to non-Amish customers are limited when carpenters sell their furniture through furniture stores. One store in Richmond, a town nine miles away from Garnett, specializes in Amish furniture; the owner is a non-Amish Pennsylvania German from Pennsylvania who is married to a woman from the Anderson County district. Working as a cabinet maker does not only create more weak ties to AE-speakers than family farming, but can also make it easier to maintain contacts to relatives in other districts, since no constant presence on the work site is required.

### ***III.2.2.3) Type 3: Off-farm occupation***

A significant structural difference can be seen in the communicative networks of speakers with off-farm occupations. Several members of the Anderson County districts work as carpenters on construction sites, some work for harvesting crews or in a store in Garnett. These speakers have frequent direct contact to non-Amish customers and regular and intense contact with non-Amish co-workers. Some community members work as carpenters for construction companies, building houses as far away as the cities of Lawrence or Kansas City (fifty to sixty miles from Garnett). These community members have non-Amish co-workers and customers and thus speak AE most of their time at work. One 39-year-old informant who works as carpenter in a non-Amish construction crew describes the

influence of his work environment on his language use. The context is a narration about difficulties in understanding a PG word which an older female speaker had used. He explains then why younger speakers do not know all the PG words which older speakers might use:

Example 29 (Informant 16, 1900):

awwer s'is partly because (.) you know (.) wann sie ufgwachsə war (.) alle warə farm(.) i:rə  
contact mit hoche leit war ned negschd so fi:l as unsern is now (.) weschd mir sin in contact  
mit sie alle da:g basically (.) weschd so wie mich (.) de ganz da:g lang (.) bin ich am englisch  
schwezə ned dä:tsh

[but it is partly because (.) you know (.) when she had grown up (.) all were farm (.) her  
contact with high people was not near as much as ours is now (.) you know we are in  
contact with them all day basically (.) you know like me (.) the whole day long (.) you know  
like me (.) the whole day long (.) n I am speaking English not deitsch]

The informant attributes the change in PG-competence to the change of lifestyle away from farming as main occupation. He connects the farm-centered lifestyle with the amount of contact with non-Amish (“hochə leit”). He explains his reduced lexical PG-competence with his limited use of PG during work hours. When working with non-Amish, strong communicative ties develop. Contact is regular and intense and the work-related network is dense. However, the network ties are probably not multiplex since the contact to the co-workers remains restricted to the work environment and does not include private contacts or kinship relations. From the available data, it cannot be established how much the off-farm employment actually influences the PG-competence of the speakers. Off-farm work introduces new ties outside of the OOA district but does not exclude multiplex networks ties with fellow Amish and a connection of family and work. One informant (Informant 25, age 45) builds sheds and works together with his brother and two sons. Another informant (Informant 22, age 46) is also a carpenter and has his own construction business. He builds houses in a thirty-mile area around Garnett



and employs three of his sons. In both cases, the family network overlaps with the work network, creating network ties with a high degree of multiplexity similar to family farmers (with the male family members connected as relatives, Amish and co-workers). Nevertheless, the work away from the farm, the contact with customers and the intensive contact to non-Amish workers on construction sites introduces a significantly higher amount of AE contacts into the communicative networks, as one informant describes himself:

Example 30 (Informant 22, 2309):

iwwer di: ja:rə is schun a lot englisch neigmixt worrə in unsə amischə language (.) un fer mich (.) n so wi: mich s fort schafft allə da:g is de english language pretty well all s ich use cause (.) di: leit as ich schaff mit kennə ned deitsch schwetzə (.)

[throughout the years, a lot English has been mixed into our Amish language (.) and for me (.) and so like me who works away every day, the English language is pretty well all I use cause (.) the people whom I work with are not able to speak Deitsch]

The speaker connects the perceived increase of AE transfers into PG of his community with the high amount of AE he is exposed to in the work environment. He claims to use AE nearly exclusively throughout the work day, despite running the business together with his sons. His main work contacts seem to be non-Amish and even if he worked directly with his sons, he would probably only speak PG if only PG-speakers would be present; as reported for Amish in general, the Anderson County Amish immediately switch to AE if a non-Amish is present. The same informant describes that his intense exposure to AE started when he started working:

Example 31 (Informant 22, 2340):

wi: ich do runnergezochə bin [to Garnett, J.M.] hab ich ned fi:l deitsch [he means English, J.M.] gschwetzt khatt (.) bin uffgwachsə in deitsch schwetzə di: ganzə zeit (.) bin in di: schu:l gangə un glernt wie fer englisch schwezə (.) un wi: ich do runnergezochə bin do hab ich gschafft fer en

ho:chə (.) un mei English dialect was s'[??]hinerschd forderschd (.) alle hedde glacht iwwer mich (.) ich gla:b s'is pretty well organized now

[when I moved down here, I did not speak much Deitsch (he means AE, J.M.) (.) grew up with speaking Deitsch the whole time (.) went to school and learned how to speak English (.) and when I moved down here and worked for a non-Amish (.) and my English dialect was topsy-turvy, all laughed about me (.) I believe it is pretty well organized now]

His first employment was with a non-Amish ( PG /en ho:chə/, AE “a high person”) with whom he had to speak AE. He states he acquired AE only in school, but with a very limited competence, as the initial inability to use correct AE at the work place shows. The informant later describes the change he perceives in his linguistic repertoire. In the following quote, he describes how AE became the dominant language for him:

Example 32 (Informant 22, 2416):

well du hosch üschd gedenkt in deitsch und hosch dsa:t in englisch un s'is hinerschde zuerschd rauskumme (.) un now more or less gla:b ich denkt ma in englisch und prowiert deitsch schwetze (.) wann ma so fi:l englisch schwetzt

[well, you were just thinking in Deitsch and said it in English and it was coming out topsy-turvy (.) and now, more or less, I believe, you think in English and try to speak Deitsch (.) when you speak so much English]

Prior to this quote, the interviewer asked whether the perceived change in the speaker's language use was mainly limited to the lexicon. The informant rejects this and describes his perception that he shifted from thinking in PG and trying to form AE sentences to the reverse situation. This implies that the informant assumes AE influence in his PG in a similar way he described it earlier for the influence of PG on his AE; additionally, he describes his PG use as “prowi:re” (AE: trying), implying that it may not be successful. In the end, he repeats the connection between the change in his repertoire and

competence with his intensive use of AE. The perception of this speaker cannot be confirmed by the data at hand. The data do not show difficulties in producing PG, in contradiction to the informant's claim that he would only try to speak PG, and do not support the notion of contact-induced language change beyond the lexicon. The degree of PG-influence in the AE of the speakers has not been examined (but see Huffines, *English*; Burridge, *Throw the Cow*; Reed). The statement is nevertheless interesting because it illustrates the perceived threat to the language and lifestyle of OOA resulting from the changing employment structure which most likely influences the behavior of the speakers. If an Amish works for a non-Amish employers, an overlap of family and work-networks is even smaller than in the case of an Amish-only construction crew which works on non-Amish construction sites. One informant works in a store in Garnett and has both Amish and non-Amish co-workers. Since the employer, some co-workers, and most customers are non-Amish, most of the communication at the work place is probably in AE. Furthermore, the job includes issuing receipts, keeping inventory, ordering products, and work with the computer, thus a significant amount of written communication in AE.

The employment of women is much more limited to the house, but some women from the Anderson County OOA districts have contact with non-Amish customers. They clean houses for non-Amish or sell baked goods at farmer's markets in cities in the area. Those network ties are regular, but of low intimacy and not multiplex or dense, but they still create regular contacts with AE.

Off-farm occupation not only creates weak ties to AE-speakers and reduces the time of PG usage, it also has a potential to support weak ties with other Amish districts. Off-farm occupation often has regulated work hours and thus leaves more freedom to travel. One informant, who works in a store, benefits from work-free Saturdays which enable him to visit his parents in Reno County. However, non-work related factors can also determine the frequency of visits in other districts and section III.2.2.2 shows that the connection between employment and travel habits is limited.

#### ***III.2.2.4) Type 4: Retirees***

The fourth network type in the Anderson County OOA community represents retired community members. Their communicative networks are determined by their reduced work obligations. In many Amish communities, the grandparents sell their farm upon retirement or pass it on to a child and move into a separate house on a child's farm. By doing so, the grandparents stay close to the family. In Anderson County, many community members in retirement age keep up farming at least to a certain degree and/or maintain their own farm as residence. Retirees mostly remain well integrated in the family and the community networks and help with babysitting or preparing for worship service or other events in the children's houses.

Communicative networks of retired Amish potentially differ from family farm networks in two ways: first, some Amish couples move upon retirement to another district in order to be close to their children. This has not been reported for Anderson County Amish in recent years, but the grandparents of one informant split their place of living between Reno County, Florida in the winter and in the spring Michigan, where the family of the grandmother lives. Second, retirees have fewer duties at home and more time to travel. Therefore, some retired couples increase the frequency of visits to relatives. None of the interviewees was fully retired, they mostly continue to pursue farming to a certain degree. However, one couple in retirement age which still pursues farming with the help of the grandchildren reported on traveling over the stretch of three weeks during the summer. They visited a daughter in Canada, afterwards relatives in Missouri. One informant reported that relatives in retirement age spend the winters in Florida.

#### ***III.2.2.5) Type 5: Non-baptized teenagers***

Members of Amish families who are not baptized are not obligated to follow the *Ordnung* to the

full extent. From all age and status groups, the smallest amount of information has been collected on unbaptized teenagers. Unbaptized members of Amish families are not a homogeneous group and their lifestyle and communicative networks are heavily influenced by the occupation of the individuals and their orientation towards becoming Amish. While some seem to maintain a family farm lifestyle, some have jobs in off-farm occupations with more AE-contact and less integration into the family. However, they usually still live at home. Young women might have an off-farm job (mostly not full employment), but that is often limited to babysitting or cleaning.

One informant who has not been baptized himself reported that several unbaptized teenagers drive cars and most seem to have a cell phone, both possessions which they will have to give up if they get baptized. The informant reported to have traveled to Florida for vacation and also visited relatives in Indiana. He emphasized that the level of income in Indiana enables the young Amish to buy nicer cars but estimated that most young men in his district possess cars. The increased mobility and the reduced obligations towards the *Ordnung* probably increase the number of AE contacts and contacts to PG-speakers in other districts for those who do not restrict themselves to a lifestyle according to the *Ordnung*. Nevertheless, the young members of Amish families are most likely still well integrated in PG-dominated communicative networks as long as they live at home.

The observations for this study do however not include children of Amish-families that do not participate in the worship Sundays. This means that information on those children who are not oriented toward joining the Amish church is not available. Only one informant has been interviewed who was older than the typical baptism age of sixteen to twenty years, but did not wear Amish garb, worked off-farm for a non-Amish employer and drove a car. However, this informant lives with her parents and is thus integrated in an Amish and PG-dominated family network. For future studies, it would be interesting to investigate how many adolescents significantly increase their AE-contacts in the time

prior to baptism and what influence this has on networks and language.<sup>29</sup>

### **III.3) Conclusion**

1) The description of the language distribution in the Anderson County OOA speech community has shown that, when used alone, neither the classical domain concept nor the network model are sufficient models for OOA speech communities. The data show that Louden's assumption of a clear domain structure in sectarian speech communities is an abstraction and does not sufficiently describe the complexity of language use in OOA communities. Domain in the sense of Fishman's definition as a specific type of speech situation in which only one language is used depending on the intimacy or formality of the situation, cannot be found in the Anderson County speech community. An overview of the speech situations in the Anderson County speech community shows that more than one language or at least hybrid forms between two languages are used. Speech situations in Anderson County allow the use of codeswitching to a certain degree or even assign the use of two or three languages to a speech situation. The latter is the case for the Bible school or the worship service which contain several speech events with different language choices within the same situational context: in Bible school, language of instruction is PG, the Bible is read and recited in AHG, some songs are in AE; in the worship service, hymns are in AHG, the sermon in PG, and some announcements in AE (see chapter four). Within all types of speech situations, codeswitching and borrowing can be used as communicative strategies for practical and symbolic purposes.

The language use in Anderson County suggests that speech situations are connected to norms of language use which prescribe a dominant language and allow a certain amount of deviation from the

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<sup>29</sup> In a study on young Amish who test life outside of the Amish community prior to baptism, Shachtman estimates that less than 10 percent of Amish adolescents move out of the family home (14).

norm. How much deviation from the dominant language is allowed varies for different types of speech situations. Highly regulated situation-types like the worship service can be expected to allow less deviation from the general norm of language use than less restricted situations, e.g., conversations with friends. Consequently, the linguistic repertoire of the speakers in Anderson County can be described as a continuum of overlapping varieties. Borrowing or codeswitching is present to a certain degree in most speech situations, e.g., some AE in the family or within the group, where mostly PG is used, AE or PG at work, depending on the conversation partner, or PG, AHG, and AE in different instruction units in Bible school. In the Anderson County speech community, the linguistic norms mostly prescribe a dominant rather than exclusive language for each speech situation, thus exhibiting norm tolerance, i.e., allowing a limited degree of divergence from the norm (see Enninger and Wandt, *Social* 55; Woolard 360; Götze 131-33).

2) Fishman defined domains as abstract speech situations which are characterized by common setting, role-relations, and time. These abstract speech situations are connected to the use of one language depending on different degrees of formality and intimacy. In this regard, some types of speech situations in the Anderson County OOA community are nearly equivalent to domains (e.g., family, friendship), but other speech situations share characteristics like setting and role-relationships and can therefore not be clearly separated. This confirms the findings of Gardner-Chloros or Breitborde who dismiss clear distinctions of domains .

Most common is an overlap of the role-relations of speakers, for example, the role-relation of the father and son exists for some speakers in both the more intimate and less formal situation of the family as well as in the off-farm work. At work, the roles of father and son overlap with or sometimes even contradict the roles of co-workers or employer and employee. On the one hand, the role-relations can change within a situation while time, setting and degree of formality remain the same. On the other

hand, several situational factors like role-relations and situation can change without resulting in a codeswitching, e.g., when father and son go from their home to the work place where the roles shift to employer and employee while PG remains the dominant language.

3) The presence of hybrid forms and CS in all speech situations implies that these phenomena are normal ways of language use (unmarked language choice). Thus, the norm of language use of a speech situation allows mixed codes and CS next to the dominant language or even prescribes mixed codes or CS as dominant language use. This has been observed in several speech communities (e.g., Treffers-Daller 6).

4) Despite the openness for divergence from linguistic norms, the language use in Anderson County is still sufficiently rule-governed to make predictions on language use and consequently interpret speech behavior. Examples for rules are morphological rules for hybrid forms as well as the regular distribution of loan words according to categories of words that are always used as loan words, words used both as loanwords or PG word, and words that are never used as loan word.

5) One important factor regulating the language choice as well as the form of speech situation-types and communicative networks is the *Ordnung* of the Amish community. Being Amish is connected to rights and obligations which often override rights and obligations from other sources; for example, working off-farm might create certain obligations to socialize with co-workers beyond the work setting, but this obligation is usually outweighed by the strong focus on separation from non-Amish which the *Ordnung* prescribes. Thus, being Amish supports the maintenance of strong and multiplex ties with other Amish even when the contact with non-Amish increases as a result of changes in the occupational structure of the community; in the same way, new network ties to non-Amish most likely remain weak, since dense or multiplex connections with non-Amish are discouraged by the *Ordnung*.

6) The analysis of communicative networks in the Anderson County speech community has



given insight into two dimensions of language contact and change: First, the contact to AE has increased because of a changing occupational structure in the community towards off-farm employment. Nevertheless, this change does not eliminate strong networks between all community members; therefore, this social change does not undermine those network ties which are important for the maintenance of PG in Anderson County. This agrees with Keiser's finding that the change in employment is not directly tied to a decreasing use of PG (*Lunch Pail Threat* 17). Secondly, the analysis of contacts to other Amish districts confirms Keiser's claim (see *Language Change* 15) that OOA are mobile, regarding visits to relatives in other states often in a similar way to non-Amish. Consequently, they maintain weak ties over long distances. These weak ties might serve as channels to transport linguistic innovation between OOA speech communities. This supports Keiser's hypothesis of a common Midwestern PG established by contacts between speech islands (*Language Change* 241-51; see III.3.1; ). The analysis of travel habits has shown that even community members with more opportunities to travel than the average community members do not have frequent face-to-face contact with relatives in other speech communities. The amount of linguistic innovations that can be transported through contacts once or twice a year as well as the way these innovations spread within a speech community remains to be examined.

#### **IV) The Speech Event *Sermon***

The domain of the worship service is of special interest to research on language use in Old Order Amish communities because it is a domain in which Amish use all three languages of their linguistic repertoire: Pennsylvania German, American English, and Amish High German. In Amish communities, AHG is only used in a limited way and does not play a role in daily communication (see, e.g., Enninger and Wandt, *Social* 50; Huffines, *Pennsylvania German* 48; Louden, *Bilingualism* 27). In the domain worship service, the selection of varieties from the linguistic repertoire is different for each part of the worship service and not every part includes AHG. Usually, only the sermons (and in some instances the scripture reading) include the usage of all three varieties of the repertoire. Thus, the sermons are on the one hand the most complex speech situation in an important domain of Amish speech communities, on the other hand a highly regulated ceremonial event. The sociolinguistic complexity of the speech situation *sermon* is due to the problem that AHG is necessary but not sufficient to successfully perform a sermon. The scriptures that provide the “liturgical center” (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 61) of the worship service and the base for the sermon are in AHG, but the speakers have a limited ability to use and understand AHG. Hostetler states that this tension between the important function of AHG and the limited control over AHG causes “linguistic stress and ambiguity” (393). Consequently, the preachers face a dilemma: the norms for the worship service demand that they use sacred scriptures in AHG and avoid AE, but both the preachers and the congregation do not always understand the AHG of the scriptures. This results in what can be called the preacher's dilemma: the preachers must either violate the sociolinguistic norms prescribing the use of AHG and avoidance of AE, or they must violate the role-expectation towards preachers to deliver a comprehensible sermon.

The factors for the preacher's dilemma and how preachers in the Garnett OOA-districts try to

solve this dilemma is the topic of chapter five. Understanding the preacher's dilemma and how it is managed requires knowledge of the cultural context of the sermons and how this context determines language use. Consequently, the present chapter analyzes the structure of the worship service and the cultural and religious function of worship service and sermons in the Anderson County OOA-districts. This analysis will provide the factors for the strict sociolinguistic norms of the OOA worship service (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 8). The analysis of the worship service is performed within the approach of *ethnography of speaking* which will be described in section IV.1. Section IV.2 provides the description of the worship service and its sub-division in smaller units of language use. This description is followed by a description of the importance of AHG for the identity as Amish in section IV.3.

#### **IV.1) The Ethnography of Speaking-Approach**

Ethnography of Speaking (or: Ethnography of Communication) is an approach to analyzing patterns of language behavior by focusing on the social function of language use. The details of the linguistic form are of secondary interest (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication* 14-16). The method was first introduced by Dell Hymes in 1962 (*The Ethnography of Speaking*). Studies in the ethnography of speaking approach collect data with qualitative methods, such as participant observation and interviews.<sup>30</sup> The categories for the description of the data are taken from the target culture (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication* 113, 123). This means that social events or linguistic varieties in a community will be described as different categories if the target culture considers them to be distinct categories. For example, the OOA distinguish a worship service with a following presentation of the community rules (*Ordnungsgme:*) from other worship services (*Gme:*).

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<sup>30</sup> Milroy and Milroy evaluate the definition of the analytical categories in ethnographic approaches as weak, e.g., the lack of objective measures for different qualities of network connections (363). In network-analyses, quantitative approaches attempt to resolve this perceived deficit (e.g., Milroy and Wei).

Consequently, this distinction is adopted for the descriptions in the research. Furthermore, Anderson County PG will be distinguished from PG in Pennsylvania since the members of Anderson County community describe them as distinct varieties.

The basic assumption of the ethnography of communication approach is that language behavior is rule-governed and therefore tends to exhibit regular patterns (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication* 11). These patterns of language behavior serve as data from which underlying social rules and other determining factors for behavior in a specific society or group can be derived. These factors are specific for each social or cultural setting and can only be understood in the context of the whole culture (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Speaking* 660). Consequently, studies on language use need to integrate information on the cultural and socio-economic context, as well as beliefs about language and language use (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication* 114-15). The communicative competence of the speaker is thus defined as part of cultural competence and includes linguistic knowledge, communicative skills, and knowledge about the appropriateness of behavior and language choice in specific situations (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication* 21-25).

Three analytical units in ethnography of speaking are speech community, speech situation and speech event. The speech event is the basic unit of the analysis (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Speaking* 664).<sup>31</sup>

#### ***IV.1.1) Speech Situation and Speech Events***

A speech situation is a unified set of components shown in table 14, e.g., the speech situation of worship service is defined by the type of event (religious ceremony), with a specific purpose (worship,

<sup>31</sup> Defining a Speech Community is difficult and the concept has been criticized as being too fuzzy (Milroy and Milroy, 363). A discussion of the problem can be found in Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaft*.

interpretation of the scripture, etc.) in a specific setting (church building) with a specific group of participants and specific message forms (singing, prayer, scripture readings, etc.). The first four components in table 14 (genre, topic, purpose, setting) form the context of the speech situation.

<b>Table 14: Components of Speech Situations</b> (according to Saville-Troike, <i>Ethnography of Speech</i> 664)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● genre (type of event)</li> <li>● topic (referential focus)</li> <li>● purpose (community standpoint and individual standpoint)</li> <li>● setting (location, time, spatial arrangements, ...)</li>   <li>● participants (age, sex, status,...)</li> <li>● message form (vocal, non-vocal, ...)</li> <li>● message content</li> <li>● act sequence</li> <li>● prescriptions for interaction</li> <li>● norms of interpretation</li> </ul>

A speech situation consists of several speech events. A speech event shares several of the components, especially the location and time, but differs in some components. For example, the speech situation worship service contains the speech event sermon which shares location and general topic and purpose of the worship service, but differs from the rest of the speech situation in the message form.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Despite the variation in situational factors, the speech situation is recognizable as unit by a general similarity of the situational factors: the common time frame and locale of the worship service, its marking at beginning and end, as well as the consistent present of all participants create a clear perception of the worship service as one speech situation.

The boundaries of a speech event are marked by lexical formulas, silence, change of position of the speaker or other verbal and non-verbal signals. Within a speech event, speakers perform speech acts, each of which serves a single interactional function (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication* 28-29). An example of a speech act in the OOA sermon is opening the sermon.

Both speech event and speech situation need to be defined for each specific speech community (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Speaking* 662-64). In the Anderson County OOA community, one major speech situation is the worship service, consisting of several speech events (opening, hymn singing, *Abrath*, sermons, prayer, scripture reading, *Zeignis*, Benediction, announcements) which are described in more detail in section IV.2.

#### ***IV.1.2) Roles and Rules***

Two factors of language choice are important within the ethnography of communication framework: *roles* and *rules*. Rules do not only determine the roles of participants in a speech event, they might also prescribe the language choice or other behavior of participants. However, rules also have a descriptive component, capturing what participants are commonly doing. Descriptive and prescriptive rules form the base of expectations of speakers regarding the behavior of others, which makes behavior predictable (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Speaking* 662-64). The most predictable behavioral patterns are rituals and linguistic routines. They are utterances which have a meaning only as a whole unit and in a specific context. Linguistic routines do often exhibit marked boundaries, e.g., a specific intonation and tend to occur more often in closed groups or formal situations (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication* 41-44). Roles are sets of expectations regarding the behavior of a person in a specific situation. They are based on codified rules and internalized cultural values or

norms, with some freedom for the individual to act out the role (Dreitzel 118). Roles are connected to the situation and the position of an individual in social networks (Preston 696-98), what places roles in a pivot-position between individual and society (Dreitzel 115). The expectations connected to a role are not static, but continuously tested and modified (Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 60). The same person can have several different roles, which can contradict each other (Dreitzel 116). It might also happen that an individual distances himself/herself from role-expectations (Dreitzel 117).

For the analysis of language behavior, roles are of interest as factor for language choice (Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 186). Roles might be connected with specific styles of speech and speakers might be required to switch between styles when switching roles (Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 118). Speakers can distance or connect themselves to roles, which can be achieved by verbalizing it in meta-language, i.e., language referring to language use (here: speaking about the style of speaking), or using role-specific style of speaking. The use of meta-language is an important strategy of preachers in OOA sermons, as chapter five will show.

The two most detailed studies on language use in OOA communities are Enninger and Raith's study on the different varieties in OOA communities (Enninger and Raith, *Variation*) and Raith's study on language use in OOA communities (*Sprachgemeinschaftstyp*). Raith emphasizes that Domain-models are not suitable for the analysis of language use in agrarian societies like the OOA (*Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 59) and identifies roles as the decisive factor for language choice in OOA-communities (*Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 186). The combination of role-expectations with network-related factors for language choice creates a complex pattern of language behavior (Raith, *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp* 188). Other approaches have also acknowledged the importance of roles for language choice: Fishman sees roles as contributing to the language choices in domains (*Domains* 443-44) and Louden's concept of "stable bilingualism" describes a connection between roles and language

use as condition for clear domain-definitions (*Bilingualism and Diglossia* 20). However, both works do not provide a link between the situation-related language choice in the domain-model and the person-related language choice in the role-model.

#### **IV.2) Speech Events and Language use in the Worship Service**

Despite the complex linguistic structure and its importance in the Amish society, linguistic studies on the Amish worship service are rare (however, see Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography*). Hostetler gives a description of the structure of the worship service and its theological background with few remarks on language use (209-33). The worship service is a crucial part of Amish lifestyle. Hostetler describes the day of worship service as a “day of anticipation” for every Amish family (210). The worship Sunday, which is every second Sunday, is connected to several elements of community-formation. A worship Sunday consists of the opportunities to converse, the worship service itself, and a lunch for the group. The worship service is in the center of the day. Baptized and non-baptized family-members worship together in a congregation member's home, occasionally with visitors from other districts joining. The worship service is conducted by the congregation officials, the *Diener* (literally “servants”). Districts have one bishop, who usually leads the worship service, two preachers, and one deacon without preaching permit (for the *Diener* see Hostetler 210-18). Preachers regularly emphasize that they consider it to be a gift to have the possibility for this common worship.

In the morning of the worship service, the congregation members drive by horse and buggy or walk as a family to the farm where the service is held, except adolescent sons who often go on their own. Worship Sunday is the day when congregation members meet and have the possibility to communicate with each other. Conversing takes place prior to and after the worship service and is



mainly organized by genders and age as well as membership status. The women gather separate from men and prior to the worship service, the baptized married men gather separate from the non-baptized or unmarried men (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 15-16). In the worship service, congregation members traditionally enter the room for the worship service in groups according to age and gender and also sit according to these categories. In the Garnett-districts, this arrangement continues after the worship service when all group members have lunch together.<sup>33</sup> The younger congregation members and non-baptized teenagers meet again in the evening to sing together. In this evening event, not only German but also English hymns are sung, with a faster melody than is usual in the worship service. The singing meeting in the evening is introduced by a common dinner and prayer.

The importance of worship Sunday is reflected in the stricter social norms and the numerous traditions for this day. Except the sick and small babies, everybody is going to attend worship service (Hostetler 220). Despite the use of tractors for certain errands, the Anderson County Amish use only horse and buggy to travel to the worship service. All attendees at the worship service comply to a dress code, wearing plain clothes, for example without buttons or zippers on jacket and coat. The OOA have a strong emphasis on the dress code, an element of the context of the speech situation which marks membership status (Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Speaking* 665). Matters of congregational discipline are discussed in a council after worship service, with only baptized congregation members attending while all non-baptized have to leave the room (Hostetler 218).

The sermons in the worships services are presented in free speech, but prepared in two ways: The preachers read and analyze the scriptures at home and discuss the major points of the sermons at the beginning of the worship service in a council, the *Abrath*. Enninger and Raith report that the *Abrath* usually also includes a prayer and before baptismal services also the teaching of applicants for baptism

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<sup>33</sup> The communal meal is not traditional in all OOA communities (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 83-4).

(*Ethnography* 35). The *Abrath* provides the opportunity for the preachers to prepare the sermon in a discussion with the other *Diener* and determines who will give the sermon at this day. Because of this organization of the speaker rights and the character of the sermon as a one-speaker-event, the organization of speaker rights and turn-taking is not necessary during the sermon.

The opening (#1) and the prayers (# 5 and 9) are formulaic prayers in AHG, used in many Amish districts (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 54). Many OOA districts have one silent prayer (Hostetler 215), the other prayer is learned by heart and recited in a monotonous intonation with higher speed and pitch than the rest of the sermon. Hostetler describes the register for the prayer as “chant style,” however, the ministers he refers to read the prayers from the prayer book and do not recite by heart (217-18). Hostetler describes a similar intonation-pattern for the sermons (215).<sup>34</sup> Besides the prayers and the opening, another speech event is not spontaneous production but an AHG formula: the announcements of the next place of worship service and of a congregation meeting after the worship service (Enningner and Raith, *Ethnography* 82-83).

The scripture reading is the liturgical center of the worship service because it provides the textual base for the sermons, due to the focus of Anabaptist theology: for the preacher, the delivery of the scripture has priority over its interpretation, the preacher's interpretation of the scriptures is not regarded as dogmatic but rather as one proposition how the scriptures could be applied to daily life (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 61).

Besides the sermons, two short speech events contain PG: the so-called *Zeignis gewwə* (Literally: giving testimony) after the main sermon and the announcements before the last hymn singing. The *Zeignis gewwə* consists of short comments on the sermon by the *Diener* and visiting preachers, usually one to five minutes long. The *Zeignis gewwə* is the direct result of the theological concept in Anabaptist communities that preachers do not have an authoritative interpretation of the

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<sup>34</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the prosody see Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography*.

scriptures. Congregation members have to confirm that the presented interpretation of the scriptures is acceptable and did not omit important points (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 74).

The observations for the present study in Anderson County confirm the basic findings of prior studies regarding the structure and function of the worship service. The two districts in Anderson County have one bishop together, four preachers and one deacon. The worship service in Anderson County lasts between three and three and a half hours. Every family hosts the worship service twice a year which requires extensive preparation. The house and in the summer also the outside area of the farm has to be cleaned, furniture re-arranged, and food prepared. Houses are built to accommodate one hundred or more people in the basement, or arrangements have to be made to sit the whole congregation in the living room, a barn or a shed. Meeting at private houses connects the membership in the congregation with the private sphere of each member. Every worship visit is also a visit at the house of a fellow congregation member.

The social interaction on a worship Sunday is dominated by PG-use with hybrid forms and occasional codeswitching to English, as common in in-group conversations in the Garnett districts. English is only used if visitors are present who do not speak PG. In Anderson County, most visitors are Amish from other districts or relatives that are not Amish anymore. These visitors usually speak PG. With the researcher, the Anderson County speakers mostly initiated conversations in AE since the researcher is not Amish and the informants were not sure about the PG-competence of the researcher. As already described before (see III.2), the informants report to address strangers in AE if they are in doubt of their PG competence or if their variety of PG is difficult to understand. Such situations are rare on worship Sundays. During the time of my field work, very few visitors without PG-competence attended worship Sunday in the Garnett districts. One Sunday, German Baptists from Garnett who did

not speak PG visited the worship service, but otherwise no visitors without PG-knowledge were observed. The worship Sunday has a strong character as the group-internal meeting, supporting the use of PG as language for internal communication and the marker of being Amish. The function of PG is at least for some informants limited to identity: one informant explained that he does not see a reason to use PG beyond conversations with group members. He reports to prefer AE-versions of non-religious publications, even if a PG version would be available.

The OOA worship service in Anderson County consists of the following eleven speech events:<sup>35</sup>

1. Opening
2. Hymn singing
3. *Abrath* (council)
4. First sermon (*klenne Deel*, in AE: the small part)
5. Prayer
6. Scripture reading
7. Main sermon (*schwere Deel*, in AE: the heavy/difficult part)
8. *Zeignis* (testimony)
9. Prayer & Benediction
10. Announcements
11. Hymn singing

The speech events 'first sermon' (#4) and 'main sermon' (#6) occupy approximately ninety minutes. The first sermon, lasting between 20 and 30 minutes, discusses one part of the scriptures. The scripture part in question is recited in AHG and discussed in PG. The main sermon, usually around one hour long, consists of two parts. First, different scripture verses are recited in AHG and discussed in

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<sup>35</sup> Enninger and Raith categorize the speech events slightly differently, not treating the announcements as separate speech events and dividing the main sermon into a sermon and a scripture reading with running comments (*Ethnography* 62, 72).

PG. The last third of the time is usually spent on reading scripture verses with an immediately following application to daily life in PG. Opening and prayers (# 5 and 9) are recited by a minister from memory, the prayers are usually taken from the collection *Die ernsthafte Christenpflicht*. The Anderson County OOA conduct both prayers as spoken prayer.

The hymns at the beginning and the end of the worship service (#2 and 11) are sung by the whole congregation, the page numbers are announced in PG. As described in IV.1.2, the hymns are taken from the hymnal *Unparteiische Liedersammlung* and sung in AHG. The Anderson County Amish usually sing three hymns in the slow way of singing typical for OOA worship services (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 23). At the beginning of the worship service, the Anderson County Amish usually sing two hymns, while the *Diener* (ministers, deacon and bishop) go to a separate room for a council, the so-called *Abrath*. If the *Abrath* takes longer, a third hymn will be started until the *Diener* return. The *Abrath* includes only the *Diener* and visiting preachers and therefore has not been observed for this study. According to informants, the main purpose of the *Abrath* is to select the preachers and to discuss what main points will be addressed in the sermons.

Between the two sermons, the deacon reads from the scriptures in AHG. The scripture reading lasts twenty to thirty minutes and is occasionally accompanied by short commentaries in PG. The scripture readings as well as the reading of scripture verse in the sermons show the differences in the *Diener's* reading competence in AHG: the pronunciation and intonation of the AHG text causes difficulties for some of the *Diener*, a phenomenon also observed by Enninger and Raith in other districts (*Ethnography* 60).

The Bible passages used for the worship service are announced a week ahead and can also be found in a register. Thus, the congregation has the opportunity to read the passages in advance. Combined with the common Bible studies in private, it can be assumed that the congregation in an

OOA worship service has a certain degree of familiarity with the Bible passages to which the scripture readings and the sermons refer. Furthermore, scripture readings at home provide the opportunity to look up unfamiliar AHG words in the dictionary.

In the words of a preacher in the Anderson County districts, the *Zeignis gewwə* should “sure machə s nix gsa:t werd des ebber abfi:rə de:d awwa alles is gsa:t worrə s ebbes hilfd” (AE: make sure that nothing is said that would lead someone astray but everything is said that might help anything; Informant 16, Interview, 2718-31). Pennsylvania German, along with AE and AHG, is occasionally used in the announcements by the *Diener* who conducts the worship service if more than the place of the next meeting needs to be addressed. Usually, the announcement is made in AHG (as formula) and consists of information on the place and the scripture passage for the next worship service.

Occasionally, the minister reads letters from other districts to the congregation. Amish districts ask for help through letters if, for example, large medical bills need to be paid and the district needs support from other districts. The letters usually are in AE since Amish commonly do not write in Standard German or PG. However, the minister presenting the letter usually summarizes the letter in PG and also gives information how the congregation should react to the letter, e.g., how much money needs to be collected.

### **IV.3) Amish High German as Factor of Identity**

The special status of the worship service as ceremonial event with strict social and linguistic norms, symbolic elements, and in-group interaction is connected to its crucial function in the Amish society: the Amish worship service is essential for the identity as Amish and the group identity of an Amish district. The identity as Amish is mainly a socio-religious identity (Louden, *21st Century* 90),

with the worship service as central religious event (Enninger, *Ethnography* 8; Hostetler 210). As a ceremonial event, the worship service (PG: *Gme:*) helps maintaining a social status.<sup>36</sup> The OOA worship service exhibits typical characteristics of a ceremonial event: The dress code establishes the markedness of the event in the symbolic dimension and the social and linguistic norms contribute to an atmosphere of seriousness in the psychological dimension (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 13). Enninger and Raith go so far to describe the OOA worship service as an ideal example of a institutionalized speech event which exhibits all features of highly regulated social institutions (*Ethnography* viii, 87). These features include a historic tradition that determines the development of values and beliefs as well as behavioral rules. Institutionalized speech events serve the function to establish and protect social identity. This function is especially important in cultural contact, where values and beliefs are under pressure from another culture (2). The worship service as well as the language create coherence within the group and serve as markers of group identity. Pennsylvania German and AHG mark domains of language use as in-group (Enninger, *Structural* 97), while the use of AE in certain speech situations would amount to a rejection of the OOA identity (Johnson-Weiner, *Community identity* 384). Johnson-Weiner emphasizes the connection of language and the worship service: "Once the Amish pray in English they are no longer Amish" (Johnson-Weiner, *Teaching Identity* 1). In the effort to maintain the OOA identity in the cultural contact with English-speaking, non-Amish Americans, the language has an important function as marker of separation. PG and AHG serve as "boundary markers" between Amish and non-Amish (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 69), as symbols of the Old Order Amish community (Johnson-Weiner, *Teaching Identity* 1). The use of distinct languages not only requires the knowledge of German varieties to be a member, but also signals the rejection of proselytizing (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 69). Johnson-Weiner concludes

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<sup>36</sup> Certain types of worship services serve as *ritual events* where rites of passage are performed, for example, baptisms and weddings (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 4).

that some OOA-groups only teach PG to their children because of the use of German in the worship service (*Teaching Identity* 15, 19-20). These OOA assume that PG-competence indirectly enables a limited understanding of AHG, the latter needed for access to sacred texts.

Scholars have raised the question whether AHG needs to be maintained or PG is sufficient to mark a separate Amish identity. In their ethnographic study of the language use in an OOA worship service, Enninger and Raith come to the conclusion that AHG is the variety that is best suited to assert the OOA identity. Their analysis focuses on the oppositions between marked vs. unmarked speech acts and profane vs. sacred elements (*Ethnography* 5). Marked speech acts are those symbolizing the values and beliefs of the community. Enninger and Raith describe the OOA worship service as rigidly prestructured event with limited possibilities of language choice. They conclude that the sacred status of the worship service triggers the use of marked speech acts and requires the choice of a special variety of language (*Ethnography* 92). They agree with the findings of David Crystal that the language in a religious setting is usually one of the “most distinctive” varieties available in the repertoire (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 33). The more distinct the variety for sacred contexts, the more suitable it is for the demarcation of boundaries between sacred and profane context. Enninger and Raith categorize AHG as the most distinctive variety in the repertoire of the OOA since it is structurally different from AE and PG and exhibits syntactic and lexical archaisms. In many religious settings, older varieties have more significance in religious contexts (34). Enninger and Raith emphasize that cultural contact situations trigger a tendency to resort to conservative linguistic varieties for religious events. Older texts are perceived to be closer to the linguistic "original" of the sacred text (35).<sup>37</sup> Hostetler states that a distinct language for religious purposes is necessary for OOA communities to maintain the status of the worship service as symbol of the socio-religious identity of the Amish

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<sup>37</sup> Enninger and Raith point out that the sacred texts in AHG are not original versions but borrowed and re-interpreted texts (*Ethnography* 54).



(Hostetler 371). Less importance of AHG is implied by Johnson-Weiner who documents a weakening of the connection between AHG and the religious domain. For the more progressive groups, Johnson-Weiner reports a merger of AHG and PG. Some progressive groups use AHG for non-religious topics and some teach active competence in AHG (Johnson-Weiner, *Teaching Identity* 2). Johnson-Weiner concludes for progressive groups that AHG loses its special function as language of the religious domain and marker of a separate socio-religious identity, but it remains a strong marker of identity for conservative Amish groups (Johnson-Weiner, *Teaching Identity* 16).

Recently, some scholars have questioned the link between language use and Amish identity . They discuss the possibility of Amish groups with English monolingualism Steven Keiser acknowledges that the possibility of monolingual Amish communities has not been confirmed, but some tendencies in New Order Amish groups point in this direction (*Lunch Pail Threat* 16; see Johnson-Weiner, *Community*). This question will not be discussed here, since Keiser's statement refers to developments in New Order Amish groups and not to OOA like the Anderson County Amish.

The Anderson County speech community is not a progressive community and, thus, the language choice in the worship service remains of special significance for the maintenance of the socio-religious identity. One informant expresses the perceived connection between the abandoning of German in the worship service and the abandoning of the OOA lifestyle by using cars and becoming Beachy Amish directly with:

Example 33 (Informant 12, Interview, 3034-3100):

wann si: kä:rə krijə, no usə si: änglisch änglisch language in də gmä: (.) si: schwetzə fi:leicht noch German dehe:m fileicht (.) unnichnanner awwa erə services un erə singes is alles in englisch (.)sell is commons də (.) cut-off point.

[When they get cars, then they use English English language in the worship service maybe they still speak German at home, maybe (.) but with each other, their services and their singing is completely in English (.) that is commonly the (.) cut-off point]

The quote is interesting because the informant describes the causal connection between language and OOA identity with the change of lifestyle as starting point and the abandoning of German in the worship service as result. The statement by the informant from the Anderson County-districts shows furthermore that the private use of German can go on after the OOA-identity is lost, while the connection between lifestyle and the use of German in the worship service has a direct connection. Whether or not the Amish see the shift to English in the worship service as cause or result of the loss of OOA-identity, important is that they see a close connection between language use in the worship service and being Amish.

The importance of AHG for the worship service is supported by statements of informants that refer to German as being older than English (Informant 12). Additionally, one informant, a preacher, stated that he resorts to the German version of the Bible if the English and the German version differ.

Example 34 (Informant 16, Interview, 2745-2802):

Als mo:l isses plainer in englisch, als mo:l isses plainer in Deetsch (.) de:tsch war translatø gwesst ebbs englischø (.) so wann si: ordentlich different sinn, dann geh ich mit de de:tsch translation defun

[Sometimes it is more plain in English, sometimes it is more plain in German (.) The German was translated earlier than the English (.) So if they are very different, then I go along with the German translation of it]

In this statement, the informant acknowledges that both English and German can be clear or plain, but he considers the German version of the Bible to be translated earlier than the English version, and in a

later statement, he notes that the German version is often clearer than the English version (Interview, 2835-37). These attitudes were also expressed by other informants.

#### **IV.4) Conclusion**

The ethnographic description of the worship service in Anderson County has confirmed the important function of worship service, especially scripture readings and sermons, for the socio-religious identity of the OOA community. The connection between language use in worship services and socio-religious identity is stable. However, the sub-division of the worship service into several speech events enables a certain degree of variation of the sociolinguistic norms: while hymn singing and prayers, both reproductive language use, draw exclusively from AHG, other speech events use both PG and AHG, exhibit hybrid forms and loan words from AE, and in rare instances, letters in AE are read to the congregation.

The function assigned by informants to the *Zeignis gewwə* (in agreement with prior findings in research) shows that the interpretation and translation of scriptures in the sermons is not dogmatic. Other members of the congregation are invited to critically evaluate the presented interpretation and translation of scriptures. This implies an emphasis of sermons on reproducing the scriptures rather than interpreting them. This leads to communicative problems which will be described in the next chapter.

## **V) Communication Strategies**

The term Communication Strategies was first used by Selinker for the context of interlanguage, the situation of language learners who have not yet achieved full competence in a second language (see Selinker; Corder 15). Communication Strategies have been defined as “a systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with some difficulty” (Corder 16).<sup>38</sup> These difficulties can be gaps in the linguistic system of a non-native speaker resulting in production errors, or problems of discourse organization (Tarone 64-65; Corder 15). The latter can also occur in monolingual speech events, for example, as problems in turn-taking.<sup>39</sup> Tarone names strategies that address inadequate control of language *communication strategies* (63) while strategies that address the second issue, the efficient use of the language, are *production strategies* (66). She introduces as a third category *learning strategies* (67) which address issues in the process of developing competence in an interlanguage. The latter type of strategies does not apply to the speech situation in OOA sermons, since the participants have native speaker competence in two of the involved languages and do not try to acquire full active competence in AHG.

### **V.1) Functions of Communication Strategies**

#### ***V.1.1) Managing Communicative Problems***

The concept of Communication Strategies has been applied to many different multilingual contexts. The situation in the Anderson County OOA community shares with the situation of language

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<sup>38</sup> For further definitions see Tarone 63; Færch and Kasper 29.

<sup>39</sup> For turn-assignment see Sacks and Schegloff; Ford; for repairs see Uhmman; for discourse markers see Hakulinen.

learners that the speakers do not have full competence in all languages of their repertoire. Consequently, difficulties in language use arise and communication strategies are employed. The structure of the repertoire in OOA-communities has a specific characteristic: the (adult) speakers are fluent speakers of two languages (PG and AE),<sup>40</sup> which gives them the choice between two languages to compensate for deficits in the third language and provides more options to reach communicative goals than speakers of only two languages would have. Second, the speakers are not learners in communication with native speakers; all speakers have a similar competence in AHG and do not try to acquire AHG as language for active use. This allows us to ignore learner strategies in the analysis of the Anderson County sermons.

Tarone points out that communication strategies and production strategies are hard to distinguish and they overlap in form and function (68). The outcomes of communication strategies are similar to ad hoc products of bilingual (or trilingual) speech, for example, borrowings or other forms of interference and transfer (Corder 16). The difference between communication strategies and ad hoc forms is the intentional planning of the former, an aspect discussed in their attempt to distinguish communication strategies from other linguistic processes in language contact (Færch and Kasper, *Plans* 29). One important aspect of the communicative strategies is that they are planned behavior with a goal orientation. They are usually oriented towards the solution of communicative problems caused by the restricted control of one language in their repertoire (Færch and Kasper, *Plans* 31-33). In this study, the term communication strategies will henceforth be used in a broad sense, it will refer to all planned speech behavior, monolingual and bilingual, and will include production strategies but not ad hoc bilingual language use, as far as this can be distinguished. In the setting of worship services and sermons, ad hoc language use can be expected to be limited since the sociolinguistic norms for

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<sup>40</sup> For our purpose, the children who are still in the process of learning AE are not taken into account.

ceremonial speech events discourage ad hoc production.

For the Anderson County Amish, the main communicative problem in the sermons is the *preacher's dilemma*, but other problems can result from gaps in the communicative competence of OOA. These problems and what solutions the communicative competence offers will be described in the following section.

#### ***V.1.1.1) Communicative Competence and Communication Strategies***

Important for the analysis of communication strategies is the competence of speakers which determines the linguistic tools that can be employed. In linguistic research, two major definitions of competence have been distinguished: on the one hand competence as grammatical knowledge, henceforth referred to as linguistic competence (see Hymes 219). On the other hand, communicative competence, defined as skills or knowledge of situational appropriate use of language (Tarone 63-64; Hymes 223-25). Within the rules of situationally appropriate language use, communication strategies solve difficulties resulting from an insufficient linguistic competence and organize an effective discourse. The ability and willingness to use communicative strategies (in Færch and Kasper's terms *strategic competence*) does not only depend on the individual communicative competence of a speaker but also on a speaker's choice (Færch and Kasper, *Introduction xx*). In the OOA sermons, it can be seen that the preachers exhibit different preferences in the use of communication strategies while their communicative competence can be assumed to be very similar and the sociolinguistic norms of the worship service set the same rules for everybody. The sociolinguistic norms are a part of the specific setting of the sermons which also determines the relationship between preacher and audience.

### *V.1.1.2) Integration of the Audience*

The interaction in the sermon takes place between the preacher and an audience that does not actively participate. However, the members of the audience are expected to apply the scriptures that are discussed in the sermon to their own life and come to their own conclusions on how to interpret the scriptures. Thus, the audience cannot be considered to be completely passive. However, the fact that only the preacher is allowed to speak restricts the use of communication strategies in the sermons to strategies that do not require active participation with the listener. Watson sees a high amount of interaction with a conversation partner as directly connected to the success of communicative strategies (2330). Watson's conclusion implies that communication strategies in OOA sermons are inefficient, due to the restrictions on interaction with the audience. Watson categorizes codeswitching as less interactive (and less successful) while he describes repair strategies as more interactional and thus more successful. The analysis of the OOA sermons shows that many communicative strategies are connected with codeswitching, but also shows elements of repairs. According to Corder, codeswitching is a strategy with a high risk of mistakes (18). Thus, the communication strategies in the Anderson County OOA sermons do not only have features of Watson's "least successful" communicative behavior (2330), but also bear the risk of mistakes or even failure.<sup>41</sup>

Tarone defines communication strategies as being a mutual effort of the participants in the interaction (65), a presupposition that seems not valid for the sermons as speech situations with only one speaker. However, the communication strategies used in the sermons show a certain degree of mutual work on the communicative problems. The participation of the listeners is moved to the time before and especially after the actual speech event, in form of the use of dictionaries and translations of the Bible. Thus, the communication strategies in the OOA sermons can be considered to have an

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<sup>41</sup> Different studies show for the interaction between non-native and native speakers that communicative strategies can fail, causing confusion or even a breakdown of communication (Watson 2324; 2333; Byalistok 116).

element of mutual participation which makes them more effective than they would be in a setting with a passive audience.

### ***V.1.1.3) Reduction and Achievement Strategies***

The interlanguage approach distinguishes two types of communication strategies: On the one hand, *reduction strategies*, i.e., strategies that use the reduction of the linguistic system (use of simplified forms), and the avoidance of difficult structures as means to reach a reduced communicative goal. On the other hand, *achievement strategies*, i.e., strategies based on the expansion of linguistic resources (creating new forms) and the compensation for gaps in the linguistic competence (Færch and Kasper, *Plans* 37; see Tarone 64-65; Corder 17). The latter can be found in Anderson County PG, e.g., in form of hybrid forms between AE and PG. Other possible achievement strategies in Anderson County PG, which have not all been examined in the present study, include codeswitching, transfer from one language into the other, cooperation with the conversation partner (e.g., appeals for help), non-linguistic signals (e.g., gestures), and paraphrasing in the target language (Færch and Kasper, *Plans* 53). The main communication strategies that have been examined for the Anderson County OOA sermons in the present study are achievement strategies. In bilingual speech events, codeswitching is often connected with these communication strategies (see the contributions in Milroy and Muysken; Auer, *Code-Switching*). Other common strategies are borrowing, appeals for assistance, and repairs (Watson 2327-28; Tarone, Cohen and Dumas 6-7). The communication strategies in the Anderson County sermons fit in several of these categories, as the description in chapter six shows. A successful analysis of communicative strategies needs to take into account the ethnographic context and the interactional setting (de Fina 1-2) which are described in chapters two and four, as well as the embedding of communication strategies into the sequence, i.e., the linguistic elements preceding and



following the communication strategy within an utterance (Auer, *Pragmatics* 116). The data from the Anderson County sermons do not allow a thorough analysis of the sequential embedding, but some conclusions can still be drawn. Because communication strategies in multilingual speech communities are often connected with codeswitching, the functions of codeswitching in communication strategies will be described in the next section.

### ***V.1.2) Codeswitching and Communication Strategies***

Codeswitching-based communication strategies have several different functions in the management of the discourse (e.g. Gumperz, *Conversational*; McClure; see Heller and Pfaff 596). Table 15 shows two lists of functions of CS in discourse as compiled by Auer in a study on conversational codeswitching and Kovács in a study on the codeswitching of Hungarian-English and Finnish-English bilinguals. Kovács did not include two categories from Auer's list in her analysis since they did not occur in her data but added the categories “metalinguistic talk” and “other functions,” the latter including the marking of bilingual identity and a reference to “socio-psychological functions” of CS on which Kovács does not elaborate (Kovács 126-27). One category not described by Kovács is CS as a result of a role-shift or a change in activity-type. Kovács does not explain the exclusion of this category, but a reason could be that a role-shift cannot be expected in an interview situation where the speakers maintain one assigned role and one activity-type throughout the whole speech situation.<sup>42</sup> The same restriction could be made for the data from the Anderson County OOA-districts. The speakers maintain one role both in the interview and in the sermon.

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<sup>42</sup> One category from Auer's list which is not included in Kovács' study is the use of CS for puns or language play (category vii in Auer's list). Kovács found only one instance of this type in her data (126-7), and the no instance of this type of CS could be observed in the OOA sermons in Anderson County.

<b>Table 15: Functions of CS in the discourse</b> (according to Auer, <i>Pragmatics</i> ; 120; Kovács, 113-27).	
Auer	Kovács
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reported speech</li> <li>• Change of participant constellation</li> <li>• Parenthesis of side-comments</li> <li>• Reiterations</li> <li>• Change of activity type (mode shift; role shift)</li> <li>• Topic shift</li> <li>• Puns, language play, shift of 'key'</li> <li>• Topicalization, topic/comment structure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reported Speech</li> <li>• Participant-related switch</li> <li>• Parenthesis or side-comment</li> <li>• Reiteration</li> <li>• Topic shift</li> <li>• Topic-comment distinction</li> <li>• Discourse markers</li> <li>• Metalinguistic talk</li> <li>• Other functions (e.g., expressing bilingual identity)</li> </ul>

Auer discusses the weaknesses of such a typology of CS-functions, criticizing the unclear definitions of the different categories and the fact that the definitions are based partly on the location of the switch in the conversation, partly on criteria of linguistic form. The categories also imply clear distinctions between the functions of codeswitching, while in reality codeswitching often serves several functions at the same time. Furthermore, Auer demands that the motivation of the speakers should be part of an analysis of conversational CS, as well as information on the socio-economic context and the attitudes of the speakers (*Pragmatics* 120-21). To overcome these weaknesses in the analysis of conversational CS, Auer proposes an analysis of the sequential embedding of codeswitching, based on

Gumperz's theory of contextualization (Auer, *Pragmatics* 123). In Auer's model of CS, the meaning of conversational interaction is not only created by the larger context of socio-economic conditions and speaker attitudes, but also through the immediate context of the utterance. The embedding in the context is achieved through *contextualization cues* (Gumperz, *Discourse* 170), i.e., markers referring to specific elements from the context which are important for the meaning of an utterance. The specific language choice is a contextualization cue as well as intonation, rhythm, gesture, posture etc. (*Pragmatics* 123-24).

### ***V.1.3) Application to the Anderson County Speech Community***

The analysis of the sermons focuses on the function of CS in the whole speech event and its interplay with the overall distribution of language choice in the speech community. Consequently, the sequential embedding of CS will not be analyzed in detail. However, the analysis of the strategies of language use in the Anderson County sermons will apply Auer's sequential approach to CS where the available data allows it.<sup>43</sup> The Analysis will take into account the socio-economic and cultural context, motivations for language choice, and attitudes of speakers, as far as this information can be derived from linguistic data, participant observation, and interviews. Kovács points out that interview data cannot be expected to produce a large quantity of CS. The interview-setting with an outsider causes the preference for one language since the base language is determined at the beginning of the interview. Nevertheless, Kovács finds various types of CS in her data (Kovács 113). Consequently, data from the interviews in Anderson County will also be used in this study, as supporting evidence but also as contrasting material for the findings from the sermons. The analysis of the communication strategies in

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<sup>43</sup> The notes from the observed sermons provide only sporadic information on the sequential embedding of tokens.

OOA sermons in Anderson County relies mainly on the typology of CS-functions by Auer and Kovács. The application of the typologies by Auer and Kovacs to the data shows some issues with the proposed categories: several types of CS are difficult to distinguish: *side comments* (# iii in Auer's list; # 3 in Kovács' list) and *topic-comment distinction* (Auer's # viii/Kovács's # 6) are very similar, as well as *topic shift* (Kovács's # 5). These categories can be summarized as *topic change*. CS in other functions, e.g. as marker of bilingual identity (Kovács's # ), has not been identified in the Anderson County data. The first type of CS in both Auer's and Kovács' list is *reported speech* which plays an important role in the OOA sermons in the form of quotes from the scriptures (and some other quotes). Other important communicative strategies found in the sermons are *metalinguistic remarks* (Kovács's 8) and *self-translations*. The latter are a special form of *reiterations* (Auer's iv/ Kovács's 4).

The analysis in the sermons focuses on three types of CS: *quotes*, *reiterations* (self-translations), and *metalinguistic remarks*. They will be described in sections VI.2.1 – VI.2.3). The data from the interviews provides data on other types of CS from Auer's and Kovács' lists. Interview data will be used as comparison and is the basis for the description of strategies related to topic shift. The latter will be described in order to demonstrate how the interview setting and the setting of sermons determine the communication strategies in different ways.<sup>44</sup> All communication strategies observed in the data from the Anderson County OOA have a metalinguistic function. Thus, a short introduction into metalanguage will be given in the next section before the individual strategies are analyzed.

#### ***V.1.4) Metalanguage***

*Metalanguage* is commonly defined as “language referring to language” (Lucy, *Human*12). The

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<sup>44</sup> Additionally, some remarks on discourse markers will be integrated into the analysis because they are the only phenomena on the discourse level in PG which have been described before.

complementary term to metalanguage is *object language*, describing the level of language referring to objects in the world (Lucy, *Human* 12; Silverstein 33), also called denotative level of language use (Maschler 327). The term *metalanguage* was made popular by Jakobson who described the function of metalanguage as ensuring understanding: “Whenever the addresser and the /or the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code, speech is focused on the CODE: it performs a METALINGUAL (glossing) function” (356; capitalization in the original). Metalanguage can occur as implicit or explicit utterances (Lucy, *Human* 15). One issue in research on metalanguage is whether metalanguage has an independent status (Lucy, *Human* 12-14). Hanks concludes that metalanguage is structurally not distinct from object language. It exhibits the same grammatical features as object language and is based on the same assumptions speakers employ for their use of object language (Hanks 130). Despite these shared features with the object language, metalanguage can be distinguished by formal characteristics. Metalanguage is often marked by a different prosody and a decrease in volume (Kasper 559). In bilingual communication, it is often marked by codeswitching (Maschler 325). These features are framing-mechanisms, enabling the recognition of metalanguage by conversation partners.

The concept of metalanguage has been further elaborated in later studies and at least four more aspects of metalanguage have been emphasized. First, talking about language has been distinguished from talking about the relationship between speakers, the latter described as *metacommunication* (Bateson 178; Maschler 326). Secondly, several scholars focused on *metapragmatics*, i.e., metalanguage referring to the usage of language, not its linguistic form or semantics (Lucy, *Human* 17). Studies on metapragmatics emphasize the embedding of language use in the situational context (Silverstein 36). Third, in the paradigm of metapragmatics, the reflective function of metalanguage has been emphasized.<sup>45</sup> Fourth, the aspect of language use as activity or process which also takes place on

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<sup>45</sup> See the anthology edited by Lucy (*Reflexive Language*) which presents articles by the main

the level of metalanguage, referred to as “metalinguaging” (Maschler 326-27). The focus in the analysis of the sermons will be on the distinction between the aspects of metalanguage in the narrow sense, as reference to the linguistic form of language, metacommunication as reference to the speaker-speaker-relations, and metapragmatics, as reference to the patterns of language use.

#### ***V.1.4.1) Functions of Metalanguage***

Different approaches to metalanguage have examined various aspects, including its regularities, semantics, aesthetic functions, and practical functions (Lucy, *Human* 11-19). Because the analysis of the sermons in Anderson County focuses on attempts to resolve the preacher's dilemma, the practical functions of metalanguage are in the center of the analysis. A special emphasis is on functions of metalanguage in connection to multilingual communication. In multilingual communication, metalanguage serves to ensure the use of the same code (Jakobson 356), more precisely the identical understanding of the used code. Furthermore, metalanguage serves as commentary on the other language used in the speech event (Maschler 325). The topics of metalinguistic comments range from the general regularities of language to the specifics of individual speech acts or rules of grammar use (Lucy, *Human* 10). The comments can be more oriented towards cognitive as well as the affective aspects of language and language use (Gabryś-Barker 109). Both comments on communicative problems or affective evaluations of the second language serve the organization of the language use and contribute to the coherence of the interaction (Silverstein 36-37). This organizational function also supports the institutional function of the speech event (Kasper 563), e.g., as marker of ethnic identity.<sup>46</sup> Besides this general function on the symbolic and organizational level, metalanguage has specific

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scholars in this field.

<sup>46</sup> See Callahan for the establishment of ethnic identity in written sources for English-Spanish bilinguals.

functions within the discourse. It provides information to listeners on how to interpret utterances e.g., as ironic (Lucy, *Human* 15) and signals boundaries in conversation, e.g., through discourse markers (Maschler 328-29). In connection with the preacher's dilemma, one function of metalanguage is of special significance: metalanguage functions as tool for repairs if problems occur in the discourse.

#### ***V.1.4.2) Repair Strategies***

Often, metalanguage refers to problems in communication, either referring to the speakers' own problems with the language use, the listeners' possible involvement, or the difficulty of the communicative task itself (Jiménez Jiménez 75). In bilingual settings, metalanguage is an important tool to solve problems connected to incomplete competence in a second language. Kasper demonstrates the function of metalanguage as repair mechanism. The structures of repair-sequences are different for different languages, but usually include recycling of material from the faulty utterance and often signal communicative problems in their formal characteristics, e.g., with hesitations, repeated or unfinished words (Kovács 120). An important distinction is whether repairs are accomplished within the same sentence since then a grammatically well-formed sentence can be produced despite the initial troubles (Uhmann 381). Repairs can take the form of a “rush through,” an utterance produced in high speed, with lower voice, question intonation and followed by a brief pause (Kasper 560-62), similar to “try-markers” described by Sacks and Schegloff (18). Repairs can be utilized to elaborate on utterances, and play a role in turn-organization. They can be initiated by the speaker himself (self-repair) or by others (other-initiated repair) (Thompson 15-16; Uhmann 378-81; see Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks).

### ***V.1.4.3) Repairs in Multilingual Settings***

Repair mechanisms exist in all communication, both in monolingual (c.f. Uhmann; Kim) as well as in multilingual settings (c.f. Gabryś-Barker; Kasper), and exhibit differences depending on the language employed. Studies for trilingual settings like in Garnett are rare. In the only study focusing on the specifics of trilingual settings, Gabryś-Barker shows that trilingual speakers produce metalanguage mainly in their first language and comment on the second and third language (111-12). This can be expected for the situation in the sermons, since the sermon puts limitations on the choice of languages, excluding the second language AE from being used as main language of the speech event; the third language AHG is excluded for the use as metalanguage by the limited competence of the speakers. Thus, the speech event *sermon* has a bias for the first language as language for metalanguage.

The content of linguistic remarks is determined by the linguistic awareness of the speakers. Linguistic awareness of average speakers is limited, especially regarding the native language (Lucy, *Human* 25-26). However, the linguistic accuracy of the statements is not very important for the language use of the speakers because even distorted linguistic assumptions determine the language use of speakers effectively (Lucy, *General* 62).<sup>47</sup> Metalinguistic remarks often only refer to a limited range of observable linguistic features, mainly those which are perceived as “typical” for a language (Hanks 142). The limitation to certain features of a language has also been described as an issue in research, particularly connected with interviews as method of data collection. Mertz points out that interviews have a bias towards features that can be easily recognized in interviews, e.g., referential language use. Thus, they neglect other (meta-)linguistic features that are more difficult to analyze in interviews but maybe more salient in the specific culture, e.g., pitch or the detailed structure of CS (Mertz 159-60). The linguistic understanding of interviewer and informants might differ strongly and cause problems in

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<sup>47</sup> For case studies on the connection linguistic knowledge and language use see Ziegler for speakers of Standard German and dialect speakers; for the evaluation of regional accents see Nolcken.



the interpretation of metalinguistic remarks by the informants. Furthermore, the interview-setting can violate the metalinguistic norms of the speech community and does therefore not produce natural data (Mertz 159). In the sermons, the communicative settings can be expected to limit metalinguistic remarks on grammar and to trigger remarks on the language choice and problems connected to the understanding and interpretation of one of the languages in use. In the center of the analysis of language use in the sermons are metalinguistic remarks connected to the preacher's dilemma. It can be expected that metalinguistic remarks address gaps in the competence of one of the languages used as well as issues in understanding and translating.

## **V.2) Communication Strategies in OOA-Sermons**

The communication strategies under examination, metalinguistic remarks and self-translations, serve the management of the preacher's dilemma. Preachers need to enable the congregation to understand unknown AHG words in quotes from the scriptures while following the sociolinguistic norms of the worship service and maintaining a coherent speech event. Both strategies are connected to codeswitching in two ways: on the one hand, the preacher's dilemma is caused by the use of more than one language in one speech event without having full proficiency in one of the languages. On the other hand, the preachers solve the preacher's dilemma with communicative strategies that are at least partly based on codeswitching. The preacher's dilemma is caused by the use of scripture quotes in AHG in a sermon that is held in PG.

Consequently, before metalanguage and self-translation will be examined, it will be briefly described how preachers integrate quotes into the sermons. Focus will be on direct quotes, since the main interest

of the present study are quotes from the scriptures in the sermons which are usually delivered as direct quotes.

Direct quotes are a form of reported speech (Gafaranga 515; see also Janssen and Van der Wurff; Coulmas; Lucy, *Reflexive Language*). Several studies have analyzed the functions of reported speech in the discourse (e.g. Gumperz, *Discourse* 75-82) and its connection to CS (Gafaranga; Auer, *Pragmatics* 120-21).<sup>48</sup> Whether quotes are reproduced in a different language than the main speech event is a decision by the speaker with a specific communicative goal in mind (Tannen 99).<sup>49</sup> An analysis of language choice does not only need to explain in what instances CS helps to achieve a specific communicative goal, but also whether CS is necessary to achieve these goals (Gafaranga 520).

The focus of the present study is on direct quotes and, thus, indirect quotes will not be discussed. Direct quotes deliver a full reproduction of the content and the form of an utterance (Hickmann 65; Lucy, *Metapragmatic* 95; Gafaranga 521). Direct quotes can serve discursive functions like the creation of narrative vividness (Lucy, *Metapragmatic* 118) and they demonstrate the proximity of the reported speech to the original speech event (Lucy, *Metapragmatic* 92-94; Fónagy 255). Furthermore, direct quotes emphasize that the speaker is only reporting but not interpreting the reported speech event (Lucy, *Metapragmatic* 92), while indirect quotes would “allow the narrator's perspective to intrude on the original utterance” (Hickmann 65).

Because quotes are inserted in utterances, identifying the beginning and end of a quotes could be difficult. Lucy points out that a quote in a second language can usually be identified by the “massive structural differences” of the second language (Lucy, *Metapragmatic* 93). The linguistic analysis of PG

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<sup>48</sup> Reported speech has been shown to functionally overlap with self-translations (Gafaranga 521-23) and to share formal features with metalanguage (see the contributions in Lucy, *Reflexive Language*).

<sup>49</sup> Auer demonstrated that speakers chose the language for quotes according to communicative goals, not according to the language of the original utterance (*Pragmatics* 119).

and AHG in chapter two has shown that both varieties overlap, with each other as well as with AE. Thus, structural differences might not be sufficient to identify a quote. However, this issue is not important for the present study and will not be discussed. For the present study, it is sufficient to show that speakers have tools to mark the beginning and end of quotes by other means than differences in the linguistic structure. These markers can be lexical, acoustic or non-linguistic (Kvavik 333). Lexical markers, usually referred to as *quotatives*, can be specific verbs, mostly verbs of speaking, or free particles (Lucy *Metapragmatic* 91). German and English often use verbs as quotatives, either verbs of saying, which directly refer to the act of quoting, e.g. *to say* in English, or other verbs which do not directly refer to quoting, e.g. *to think* in English (Hickmann 66).<sup>50</sup> Enninger and Raith emphasize that most quotes in sermons are not verbally framed and only marked by the linguistic structure and a switch in prosody "from declamatory speech to psalmodic speech" (*Ethnography* 64). They conclude that AHG and PG are mostly sufficient to identify AHG especially when lexical archaisms are used (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 52). Additionally, Amish preachers use a nonverbal quotation marker. In the second half of the main sermon, the preachers pick up the Bible and read the quotes to the congregation - what Enninger and Raith call "scripture reading with running comment" (*Ethnography* 72).

The data from Anderson County is not sufficient to analyze in detail the integration of quotes into the sermons. However, some general tendencies can be described. Most instances of quotes are direct quotes from the scriptures in AHG, however a small number of direct quotes in AE or PG have been observed. Quotes in PG do not occur very often and usually reproduce conversations of the preacher with other Anabaptists. Quotes in AE occur occasionally, reproducing utterances by non-

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<sup>50</sup> Hickmann analyses common quotatives in English and finds differences in the preference for more or less obvious quotatives depending on the age of the speakers.

Amish. Common types of AE-quotes are quotes from books or newspapers which Amish mostly read in English. While AHG quotes reproduce the scripture, AE or PG quotes appear as examples during the application of the scripture to the daily life of congregation members.

The range of verbal quotatives in the Anderson County sermons is limited, only three verbs have been used as quotatives in the data:

1. /sa:chə/ (AE: to say; NHG: sagen)
2. /le:sə/ (AE: to read; NHG: lesen)
3. /denkə/ (AE: to think; NHG: denken)

Because the data is based on field observations and not on audio taped complete sermons, the isolated use of other verbs for quotatives might have escaped the researcher. Nevertheless, the general tendencies of the use of quotatives can be derived from the data. The first two verbs /sa:chə/ and /le:sə/ provide the majority of quotatives, with /sa:chə/ being the most used verb while /denkə/ has only been recorded twice (in the same speech episode).

Most of the time, the quotatives precede the quotes directly, as shown below for instances in which non-scriptural sources are quoted (bold: quotatives; italics: quote; underlined: AE)

a) sie wellə **sa:chə** *trick or treat* (P3, Nov. 11)

[they want to say *trick or treat*]

b) hab schunn **dsa:t** *you guys you have something that we haven't the got* (P3, Nov. 11)

[I have said already *you guys you have something that we haven't the got*]

c) de English schreiwa du:d **sa:chə** *all gifts are perfect gifts* (P5, Dec. 2)

[the English writer says *all gifts are perfect gifts*]

d) hab **gele:sə** *perfect number seven* (P5, Sep. 16)

[I read *perfect number seven*]

e) ich hab en kle:n poem **gele:sə** *there sits Simon so foolishly* *wise* (P5, Dec. 2)

[I read a small poem *there sits Simon so foolishly wise*]

In several instances, the verbal quotative is not located directly at the beginning of the quote. This is the case when the quotative constitutes the end of a sentence bracket and time expressions or prepositional phrases are extrapositioned, as seen in examples 35 and 36.

Example 35 (P3, Nov. 11):

ich habe some sachə **gele:sə** di: letschtə da:ch in de cyclopedia (English quote following, J.M.)

[I have read the last days in the cyclopedia]

Example 36 (P3, Nov. 11):

someda:g hab ich widdə **gele:sə** bei Luke (English quote following, J.M.)

[one day I have read again in Luke]

Anderson County PG allows elements to be placed between the quotative and the quote according to the rules for extrapositioning (see section II.1.1). The quote can still be considered to be marked unambiguously since the grammar of Anderson County PG has clear rules about which elements can be positioned in the post-field of a sentence. The beginning of the quote is marked by the quotative or a quotative and extrapositioned elements, i.e., time expressions or prepositional phrases.

The sermons in Anderson County contain numerous quotes without quotatives. Without the necessary data for a quantitative analysis or an analysis of prosody, it can only be said that the marking of quotes in Anderson County does not show an obvious deviance from the pattern of quotation marking described by Enninger and Raith (*Ethnography* 64). Numerous quotes are used without quotatives, a change of prosody is audible, and quotes in the second half of the main sermon are read from the Bible.

## V.2.1) Metalinguistic remarks

### V.2.1.1) Problems with Understanding and Translating AHG

The preachers in the Anderson County OOA-districts employ metalinguistic comments on their language use mainly as a strategy to address problems connected to the use of AHG (but sometimes also to other varieties). For most of the metalinguistic comments in the sermons, the metalanguage is PG, used to comment on issues in understanding and translating Bible quotes in AHG.

Example 37 (P1, Oct. 14):<sup>51</sup>

“in englisch de:d ma sa:chə seared with hot iron”

[in English one would say seared with hot iron]

The example shows that the trilingualism in the OOA sermons creates a more complex structure of metalanguage than the classical distinction of meta-language and object-language. In the example, the comment refers not simply to one other language, but to the translation from third language AHG to second language AE. The metalinguistic comment itself (/in englisch de:d ma sa:chə/) is in the first language PG, explicitly referring to the translation into AE, implicitly referring to problems in understanding the AHG-expression or translating it into PG. This type of metalinguistic comment provides the majority of tokens in the data. If the comments refer directly to the translation, they also fulfill discursive functions, commenting on the language use in the discourse. This aspect will play a role in the analysis of self-translations (section VI.2.3). The metalinguistic comments on translating AHG are *metapragmatic*, i.e., they refer to the use of translations and in this way to the organization of the speech event.

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<sup>51</sup> The quotes are collected in sermons by six informants, the four preachers and the bishop in Anderson County as well as a guest preacher. They are referred to with the letter P and numbers from one to six, followed by the date the sermon was given. All dates refer to the year 2007.

Some metalinguistic comments express the insecurity regarding the correctness of a provided translation:

Example 38 (P1, Oct 14):

ich denk des he:st wie lost wie don't care

[I think it means like lost or don't care]

The use of /ich denk/ (AE: I think) and the presentation of two different translations shows that the speaker is not sure of his translation and wants the listeners to be aware of the limited validity of his translation. The use of AE is not explicitly mentioned in this example and the metalinguistic remark /des he:st/ (“AE: it means) does not necessarily imply a translation, instead, a paraphrase or synonym in PG could have followed. In both examples, the metapragmatic reference, i.e., reference to the organization of the speech event, which could be phrased as *I am going to use a translation in order to ensure understanding*, is only implied. Explicit discussions of the organization of the speech event are rare in the sermons.

The following example shows such a metapragmatic comment:

Example 39 (P2, Nov. 11):

“mir wollə denkə was sə mɛ:nə (.) ich kann's ned alles explainə (.) ich kann de dictionary  
nemme un's versu:chə”

[we want to think about what they mean (.) I cannot explain it all (.) I can take the dictionary  
and try it]

The initial phrase of the sequence (“mir wollə denkə was sə mɛ:nə”) refers to the organization of the speech event by addressing the audience. The context is that the preacher has read a section in the Bible which contained the AHG expression /züchtig sein/ (AE: being chaste). The word does not have a lexical equivalent in PG and, thus, the preacher expects an issue with the word. The preacher asks the audience to think together with him about a possible interpretation of the expression. When the

preacher refers to dictionary use, he implicitly addresses the fact that dictionaries are not used during sermons. In the sermons, only the knowledge of the preacher and the congregation can be used in order to find a translation for a word. Because of the monologue-character of the sermon, the knowledge of congregation members is not used by the preacher. Nevertheless, the metalinguistic remark fulfills interactive, metapragmatic, and metacommunicative functions: it proposes active participation of the audience, refers to the language use, and addresses the relationship of other participants to the communicative problem. Furthermore, the preacher refers to his own inability to solve the communicative issue to the full extent (“ich kann's ned alles explain”). Furthermore, this reference reinforces the social identity: sharing the difficulties in finding a correct translation for an AHG term refers to the common identity of the speaker and the audience as trilingual OOA with a specific asymmetry in the linguistic competence

In the next example, the metapragmatic remark overlaps with the announcement of a translation:

Example 40 (P5, Oct 21):

ich we:s ned wie sa:chd (.) ich muss in englisch die wordə kriggə”

[I do not know how [one] says (.) I have to find the words in English]

Again, the preacher states his difficulties in solving a communicative problem and then comments on how to organize the next part of the discourse: he announces that he is going to switch to English. The example shows a different distribution of metalanguage and object languages from example 39. In both examples, the preacher tries to solve the problem of finding an equivalent for an AHG item by switching to AE and thus violating the sociolinguistic norm of the worship service. He uses PG for the metalinguistic comment, which justifies the use of AE.

Comments on the communicative problem can also occur without reference to the organization of a solution, as the following example shows:

Example 41 (P5, Nov 11):



Zichtigung (.) ich hab erschd gedenkt des he:st teachə (.) awwa des english wort he:st chastise

[chastisement (.) I first thought it means to teach (.) but the English word is chastise]

The preacher talks about a word in the scriptures which he first misunderstood, presenting a PG translation for the wrong meaning he had first derived. Stating the difficulties in finding the correct meaning tells the audience that the translation might not be perfect and that a critical evaluation of the translation might be required. Such an appeal to evaluate the language use of the preacher is explicitly expressed in the following metalinguistic comment:

Example 42 (P3, Nov 11):

wann ich's letz hab gucken's no:ch

[if I got it wrong, look it up]

This metalinguistic comment not only states the possibility that the speaker might not have succeeded in solving the communicative problem to find the correct meaning of an AHG word, but also refers to the potential involvement of the listeners into the process of solving this problem. Watson as well as Jiménez Jiménez have described this use of metalinguistic comment in other speech communities (75). The example given from Anderson County PG shows a way for the preacher to integrate the listeners into a speech event that is not very interactive. The integration of the audience is limited, but has the secondary effect to reinforce the identity as congregation. The metalinguistic norms of the OOA sermon support this integration of the listeners. Preachers in OOA communities are not seen as providers of dogmatic interpretations of the scriptures (see section IV.1). This limitation of the preacher's role seems to extend to the linguistic level: not only the interpretation, but also the translations are not dogmatic.

Furthermore, the reference to the use of a dictionary also signals that the provided translation is not the preacher's own, thus distancing him to a certain degree from the proposed solution for the communicative problem. This strategy complements the metalinguistic comment in example 42, where

the audience is asked to check on the provided translation by looking it up themselves. This further supports the status of the preacher as a presenter, not a privileged translator, interpreter, or translator of the scriptures.

### *V.2.1.2) Problems with the Pronunciation of AHG*

Besides issues with translating or understanding AHG scripture sequences, metalinguistic remarks sometimes refer to problems with the pronunciation of AHG words:

Example 43 (P3, Nov. 11):

Bosheit (.) ich we:s ned ob ich des pronounce du: recht (.) uf englisch is (.) me:n ich (.) malice

[Malice (.) I do not know whether I pronounce it the right way (.) in English (it) is (.) I think (.) malice]

The example contains two metalinguistic comments that refer to different problems: after referring to his lack of competence in the pronunciation of AHG, the preacher addresses the problem of finding the correct meaning of the word (/uf englisch is me:n ich malice/). He announces a translation but acknowledges with /me:n ich/ (AE: I think) that he is not sure whether the provided translation is accurate. The AHG word /Bosheit/ triggered at least two other metalinguistic comments by the same preacher, both referring to the difficulties in translating the word properly. The other aspect mentioned, i.e., difficulties with the pronunciation, are not addressed very often. This is partly due a limited amount of such problems. AHG has leveled the major differences between the phonology of written German and PG.

### ***V.2.1.3) Problems with the Recollection of Quotes***

Besides issues with the translation and the pronunciation of AHG words, metalinguistic comments in the sermons address problems with recalling quotes. This problem arises because the preachers often recite long quotes from memory and attempt to reproduce them as literally as possible. This aim of verbatim reproduction is connected to Amish theology which defines the function of preachers as reproducing the scriptures rather than delivering a dogmatic interpretation. Reproducing the scriptures, especially the scripture reading, is the liturgical center of the Amish worship service (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 61). In the sermons, preachers are supposed to offer a possible interpretation while maintaining the opportunity for listeners to find their own way to apply the scriptures to their life. For the latter, delivering quotes from the scriptures verbatim and as accurately as possible is a necessary condition (Enninger and Raith, *Ethnography* 47). The importance of verbatim quotes is demonstrated by the fact that the preachers interrupt and try to remember the quote if recalling the exact quote causes issues. Occasionally, they start over several times, interrupt for several seconds in order to think about the exact words. Furthermore, the preachers comment on their inability to recall the correct words:

Example 44 (P2, Nov. 11):

wenn ich die wortə noch recht kriggə kann

[if I still can get the correct words]

Metacomments on difficulties in recalling quotes are often connected to longer pauses in which the preachers try to recall the full quote. The metalinguistic comments serve on the one hand as explanation and justification of the interruption of the speech flow and on the other hand to reduce the length of interruption. Thus, they contribute to the organization of the interaction. Enninger and Raith also report the use of similar metalinguistic comments with the function of maintaining the prosody of the sermon

(*Ethnography* 45). The interruption of the speech flow is accepted both by the preachers and the congregation because the norm for the maintenance of the original form of sacred texts supersedes the norm to maintain the speech flow.

#### ***V.2.1.4) Other Use of Metalanguage***

Another type of metalinguistic remarks is determined by the organizational structure of the ceremonial speech event. In the sermons and the *Zeignis*, the speakers often state that they do not want to take away the time of their brothers. This metalinguistic comment on the organization of talk-time occurs in nearly every sermon and is counted by Enninger and Raith as part of the repertoire of AHG formulas framing the speech event (*Ethnography* 49).

The metalanguage in the Anderson County OOA sermons is always PG, none were observed in AE or AHG. The metalinguistic remarks do not refer to only one object language, but rather to AHG terms or to the translation into AE. Amish High German and AE are usually the object language of metalinguistic remarks. Meta-references to PG as object language have not been observed very often.

While the preachers in the sermons do not switch away from the main language of the speech event for metalinguistic remarks, speakers in the interviews produce metalinguistic remarks as CS away from the main language:

Example 45 (Informant 10, Interview 1305):

ich bin (.) oh I don't say my numbers in German but you know (.) ich bin sixty seven"

[I am (.) oh I don't say my numbers in German but you know (.) I am sixty seven]

In this interview-sequence, the speaker wants to state her age (numbers are usually used in AE). She starts in PG but interrupts and comments in English on her language use, emphasizing that using numbers in PG is not natural for her. The speaker is aware of the sociolinguistic norm of the interview,

which demands the use of PG. Thus, her statement that she usually does not use English for numbers serves as an anticipatory explanation for codeswitching into AE, which violates the sociolinguistic norm of the interview.

The comparison of metalanguage in sermons and interviews shows that the functional structure of metalinguistic remarks in interviews is similar to metalanguage in sermons. Metalinguistic remarks are produced in a language in which the speakers are proficient, which is understood by interlocutors and differs from the main language of the speech event. However, metalanguage use in sermons and interviews differs in the form. In the sermons, metalanguage and object language are identical, while they are different in the interviews. The latter agrees with findings by Kasper who examined metalanguage in a trilingual speech community. In this community, the metalanguage was different from the main language of the discourse. In the OOA sermons, the main language as well as the metalanguage is PG and the metalinguistic remarks are focused on the languages for quotes and their translations. The differences between Kasper's finding and Anderson County worship services are determined by the competence of the speakers in the main language of the discourse: in Kasper's study, learners attempt to speak a second language and switch back to their first language to comment on issues in speaking the second language. In OOA sermons, the speakers use the second or third language only for quotes and communicative issues are connected to quotes, not to the main language of the discourse. The speakers are fully proficient in the main language of the discourse and do not have to switch from the main language in order to comment on their language use or to solve communicative problems.

Metalinguistic remarks in sermons and interviews are not only produced as codeswitching but also with other features of metalanguage described by Kasper: the comment exhibits a higher speed and a lower volume than the main speech event (560-62). However, the norms of the speech event have an

effect on the language choice of the interviewees who consequently do not use much CS (see Kovács 113). Furthermore, the topic of the interview is partly determined by the questions. Thus, the interview data do not show many metalinguistic remarks. Some comments on language use in the interview data also occur in PG. Therefore, the data are not sufficient to describe a clear connection between metalinguistic remarks and CS. Despite the restriction of the data from sermons and interviews, the comparison of both speech situations (in agreement with results from other studies) shows that the language choice for metalinguistic remarks is determined by the speech situations and their sociolinguistic norms. There is not one single language which is always used as metalanguage. In the sermons, metalinguistic remarks are produced in the main language of the speech event while the metalanguage in the interviews is marked by CS. Despite this formal differences between metalanguage in sermons and interviews, it fulfills similar functions in both speech events.

Metalinguistic remarks in Anderson County OOA sermons serve multiple functions, as it is the case with metalanguage in general. Common functions are the organization of discourse, signaling identity, and the aesthetic and practical evaluation of language (Lucy, *Human* 15). However, the range of functions for metalinguistic remarks in the OOA sermon is restricted to a set of functions for the organization of the discourse, but only to a very limited degree to the construction of identity. Reflective statements which evaluate the aesthetic or practical characteristics of the own language do not occur in the data. This is not surprising in the context of the cultural and sociolinguistic norms for the sermon (as well as the whole worship service) limit the choice of languages and topics. Free conversations, as well as to a limited degree the interviews, exhibit metalinguistic statements that evaluate language, which are usually missing in sermons. In free conversations, speakers repeatedly refer to the English loan words in PG or the differences between PG and AHG. During the observations, several speakers pointed out differences between Anderson County PG and the PG in Pennsylvania or the German of native speakers of German from Europe which they encounter

occasionally.<sup>52</sup> The following example shows a statement of an informant regarding differences between PG in different states:

Example 46 (Informant 10-2, Interview 55]

s [the PG, J.M.] is ned fi:l difference in indiana awwa penssylvania is wu isch's schun me:nschd gnoticed hab [incomprehensible, J.M.] odda si: sa:chə lot fun i:rə waddə du:n se different pronounce

[it is not much difference in Indiana, but Pennsylvania is where I have noticed it most (incomprehensible, J.M.) or the say lot of their words they do different pronounce

The speech situation of the sermon discourages aesthetic reflections on language since the speech event is focused on the reproduction and interpretation of the scriptures. Thus, the primary functions of metalinguistic remarks in the sermon are aimed on ensuring understanding of the AHG scripture quotes while maintaining a cohesive speech event and fulfilling the sociolinguistic norms set by the religious setting. These two goals can contradict each other and the metalinguistic remarks are part of the speakers' strategies to resolve this contradiction. Metalinguistic references to difficulties in translation or pronunciation serve the requirement to stay close to the linguistic original by making the process of translation transparent and opening it up for control by the audience. Furthermore, they allow the address of practical issues in communication while maintaining the speech flow while keeping the amount of codeswitching small. Comments on issues in memorizing quotes balance the high importance to reproduce the scripture as close to the original as possible with the desire to maintain the speech flow in the sermon. The references to time management integrate the speech event into the organizational structure of the worship service which sets time limits on the length of the individual speech events. The pre-structured character of the worship service excludes many discursive

<sup>52</sup> For the latter see example 24.

functions metalanguage could have: turn assignment and language choice are regulated by the strict sociolinguistic norms of the event, as well as the passive role of the audience and the status of the preacher as presenter, not dogmatic interpreter of the scriptures. The effect of metalinguistic remarks on the reinforcement of the identity as community member is important but secondary to the function in discourse management. Besides metalinguistic remarks, the preachers in the Anderson County OOA community utilize a second strategy of discourse management to solve the preacher's dilemma and related communicative issues. This strategy will be described in the following section.

### ***V.2.2) Self-translation***

The preachers in the Anderson County OOA districts employ a type of translating of quotes which will be called *self-translations*.<sup>53</sup> Self-translations are translations of lexical items or longer phrases by the same speaker immediately after or in close proximity to the utterance of the original item.

Example 47 (Informant 11, Interview 2315):

sie hen alles englisch (.) everything in English

[they have everything English (.) everything in English]

Self-translations are a form of CS and a specific type of the CS-category which has been named *repetition* or *reiteration* (Gumperz, *Sociolinguistic* 1). Gumperz defined reiterations as the verbatim or modified repetition of a message in another code (*Discourse* 78). Winford's definition of reiterations as "quasi-translation for purpose of emphasis, clarification, attracting attention etc." (117) shows the overlap of translations and reiterations. The category reiteration subsumes or equals several CS

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<sup>53</sup> The term *self-translation* has been used with a different meaning in literature studies and translation studies for the translation of literary works through the author (see Tanqueiro).



strategies (Auer, *Pragmatics* 120; Wei 18), e.g., *reformulations* and *recasts* (see Bernicot, Hudelot and Salazar Ovigo). Recasts are often employed in second language classrooms, where the teacher repeats utterances by students in the correct form or in the second language in order to correct the students or ensure understanding (see Howard, Lightbown and Spada; Nabei). Recasts can also occur without CS or as CS between dialect and standard language (see Werlen). The self-translations in Anderson County sermons have repair functions because they fill gaps in the AHG-lexicon of congregation members, and they show formal features of repairs. The formal features will be described in the following section before the functions will be analyzed.

#### ***V.2.2.1) Formal Aspects of Self-Translations***

Self-translations in sermons and interviews show different degrees of structural similarity to repairs. Repairs have been described as marked by hesitations or short pauses, repeated words, unfinished words, high speed, and lower voice. The self-translations in the interviews go along with hesitations or pauses, and sometimes with slightly higher speed and lower volume. In the sermons, only very brief pauses seem to separate the self-translation from the translated item and the volume of the self-translations seems only slightly lower. Repeated words, hesitations or incomplete words have not been observed. However, ethnographic observation cannot provide sufficient data for features like volume and speed of utterances. To be able to evaluate all formal features of self-translations in sermons, recorded data will be required. However, from the data used for this study, it can be concluded that the self-translations in the sermons have less obvious marking by speed, volume, and hesitations than the repairs in the interviews.

Self-translations are formally distinguished from other translations by their position in the discourse and the absence of a lexical frame, i.e., an expression marking the translation as such.

Because of the metalinguistic character of lexical frames (as language referring to language), some examples of framed translations have already been presented in the section on metalinguistic remarks. The lexical frame can refer to the status of the speech element as translation with or without reference to the act of translation:

Example 48 (P1, Oct. 14):

in englisch de:d ma sa:chə seared with hot iron

[in English one would say seared with hot iron]

Example 49 (P5, Oct. 21):

Bosheit is malice

[Bosheit is malice]

While the example 48 refers explicitly to the transfer to English, example 49 contains the metalinguistic reference to the translation implicitly contained in the verb /is/ (AE: is). The examples show another characteristic of framed translations: the frame is placed between the lexical item and its translation. However, self-translations can also take forms where the translation is separated from the translated item by other words. Different from framed translations, these inserts are parts of the object language and do not refer to the use of a translation like metalanguage would do. Inserts between translated item and translation occur mostly when the translated item is embedded in a phrase and the speaker finishes the phrase before starting the self-translation, as example 50 shows.

Example 50 (Informant 16, Interview 1415):

a lot fun de jung kheiertə sin dro zu də anner gme: ge: to the other church

[a lot of the young married are in the process of going to the other church]

The self-translation picks up the PG phrase /zu də anner gme:/ and translates it as AE /to the other church/. Because the speaker finishes the sentence with verb-final-structure before delivering the self-translation, the verb /ge:/ (AE: to go; NHG: gehen) is located between the translated item and the translation. Sometimes, the phrase is repeated completely and only one lexical is translated:

Example 51 (P2, Nov 11):

di: Zichtigung gibt uns nicht Freudə – die Zichtigung gibt uns nicht joy

[the castigation does not give us joy]

Example 52 (visiting preacher, Nov 25):

er war e:ns fun de Aposchtlen (.) er war e:ns fun də disciples

[He was one of the disciples (.) he was one of the disciples]

Self-translations have been observed in different combinations of the three languages in the linguistic repertoire of Anderson County Amish. The frequency of translations in the sermons has only been recorded in field notes and can therefore not be determined with sufficient accuracy for a quantitative analysis. However, some tendencies can be derived from the available data. In the sermons, most instances are translations from AHG into AE (see examples 51 and 52). The absolute numbers of this type of self-translations are still low, with approximately three to four translations of this type in each one hour-long main sermon. This supports the conclusion that self-translations are restricted in the sermons because they violate sociolinguistic norms. They are only employed as repair tools to avoid breakdowns in the discourse, not for stylistic functions.

The second most common type of self-translations are translations from AE into PG, but they

only occur approximately once in every third sermon. Translations from PG into English have only been observed in isolated instances.

Example 53 (P 1, Oct 14):

mir henn ä nadu:r (.) mir hen ä nature

[we have a nature (.) we have a nature]

Translations into AHG have been observed, if we accept the identification of individual lexical items as AHG (and not as PG). The following examples can be categorized as translations into AHG:

a) AE /spiritually/ translated into AHG /geistlich/ (P5, Sep. 16)

b) AE /disobedience/ translated into AHG /Ungehorsam/ (P4, Dec 2)

### ***V.2.2.2) Functions of Self-translations***

Self-translations/reiterations serve functions on the referential level (e.g., creating understanding) and on the metalinguistic level (e.g., signaling errors; Muehleisen 121). Scholars found reiterations in many languages (Auer, *Introduction* 12), in different settings (e.g., for classroom-communication see Eldridge), and with different discursive functions:

- as repair-strategy, e.g., in the classroom or in situations with language attrition (Jiménez Jiménez)
- to emphasize (Auer, *Pragmatics* 120; Gumperz, *Discourse* 82; Muehleisen 154)
- ensuring understanding; clarification and removal of ambiguity (McClure 82)
- signaling understanding (Eldridge 306)
- reinforcement of the message (Eldridge 306)

- correction for learners (see Nicholas, Lightbown, and Spada; Nabei)
- construction of a bilingual identity
- attracting attention (Winford 117)

The functions of self-translations are determined by the distribution of languages in the repertoire of the speech community (i.e., which language is used for what purpose), the competence of the speakers, and the sociolinguistic norms of the OOA worship service. Not surprisingly, the OOA in Anderson County rarely translate into AHG, because they do not have active competence in AHG. The dominance of translations from AHG into AE is determined by the functions of the sermons and the linguistic repertoire of the speakers. The main function of the sermon is the reproduction of the AHG-version of the scriptures as a basis for applications to the life of congregation members by the preacher as well as the congregation members. Because the sermons aim at interpretations of scripture quotes, difficult AHG words need to be explained or translated. Because PG does not have the necessary lexical equivalents for most difficult AHG words, the target language for translations is usually AE. Translations from PG into AE are rarely necessary in a speech community in which speakers are fully competent in both languages. It can also be assumed that translations into AE without practical necessity will be avoided in the sermons because of the sociolinguistic norms of the worship service.

The sociolinguistic norms determining the type of translations in the interviews are different from the norms in sermons. The fact that sociolinguistic norms for interviews asks for the use of PG is often interpreted by informants as prohibition of any AE use. Thus, the informants perceive their own use of AE loanwords or codeswitching to AE as violation of the norm and, consequently, use self-translation from AE to PG as self-correction (repairs):

Example 54 (Informant 21, Interview 1305):

un unsə eldschə bu: wär nineteen (.) neinzehə

[and our oldest boy would be nineteen (.) nineteen]

Example 55 (Informant 21, Interview 1622):

un mein e:ndə brudə hed (.) four boys (.) fi:r bu:wə un e: me:dl

[and my one brother would have (.) four boys (.) four boys and a girl]

The motivation for the self-translations is demonstrated in *false starts*, i.e., when “the speaker recognises that he/she has started with a 'wrong' language, usually with English and switches” (Kovács 119). Kovács described false starts as the most common form of reiteration/self-translation in her data. Self-translations constitute codeswitching to the matrix language (main language) of the interview and mostly produce incomplete utterances (119). False starts are typical for the interview setting, especially when the interviewer does not ask the questions in the matrix language set by the interview norms. This was the case with the interviews for this study and consequently several false starts were triggered by the language choice of the interviewer:

Example 56 (Informant 21, 1748):

(Interviewer) (question in AE)

(Informant): yes sometimes (.) not every year ned allə jahr

(.) awwer (.) allə paar jahr

[yes sometimes (.) not every year not every year

(.) but (.) every other year]

Example 57 (Informant 15, 1756) :

(Interviewer) (question in AE)

(Informant): conflict of interest i guess ich denk (.) ich

gla:b ma de:ds so sachə

[conflict of interest I guess I think (.) I believe one would say it that way]

Self-translations as repairs of false starts are usually self-initiated, but in one interview, one other-initiated repair occurred:

Example 58 (Informant 24, 1356):

(Interviewer) (question in AE)

(Informant) a little bit of everything

(Husband) bissel fun alles

[bit of everything]

(Informant) ja e bissel fun alles

[yes, a bit of everything]

The informant produces a false start in AE, but her language choice is then corrected by her husband who translates her utterance into PG. After this interruption, the informant delivered a PG translation of her original utterance. The translation in this sequence could be categorized as other-initiated self-translation.

Kovács did not find many false starts in her data on Finnish-English or Hungarian-English bilinguals. They were also not numerous in the interview data from Anderson County PG, however, with differences between speakers. While some speakers never produced false starts, two speakers produced several. This difference between speakers reflects the different skills of speakers in handling the unnatural bilingual speech situation of using PG with a non-Amish. Some speakers do not have any issues to adjust to that unnatural speech situation, while others have difficulties to keep up PG use when addressed in AE. False starts are mostly determined by the interview setting and thus rarely

occurring in the sermon, except in a few instances after quotes in AE. Quotes in AE are not numerous in the sermons, but the fact that they trigger false starts shows that quoting constitutes a source for AE-influence beyond the quote itself.

### *V.2.2.3) Distribution of Languages in Self-translations*

In the sermons, the most common form of self-translation is the translation of lexical items from AHG into AE. They occur approximately two or three times per hour of sermon, if only self-translations of different lexical items are counted. Self-translation of a word or expression are often repeated several times, which raises the amount of AE-use in the sermons. In proportion to the number of AHG quotes, which exceeds forty quotes per sermon, the number of self-translations is not very high. In the first sermon, the absolute number of self-translations into AE is smaller, approximately two per sermon. The difference in the absolute frequency of self-translations between first sermon and main sermon is caused by the smaller amount of AHG quotes in the first sermon. The first sermon is centered around one scripture passage and does not require repeated quoting in AHG, while the main sermon is structured as a series of reproducing or reading different scripture quotes followed by an application or interpretation in PG.

The self-translations are mostly focused on one or two lexical items which are translated into AE while the rest of the phrase is reiterated in AHG or not repeated at all.

Example 59 (P5, Sep. 16):

alle Gesetze halten (.) alle laws halten

[keeping all laws (.) keeping all laws]



Table 16 lists lexical items which were subjected to self-translations in the observed sermons:

<b>Table 16: AHG Items in Self-translations</b>			
	<b>AHG original</b>	<b>Self-translation in AE</b>	<b>Source</b>
i	verschreckt	troubled	P2, Aug. 26
ii	Unparteilichkeit	impartiality	visiting preacher, Sep. 2
iii	Reinigung	purge	P2, Sep. 9
iv	Erle:sungswerk	plan of salvation	P5, Sep. 26
v	gehorschen	obedient (sei)	P1, Sep. 26
vi	gottesfurchtig	god fearing	P1, Sep. 26
vii	erneuerten Sinn	renewed mind	P2 & P1, Oct. 14
viii	vergeblich	in vain	P5, Oct. 21
ix	unsträ:flich	without rebuke	P5, Oct 21

The examples in table 16 demonstrate that the self-translations stay as close to the original as possible. Paraphrasing is usually avoided and AE-equivalents are mostly chosen from the same word class than the AHG-original. Compound forms without a single lexical equivalent are reproduced as noun phrases (examples iv, vi, viii, ix). A paraphrase is used in only in example v, where the verb /gehorschen/ is translated with an adjective in AE and a verb in PG.

Beyond occasional paraphrases, the translations are in agreement with NHG translations in dictionaries and erroneous translations are rare. The interviewer observed only one inaccuracy in the translation of the AHG word /Kehle/ (AE: throat), in the context of singing. In a conversation after the worship service, two informants asked the interviewer about the meaning of the word because it had appeared in a hymn. One of the informant had looked it up in a dictionary and found only the entry /Kehlung/ (AE: groove). Still, the informant derived the proper meaning (the throat of the singers) from the context. Besides that minor mistake in looking up a word, the speakers usually show good skills in using dictionaries. The preachers use dictionaries to prepare the sermons and look up difficult

words in advance, which is not only reported by informants but also confirmed by the metalinguistic remarks referring to the use of dictionaries (see example 39 in chapter four). The lexical items that are translated usually do not have a close equivalent in PG, if we take Beam's dictionary as a basis.

Occasionally, the preachers translate phrases or complete verses into AE. The documented examples are given in table 17. The example b in table 17, quoted from memory by the preacher, shows the influence of the written AE version of the Bible in the archaic verb form /loved/. This is not surprising since the preachers use English Bible versions or a synoptic German-English Bible version with both languages in parallel columns. This shows that the preachers are closely familiar with the English Bible which they use to clarify difficulties in understanding the German text, as informants report.

**Table 17: Complete Phrases in Translations**

	<b>AHG original</b>	<b>Self-translation in AE</b>	<b>Source</b>
a	Wie sollen wir entkommen wenn wir so eine gro:sə se:ligkeit missachten	How should we escape if we neglect so great a salvation	P5, Oct. 21
b	wen der herr li:eb hat den zichtigt er	whom the lord loves he chastises	P5, Nov. 11
c	es ist vollbracht	it is finished	P5, Nov. 11
d	mit gehorsam und wa:rheit	with obedience and truth	P5, Oct. 21

In some instances, self-translation trigger codeswitching from PG to AE, as demonstrated in the following example:

Example 60 (Informant 16, 1127):

n də one in Wisconsin du:d en bissel melkə a little bit of dairy but mostly just produce raise (.) n  
də one in Marysville is full time dairyje (.) n die zwe: fun mei bri:der s dorum wuhnə dihn  
schreinerarwett

[and the one in Wisconsin does a little milking a little bit of dairy but mostly just produce raise

(.) n de one in Marysville is full time dairying (.) and the two of my brothers around here do carpenter-work]

In this sequence, the speaker produces a self-translation /en bissel melkə a little bit of dairy/ and continues then in AE. Like the false starts, this behavior could be caused by the interview situation. The speaker might have assumed that the interviewer does not understand the term /melkə/ and thus translates it. The speaker then remains in AE until the end of the description of the farming activities of one brother, possibly because he wants to finish the topic in AE and switch back to PG when introducing the next topic (topic-related shift). Another speaker also switches for a short stretch into AE and employs a second self-translation as link back to PG:

Example 61 (Informant 16, 1416):

a lot fun de jung-kheiertə sin dro zu de anner gme: ge: to the other church and (.) I think they think their church is gonna (.) zu zu nix gehə wann sie ned (.) weiter weg sin as sie sinn deweil [a lot of the young married are in the process of going to the other church to the other church and (.) I think they think their church is gonna (.) going to to nothing if they (are) not (.) farther away than they are now]

The second self-translation is diffused by the differences between AE and PG word order and the use of an verbal expression. The AE verb /gonna/ as short form of /going to/ is picked up in PG in the expression /zu nix gehə/ (AE: going to nothing).

Self-translations with PG as target language are the dominant type of translations in the interview data but are rare in the sermons. While several self-translation from AHG into AE can be observed in each sermon, self-translations with PG as target language occur only once or twice in a sermon, in some sermons not at all. The observed examples are shown in table 18. Because the field

notes often do not report complete phrases, only the lexical item which is translated is shown in the table. The examples i to iii are self-translations of AHG items into PG equivalents, without any additions. The AHG items contain both grammar structures and lexical items that have equivalents in PG. The future tense in example i has a PG form, formed with the auxiliary /zellə/, the simple past tense in sentence ii is in the PG translation replaced by the present perfect tense /is gwest/. That is in so far remarkable that the Anderson County PG also has the simple past /war/, which is the only simple past used in Anderson County PG. The choice of present perfect tense in this translation could be influenced by the dominance of present perfect forms in Anderson County PG.

**Table 18 Self-translations into PG, observed in sermons**

	AHG original	Self-translation in PG	Meaning in AE	Source
i	werden [Gott] schauen	zellə sehə	will see [god]	P5, Sep. 16
ii	war in Banden	is in kettə gwest	was in chains	P2, Oct. 14
iii	er verschied	is gschdorwə	he died	P3, Oct. 21
iv	zerbrechə	verbrechə (.) we:ch mache (.) ma kennt sa:chə <u>tenderizə</u>	to break apart (.) to soften (.) one could say to <u>tenderize</u>	P1, Oct. 14

The AHG verbs in the examples i to iii can be categorized as archaisms (or elaborate forms), which would probably not be used by speakers of NHG. The meaning of the verbs can be expressed by more modern equivalents in PG and thus the use of AE is not necessary. In example iv, the only difference between the AHG verb /zerbrechə/ and the PG equivalent is the prefix /ver/ (vs. AHG /zer/). However, the speaker adds other translations which express a different meaning ('to soften' or 'to tenderize' instead of 'to break'). This can be attributed to the desire to find the best translation of the interpretation of the verb in the context of the complete AHG quote. The initial translation as /verbrechə/ proves that the speaker identified the AHG word correctly, but the metalinguistic remark /ma kennt sa:chə/ shows

that the preacher intends to introduce several possible translations.

### **V.3) Conclusion**

The analysis of the sermon in the Anderson County worship districts shows that the sermon is a complex speech event with a flexible use of AHG, PG and AE. The use of the three linguistic varieties is connected to quoting from the scriptures and to solve issues resulting from quoting (the preacher's dilemma).

The integration of quotes does not show any obvious pattern deviating from findings in research on other speech communities. This implies that the quotes seem to be sufficiently identifiable. The languages of the quotes are mainly determined by the language of the original speech event.

Furthermore, quotes from a written text need to be integrated in the freely spoken sermon. The way AHG quotes are integrated into the sermon shows that the religious norm that demands the verbatim reproduction of the scriptures is sufficiently satisfied by the obvious effort to recall quotes exactly. The preachers occasionally sacrifice the speech flow in order to achieve verbatim quotes and address in metalinguistic remarks the issue of exactly recalling quotes. The willingness to interrupt the speech flow is significant because of the ceremonial status of sermons. The willingness to interrupt in order to recall quotes shows the high value of verbatim quotes for OOA preachers which has also been emphasized by Enninger and Raith in their study on OOA worship services (*Ethnography* 47).

However, the role of the preacher as reproducer of the scriptures seems to be sufficiently fulfilled by quoting a certain amount of quotes verbatim and paraphrasing some other scripture parts. The moderate amount of quotatives and their limited variation shows that quotes are recognizable by prosody and structural features. Consequently, a strict linguistic separation of the quotes seems not to be necessary: AHG and PG do not have completely separated linguistic systems and preachers are able to shift

between quoting, paraphrasing, and interpreting. Additionally, the character of the speech event limits the necessary communicative tools: creativity in the selection of quotatives is not necessary and the focus on quotes from the scriptures relieves the need to clarify that the core of the sermon is not the preacher's own text.

The analysis of the sermons shows that the two communication strategies *metalinguistic remarks* and *self-translations* successfully manage the preacher's dilemma and support the efficient performance of the speech event. Metalinguistic remarks enable the preacher to address communicative issues within the main language of the speech event (PG). In expansion of the theological rule that preachers do not provide a dogmatic interpretation of the scriptures, it is also stated that preachers also do not have a superior competence in language use, corresponding to their lack of a specific education as preacher. Moving the speech to the metalinguistic level enables a certain amount of interaction with the audience (controlling the preacher's translations and interpretations), thus increasing the efficiency of the communicative strategy. The preachers employ all three functions of communicative strategies: the metapragmatic function (addressing the use of language), the metacommunicative function (addressing the relationship between speakers), and the metalanguage function (addressing semantics). The role of the preacher in the OOA theology allows the preacher to serve all three functions of communicative strategies by suggesting solutions rather than giving definite answers. The fact that metalanguage distances the speaker from the object language plays into the role of the preacher as provider of suggestions, rather than a speaker who takes all responsibility for form and content of the sermon.

Self-translations, the second communication strategy that is used in order to manage the preacher's dilemma, have been shown to be successful strategies to ensure understanding of difficult AHG items while maintaining the speech flow and keeping the use of AE on a minimum level. Self-translations are a violation of sociolinguistic norms but nevertheless tolerated. This tolerance towards

norm violations can be explained by the more important goal of maintaining the sermon as comprehensive speech event while not abandoning PG as main language of the speech event. Self-translations achieve both goals and by doing so, they support the maintenance of PG.

The use of self-translations is the response to specific problems that arise from the contradiction of sociolinguistic norms and the linguistic competence of the interlocutors. Therefore, self-translations can be assumed to be communication strategies not used as often with speakers with a similar repertoire. This agrees with the observations in the field, where self-translations rarely occur in free conversations. Strategies similar to self-translations have been observed in other settings involving speakers with different competences in the involved languages, e.g., interaction between native speakers and language learners (see Kasper).

The analysis of self-translations in sermons did not attempt to identify all functions of metalanguage identified in research (see section V.2.2.2). Some functions can be identified: preachers try to ensure understanding, remove ambiguity and repair communicative issues. These functions are overlapping. Removing ambiguity contributes to both other functions.

Both communicative strategies, metalinguistic remarks and self-translations, are mainly used for pragmatic purposes, i.e., organizing the discourse efficiently. It could be possible that they also have the symbolic effect of reinforcing a common identity as multilingual OOA. However, whether communication strategies in sermons fulfill other functions requires further research.

In the Anderson County OOA sermons, all three communicative strategies are connected to multilingualism, either using CS or referring to the use of several languages and problems connected to it. The employment of the strategies shows that the usage of AE in the sermon is allowed to a limited degree, implying tolerance for violating the sociolinguistic norm of the sermon. However, the communicative strategies aim on limiting AE use as much as possible which shows that the use of AE

is marked language use.

The preachers show different preferences for the use of self-translations or paraphrasing, which shows that the role as preacher can be performed in different ways. Both strategies succeed in producing a highly cohesive speech event, however with differences regarding the verbatim reproduction of the sacred texts.

The comparison of sermons and interviews shows some differences in form and use of communicative strategies. The metalanguage shows formal differences between interviews and sermons. In the interviews, metalanguage is partly produced as codeswitching. In the sermons, the metalanguage is mostly the object language but it is referring to CS. Codeswitching and connected problems are the topic of the metalinguistic remarks. The comparison between sermon and interviews illustrates how the sociolinguistic norms of the speech events and the competence of the speakers influence the use of communicative strategies in different ways: in highly regulated speech events like the sermon, self-translations are employed in order to compensate for a deficit in the linguistic competence of all participants by violating the sociolinguistic norm (however as little as possible). In the interviews, self-translations are mainly used as repair for norm-violations (and occasionally in order to compensate for the insufficient competence of the interviewer). The use of communication strategies enables the preachers to perform the OOA sermon as a complex, flexible and successful speech event, fulfilling all needs derived from the religious and cultural norms.



## **VI) Conclusion**

The present study analyzed three major areas of the Anderson County OOA-speech community: first, the social structure and cultural and religious norms, second, the structure of the linguistic repertoire, and third, the patterns of language use. The main results of this analysis will be described in the following section, followed by a description of research fields that require further investigation.

### **VI.1) Main Results**

#### ***VI.1.1) Social Change and Language Use***

The analysis of the social structure shows that the Anderson County OOA-districts are undergoing a change in the occupational structure towards off-farm employment. This development increases the amount of AE-contacts of district members, but has so far not led to a decrease of PG-usage within the group. Despite constantly re-negotiating the *Ordnung* and allowing tractors and more use of cars than many other OOA communities, the norms of the Anderson County districts remain clearly focused on separation from the mainstream society and the primary communication network focus on the congregation. However, the occupation structure is undergoing a change and, meanwhile, two thirds of the male district members have full-time or part-time occupations that involve contact to non-Amish customers. An increase in AE-use for these speakers can be expected for the future.

Contacts to other Amish districts developed during the migration history and the mobility of the Anderson County Amish enables them to maintain these contacts. Consequently, the contacts between Anderson County and other OOA districts are sufficiently intense to be a route for the spread of linguistic innovations between different OOA-groups. Consequently, the conditions for the spread of a

Midwestern PG to Anderson County exist, but the data from Anderson County PG do not show a strong tendency towards a Midwestern PG as described by Keiser. Only some features of Midwestern PG have been found, some features of Anderson County PG are closer to the PG in Pennsylvania. However, Keiser predicted that not all characteristics of Midwestern PG will show in all speech communities.

### ***VI.1.2) The Linguistic Continuum***

The analysis of PG, AHG, and AE-influences in Anderson County shows that the linguistic repertoire of the Anderson County speech community forms a continuum of PG, AE and AHG. The three languages are clearly distinct in the main areas of the linguistic structure but hybrid forms cause overlap in the lexicon and some areas of the grammar, phonology and semantics. The distance of the three languages on the linguistic continuum is not equal since AHG has more structural and phonological overlap with PG than AE. AHG and PG share many phonological hybrids forms by definition since AHG is Literal German phonologically adapted to the PG phonology. The hybrid forms and loan words in the repertoire prevent sociolinguistic norms that exclude all forms of codeswitching for specific situations. Thus, more tolerance can be found regarding the use of communication strategies that are based on codeswitching. The statements of speakers on AE-loans and hybrid forms show that speakers accept these AE-influences as part of Anderson County PG. This attitude contributes to the acceptability of codeswitching-based communication strategies in the sermons.

The language change in Anderson County PG can mainly be explained by internal factors, as it has already been concluded in other studies (see Fuller, *Role*). Only few areas of Anderson County PG show convergence with AE, mainly parts of the lexicon. Some contact induced language changes result in forms which are different from both PG and Standard NHG, thus resulting in divergence. Some

developments in Anderson County PG are identical with developments described as being typical for an emerging Midwestern variety of PG. However, other phenomena differ from the features of the assumed Midwestern PG.

Two communicative problems that have been observed in the sermons, the marking of quotes and the preacher's dilemma. Both problems as well as their solutions are connected with the specific form of multilingualism in the Anderson County speech community. One language in the repertoire, AHG, is not fully acquired, but fulfills a crucial function. American English is fully acquired, but its use is restricted for certain speech events. Pennsylvania German has structural limitations, i.e., lexical gaps that make it unsuitable for an effective solution of the preacher's dilemma.

The comparison of the sermons and the interview data reveals that communicative strategies derive their specific function from the context in which they are used. In the sermon, the self-translations serve the compensation for lexical gaps in AHG, while they function as repair for norm violations in the interviews. All strategies have characteristics of metalanguage, but are little used for evaluative statements. They dominantly fulfill pragmatic functions (discourse management) and only secondary symbolic functions (as expression of the specific multilingualism in Anderson County PG).

### ***VI.1.3) Pragmatic and Symbolic Factors of Language Choice***

The management of the preacher's dilemma in the sermons shows that ceremonial speech situations and their speech events have dynamic patterns of language use, despite strict sociolinguistic norms. The language use in the OOA-sermons in Anderson County is primarily determined by the theological function of the sermons as core of the Amish community life and the role of the preacher as provider of literal scripture quotes.

The analysis of language choice by speakers in the Anderson County OOA-community shows

an overlap of different factors for language choice and different levels of language use. Roles, network relations, domain norms and other factors on the discourse level can be salient at the same time and can contradict each other. The sermons are a case of such a contradiction, with the proficiency of speakers in AHG, the role of the speakers, and the norms of the speech event do not allow the use of only one language. The analysis of the language use in sermons demonstrated that the religious function of the sermon and the importance of a homogeneous and effective sermon outweigh other factors of language choice. The sociolinguistic function of sermons as core of Amish identity and the pragmatic function of communication strategies as repair mechanisms determine the language choice in the sermons. Consequently, functional models of language use are necessary to describe the sermons and models of language use that focus on the connection between speech situation and language (domains) or between interlocutors and language (networks) cannot be applied.

#### ***VI.1.4) Language Attitudes and Linguistic Awareness***

The interview data and metalinguistic remarks provide information on the attitudes towards languages and language use in the perception of the Anderson County Amish. Two different topics that were addressed by informants demonstrate the importance of AHG for the identity as OOA. First, the informants pointed out that abandoning AHG goes along with changes in lifestyle, or vice versa, and both lead away from being OOA. The importance of using varieties of German in the worship service was also emphasized by statements that preachers cannot accommodate visitors that do not speak any type of German. Second, informants emphasize the theological importance of AHG when they describe German versions of the Bible as older and more plain than AE versions. Consequently, the use of German scriptures cannot simply be abandoned.

The evaluations of PG as found in statements by Anderson County Amish show the existence of covert prestige and overt prestige. Overt prestige is a positive evaluation of language that is admitted in formal settings, e.g., to researchers. Covert prestige is a positive evaluation of language that informants consider to contradict the attitude of prestigious groups, e.g., researchers. Covert prestige is not admitted in formal situations (Chambers 242-44). The duality of covert and overt prestige for Anderson County PG exists in two areas: in normal conversations, the Anderson County speakers consider their language to be PG without limitations and ignore the use of loan words and hybrid forms. However, when asked to compare Anderson County PG to the PG in Pennsylvania (with fewer AE loan words), they assign the Pennsylvania varieties of PG the position of the “real” PG. When the researcher asks for an evaluation of PG, the informants are reminded of the status of their conversation partner as researcher. The informants assume that researchers are interested in an ideal version of PG without AE-influences. Consequently, they adjust their evaluation of PG to the standards they expect from researchers. This does not diminish the covert prestige of the language within the group.

The fact that metalinguistic remarks of the Anderson County OOA address communicative difficulties shows that speakers are aware of these problems and, in some instances, that they consider it necessary to explain or justify the way they manage these problems. This reveals that self-translations or interruptions of the speech flow are seen as violation of sociolinguistic norms. Consequently, self-translations and metalinguistic remarks help to identify what speakers consider codeswitching. This does not solve all problems to distinguish codeswitching and borrowing, but helps understanding the process of language choice when AE-use is restricted.

### ***VI.1.5) Strategies of Cultural and Linguistic Maintenance***

The description of the linguistic repertoire and the language use in the Anderson County OOA community identified features of language as well as social and sociolinguistic norms that support the maintenance of PG and AHG. At the linguistic level, loan words and hybrid forms enable speakers to communicate efficiently by adjusting the lexicon to a changing environment and changing communicative needs. Adopting linguistic features that are typical for Midwestern speech communities would adjust Anderson County PG to a demand for a specific Midwestern identity. This process might be on its way, but data from later points in time are needed in order to see whether this process is indeed ongoing.

At the level of norms, the Anderson County speech community adjusted the sociolinguistic norms for the sermons to allow a certain amount of codeswitching to AE. However, codeswitching to AE is restricted to communication strategies that solve a communicative problem (the preacher's dilemma). The only other use of codeswitching to AE that is accepted in sermons is quoting in the context of interpreting the scriptures. The flexibility in linguistic norms serves the theological and social function of the sermon: preachers are rather inflexible regarding the requirement of literal quotations of the scriptures, but open for communication strategies that enhance the success of the sermon. Codeswitching is allowed in individual parts of the sermons in order to enable the maintenance of AHG and PG for the sermons. Furthermore, the Anderson County Amish adjust their social and religious norms (the *Ordnung*), as common in Amish communities. The Anderson County Amish keep their *Ordnung* clearly within the bounds of common OOA lifestyle, but negotiate changes if the changing environment requires it. This enables them to maintain a life as separate group without assimilating completely to the mainstream society.

The use of loan words and hybrids in Anderson County PG, the re-negotiation of norms, and the

structure of the communication strategies that are employed in the sermons of the Anderson County speech community demonstrate the pragmatic orientation of many ongoing changes in the Anderson County OOA community. Norms are adjusted or interpreted in a flexible way if the social and communicative environment requires it. However, using PG and AHG has a strongly symbolic function: PG is used to mark a group identity but not for readings. Amish High German is also not read if the texts are not part of the religious texts of the group and, thus, a factor of the religious identity of the Amish (besides its status as authentic version of the scriptures).

## **VI.2) Desiderata**

The present study has demonstrated that the Anderson County OOA community is undergoing a change in the occupational structure towards off-farm employment. Such a shift in employment has also been observed in other OOA communities and it has been assumed that this results in more AE-influence on PG. However, Keiser observed the opposite effect. He proposed to include more data from rural speech communities with few other PG-speakers living close by (Keiser, *Pennsylvania German and the Lunch Pail Threat* 17). The Anderson County speech community fits this description, and the data for the present study confirms an increase in AE-contacts. However, in order to see a increase or decrease in AE-influence, quantitative data from different times are needed in order to describe the development of AE-influences on Anderson County OOA over time. The same problem exists for the influence of other varieties of PG and the spread of a Midwestern PG. Diachronic comparisons and a more detailed phonetic analysis is required in order to decide whether Anderson County PG adopts features of Midwestern PG. For this purpose, it would also be interesting to analyze which members of the speech community import innovations from other speech communities into Anderson County and

how innovations spread within the community.

The present study gained interesting insight into attitudes of speakers, but does not provide comprehensive data on language attitudes. However, it has been shown that language attitudes determine the acceptance and use of varieties and communication strategies in the sermons. Consequently, future studies need to describe what attitudes speakers have towards AE-influences in PG and the use of communication strategies in the sermons.

Testing models of language choice has shown that models focusing on speech situations or interlocutors as main factors of language choice can produce useful insight into processes of language choice in OOA communities, but cannot be applied to all settings. The ethnography of speaking model is well suited for settings like the worship service, when a speech situation is sub-divided in speech events and the language use on the discourse level is examined. The three models describe different levels of language use and identify different factors of language choice. However, these factors and levels of language use can overlap. Examining the interplay of these factors and levels of language use would be of great interest for the understanding of language use in OOA speech communities and beyond.

The analysis of language use in the sermons has shown that this speech event exhibits dynamic patterns of language use. Communication strategies fulfill a crucial function in this setting, but fulfill another function in interviews. To gain more insight in existing communication strategies and the language use on the discourse level of OOA communities, more communication strategies and the discourse level of more speech situations needs to be analyzed. Audiotape data from sermons would be valuable for analyzing metalinguistic features and the sequential embedding of communication strategies and discourse phenomena.

The present study constitutes only one step into research on the overlap of factors of language



choice, the language use in the OOA worship service, and the discourse management in OOA communities. Especially the discourse level of PG-use has so far received very little attention in research. OOA communities have a unique linguistic and cultural setting that results in dynamic and complex patterns of language change and language use.

OOA communities face an increase in AE-contacts and a potential decrease in PG use. Judging from the data for the present study, Anderson County PG is a stable variety that does not survive despite having “so much English in it,” as one informant said, but rather because the speakers are open for specific AE-influences and employ all language of the linguistic repertoire in a strategic way. This strategic language use offers a broad field for future research that can contribute to the understanding of language use in many other multilingual speech communities.

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