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The editors are pleased to present this second collection of papers from the Linguistics Department at the University of Kansas. In preparing this issue, we have been aided in many ways by members of the faculty and by our department secretary, Ruth Killers. We wish to express our appreciation for their kind assistance. We are also grateful to Jeanette Gunn for her work on the cover page.
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A LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION FOR KANSAS VOLGA GERMAN

Gerald L. Denning

0. The densest German settlement in Kansas exists in Ellis and Rush Counties (Carman 1962). This group's ancestors had taken part in the German exodus to Russia at Catherine the Great's invitation and under duress had been placed in the lower Volga river wilderness. Approximately a century later migrations of Volga Germans took them to various places around the world, including several thousand who founded villages in West Central Kansas from 1876 through the early 1900s (Toepfer and Dreiling 1966, Swan 1974).

The German language has continued to be spoken habitually with growing children although the number of speakers is dwindling. Carmon (1962) reported that in Liebenthal a majority of families still used German in preference to English. In general there is a multitude of speakers who could support linguistic investigations across the generations although future maintenance of German and the role of the local dialect would have to be dealt with in terms of values, rationales and practical steps (Gilbert 1971). For example, teaching materials could be produced similar to those by Buffington and Barba for what might be called the Pennsylvania German (PG) kolon (leveled dialect, as used by Dillard 1973), spoken habitually by more than 300,000 persons mainly in Eastern Pennsylvania (Lockwood 1965, Laird 1970), and by members of smaller enclaves throughout much of the country.

A comprehensive outline for the study of the language of the Kansas Volga Germans of Ellis and Rush Counties has been provided (Gilbert 1976).
1. From exactly what area(s) of Germany did the 18th century emigrants to Russia come?

2. How does the German language as it is now spoken in southeast Ellis and northern Rush Counties differ from the German dialects presently spoken in the areas of Germany located in (1)?

3. What portion of the divergences identified in (2) are due to a) Russian loans or "influence," b) English loans or "influence," c) internal development?

4. What Russian loans or influence remain in Ellis County English?

5. In what localities in German still spoken, how often, by whom, under what circumstances?

6. What styles or dialects of German (including standard or High German) are used?

7. What are the attitudes of the speakers toward the use of German and English, and especially their attitude toward certain socially diagnostic linguistic variants within these languages?

8. What are the social and/or linguistic rules governing the alternate use of the two languages?

9. What forms does ethnicity take, especially as expressed in style of life, sense of identification, primary group characteristics?

10. What part does language play in the ethnic matrix?

With regard to the latter points above, bibliographic information on ethnicity of German American descendants is available in Pieder (1975) reported in Gilibert (1976)!

My purpose is to establish a linguistic record of Volga Germans which would facilitate the identification of specific Ellis and Rush County subjects for sociolinguistic research. Secondarily, I should like to extend knowledge of Volga Germans' speech by making certain synchronic and diachronic comparisons with other varieties of German. An effort has been made to limit description to Gilbert's suggestions, especially his points 1-5. Order of presentation of subject matter will be grammar, lexicon and phonology, going back in time and place from Kansas to Russia and Germany. It is hoped that various types
of linguistic research in Volga German will be stimulated.

Data was collected mainly in 1976 by myself, largely from middle-aged informants, particularly a representative of Emmeran speech born in 1911, Joseph Denning; a representative of Victoria speech, christened Alice Billinger in 1928; and a representative of Odin speech, christened Bernadette Knoig in 1926. The first two finished grade school, married in 1935 and have always kept in social and linguistic touch with the Ellis and Rush Counties speech island. The last informant completed high school, married Paul Eisentart (a non- Odin Austrian descendant not reared speaking German) in 1936 and has always maintained social and linguistic bonds with her speech island. Informant contact with Standard German was minimal and was primarily associated with the formal aspects of church membership and religious classes.

1. Gilbert (1976) examined a number of characteristics of the language of Ellis and Rush County, Kansas Volga Germans (hereafter referred to as Volga German or VG). By means of Sackett and Weigel's (1966) and Gilbert's (1968) data, speech patterns of three Ellis County Volga German communities, Pfefler, Victoria (formerly Herzog) and Catherine, were contrasted with each other and Standard German (SG).

In Gilbert (1976) other German dialects or koine in the United States were compared with Volga German. For example, the inflectional system in Catherine (especially due to the absence of the dative case) was described as being similar to Central Texas German (CTG). For more detailed information on CTG see Gilbert (1970, 1972). Also Pfefler and Victoria speech was said to resemble Pennsylvania German. For infor-
sation on VG see Lockwood (1965), Reed (1968), Reed and Seifert (1994).

The Case System

1.1 Although dative inflection survives, e.g., in Freiler after the preposition mit 'with' (Gilbert 1976), and in general appears to be used more in personal pronouns than in other forms, there is evidently a trend away from it, e.g., in definite articles after prepositions. This is the apparent result of phonological leveling between the dative and accusative in favor of accusative forms (Winter 1973, Denning 1973).

Whereas VG and SG agree in the accusative case in (1) and (2), the accusative form in VG (3) and (5) has assumed the dative functions visible in SG (4) and (6). (Certain SG examples are from Hitska's (1952) list). VG data is from Cameroon and Victoria and principally reflects usage of these communities.


2. *Das Schwein geht schnell durch den Garten.*

   'The pig goes swiftly through the garden.'

3. *Do unlig den Baum ist es kiel un sahr.*

4. *Hier unter den Baum ist es kühl und schön.*

   'Here under the tree it is cool and beautiful.'

5. *Vor den Krieg hab ich an Amerika gar net gedacht.*

6. *Vor den Krieg hab ich an Amerika nicht gedacht.*

   'Before the war I didn't think about America.'

In sentences (7) and (8) third generation VG shows variation.
...in pronoun usage with the verb helfen 'help', which in SG requires dative mir.

7. Morige dust du mich helfen.

"You will help me tomorrow." (You must help me tomorrow.)

Similar variation exists in data from another German speaking community (principally Austrian Americans), Odin, in neighboring Barton County:

10. Du wirst mich helfen.

"You will help me."

The same ambivalence was shown in usage of ordinary indirect objects by SG informants in (11) through (13).


'Give me a glass of milk.'


'Give it to me.'


'Bring me five apples.'

In like manner, in Odin Austrian German (OAG) the indirect object forms mich and mir may be mixed. In (14), (15) OAG an 'an' rhymes with 'Bonn' in deliberate speech (Cardinal number un, ang. rhymes with German Haus.):


‘Bring me an apple.’

Uncertainty sometimes surfaced in both VG and OAG as to which inflection should be used for such first person indirect objects. Uncertainty may have been enhanced by informants currently not being in frequent contact with the speech island. And informants at times reflect that their speech pattern is not ‘right’ and may grasp for SG forms they know.

In Victoria and Emerson (16) and Odin (17) the preposition _mit_ ‘with’ requires the dative personal pronoun _dir_ for second person singular informal usage.

16. Was _iss_ ‘n los _mit_ _dir_?

17. Was _iss_ ‘n las _mit_ _dir_?

‘What’s the matter with you?’

With regard to case, VG has a nominative-dative system. Since VG has a nominative-accusative system in most respects, it may be compared to CTC, North Texas (Cooke County) dialects at Valley View, Lindsay and Munster, and the Oklahoma (Washita County) dialect in Corn (Pulte 1970). Pulte raises the interesting point that although Low German (LG) influences may be responsible for the nominative-accusative case system in CTC, Valley View and Corn it does not appear to be the causal factor in Lindsay and Munster German. Similarly, although a small number of Low German speakers settled among Volga High German speakers in Ellis and Rush Counties (especially between Walker and Victoria) with gradual assimilation the result,
their area-wide linguistic influence was minimal and does not appear to be a vital element in two-case VG usage (Roepfer and Dreiling 1966).

Possession

1.2 The VG possessive construction as shown (Denning 1971) in (18), (19), (20) and contrasted by SG (21) is shared by many German dialects.

18. Der neie Präsident sei Plan helfen die Leit mit.
19. Der neie Präsident sei Plan helfen mit die Leit.
20. Der neie Präsident sei Plan duldet mit die Leit helfen.
   'The new president's plan will not help the people.'

This structure is actually related to an old dative, explained by Behaghel (1915), whose examples follow. The genitive in (22) is paraphrased by the dative in (23), (24), (25).

22. Meinem Vater Haus hat er gekauft.
23. Meinem Vater hat er sein Haus gekauft.
24. Er hat seinem Vater sein Haus gekauft.
25. Er hat seinen Vater sein Haus gekauft.
   'He bought my father's house.'

VG data shows a likeness in masculine and feminine renditions of possessive constructions. In (26) and (28) a sein 'his or its' form (masculine or neuter gender in SG) rather than an ihr 'her' form (feminine gender in SG) is used for singular possessive adjectives. (27) and (29) provide SG counterparts.
27. Das schönste Kleid der Tochter ist zerrißt.
   'The daughter's prettiest dress is torn.'
28. Geh wir so gut um daß sei Schwester dass die dei Mamma
    sei Sack fertig nehe soll, um sauber machen mit der Barst.
29. Geh, sei so gut und sag deiner Schwester, sie solle die
    Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Büste
    rein machen.
   'Go, be so good and tell your sister she should finish sewing
    the clothes for your mother and clean them with the brush.'

A phrase in VG (28), repeated as (30), was also rendered as (31), (32).

30. dass die dei Mamma sei Sack fertig nehe soll
31. dass die dei Mamma sei Sack fertig soll nehe
32. dass die dei Mamma sei Sack ... soll den Sack fertig nehe
   'that she should finish sewing your mother's clothes'

OAG data indicates that a sein form is used for the masculine gender
as in (33) while neither sein nor ihr is used for the feminine in this
type of possessive construction. Instead, unlike VG, at least some
second generation OAG feminine usage seems to be SG (possible even
modeled on the English possessive) as in (34) or is rendered by some
other structure as in (35).

33. Otto sei Kalt ist besser.
   'Otto's cold is better.'
34. Mary's Kalt ist besser.
'Mary's cold is better.'

35. Oliva hat an neuer Rock.
'Oliva's dress is new.' (Oliva has a new dress.)

Possessive force can be obtained in VG through the use of the
preposition von (similarly 'of' in English) as in (36), (38) with
SG paraphrases (37), (39).

36. Ich glaube die Farbe von den Hunden sein Haar.

37. Ich habe die Haarfarbe des Hundes gern.
'I like the color of the dog's hair.' (I like the dog's
hair color.)

38. Die Milch von die Kuh schmeckt ziemlich gut.

39. Die Milch der Kühe schmeckt ziemlich gut.
'The milk of the cows tastes rather good.' (The cows'
milk tastes rather good.)

In like manner SG utilizes von in achieving a possessive force, such
as in (40) which helps differentiate it from (41) in which the geni-
tive is used (Kufner 1962).

40. das richtige Füttern von Löwen
'the proper feeding of lions'

41. durch das richtige Füttern der Löwen
'by properly feeding the lions'
1.3 Future time in VC is sometimes expressed by present tense, an ancient dialectal trait (Lockwood 1965) as was the case in (7), (8) — cf. (13), (19) also — and may be accompanied by counterparts of SG *tun 'do' used as auxiliary verbs as in (7) — cf. (20), by forms of the modal auxiliary müssen 'must' such as in (8), and by adverbs of time such as morgen 'tomorrow.' OAC future time can be expressed by forms of werden, like SG, in (9), (10).

Lexicon

1.4 Volga German shares the lexical items Stinkkater 'skunk' and Steinaxel 'stubborn donkey,' with Texas and Oklahoma German dialects. As reported in Gilbert (1970) it had been thought that these particular terms had arisen in Central Texas where, besides other localities, German Americans have largely populated most of a forty county area properly in the East Central part of the state. It is estimated (Gilbert 1970) that approximately 70,000 persons continue to speak German in this region (roughly the Austin-San Antonio-Houston triangle but especially extending northwest of Austin), particularly in population centers such as Fredericksburg, Gillespie County or Brenham, Washington County. Pulte (1970) has shown that Stinkkater and Steinaxel also exist among German speakers of the North Texas Valley View, Lindsay and Muenster communities, as well as the one in Corn, Oklahoma. It might be hypothesized that known northerward movement of some German speakers from what could be designated the heavily populated core area in Central Texas has spread the use of these and other lexical items. However, the Valley View Seventh Day Adventists apparently moved
north to remove themselves from the numerous Central Texas Lutherans. 

In addition, Muenster and Lindsay Catholics may not have been in close contact with the larger Lutheran groups to the south. Finally, Corn, Oklahoma Low German-Russian Mennonites had moved south from the Hills-boro, Kansas area (Pulse 1970). Along with Catholic Volga Germans' (who render Steinsel as Stansel) use, Stinkkatz and Stansel occur in OAG. The origin of a number of German lexical items in the Central Plains remains an interesting question pending further research.

Russian Loans

2. Also of linguistic interest are the Russian loan words in VG. Ruppenthal (1913, 1916, 1923) compiled a list of approximately thirty Russian borrowings of which a third generation VG informant might use one-fourth or more. Table 1 gives some of the Russian loans gathered by Ruppenthal (1913) that are still current. Gender represents Ennerman usage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VG</th>
<th>RUSSIAN</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>der Anbar</td>
<td>anbar</td>
<td>granary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>den Arbus</td>
<td>arbus</td>
<td>watermelon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die? Klapot</td>
<td>khlopot</td>
<td>lawsuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des Papyrus</td>
<td>papirosa</td>
<td>cigarette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die Steppe</td>
<td>step'</td>
<td>prairie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1. VG RUSSIAN LOAN WORDS

Actually Klapot was not elicited but rather a Russian-English hybrid noun; see (42).
Although at first glance (43) might seem to contain a hybrid German-Russian verb, in fact *verklat* in a more phonetically exact spelling than its SG counterpart: *werklaut* (Galton 1977). (Similarly SG *megt* 'says' could accurately be rendered as VC *sat* due to dialectal *ach-laut* dropping.)

42. Die Klässlut iss net recht.
   'The lawsuit isn't right.'

43. Der hot den verklat.
   'He sued him.'

_Papyrus_ was given in a slightly different form as in (44), and _Steppe_ was produced as in (45) with a somewhat different meaning. Note the hybrid in (66).

44. Des Pappersteig iss ausgang.
   'The cigarette went out.'

45. Die Stepp iss sure gut.
   'The pasture (or 'grass') is sure good.'

46. Mir sin heit in der Steppence hrum gelof.
   'We walked (literally 'ran') around in (within) the pasture today.'

A lexical item noticeably absent from Ruppenthal's list was the current Mariahek (Russian _mushchik_ 'toilet', generally referring to an outdoor toilet while _badst-ob_ is reserved for indoor 'bathroom.' Another item which appears to be borrowed is _sja_ (The last syllable is stressed,) which was used as a common farewell, for example, in the expression _Neh._
Aye! (Aye is used commonly to introduce VG utterances such as 'well' in English.) Russian no, a conjunction meaning 'but' or 'yet', is the probable source of noh, while Russian atu (word final syllable is stressed) meaning 'tally ho' is apparently not the source of aye.

French adieu 'goodbye' has been borrowed by various German dialects as an alternate farewell. Its use in Germany is evidently diminishing but it can be found in a number of stage plays, written adieu. Some German dialects could not accommodate the last syllable of French adieu and therefore produced adie or, at least in VG, aye (Calton 1977).

The net effect of Russian on VG appears to be minimal. There is a need to investigate what linguistic influence a second century of dwelling in Russia may have had on the Volga Germans who did not emigrate in the late 1800s. However, it is difficult to obtain permission from the Soviet Union to do the necessary fieldwork. Surprisingly, a scholarly study on Low German in Siberia has been published recently (Winter 1977).

The largest detriment to establishing a continuous linguistic identity for Kamas Volga Germans is that those in Russia have traditionally found it nearly impossible to communicate with the outside world (Loiber 1974). This situation obtained both before and after the existence of the Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans which had 600,000 citizens and German as its official language. The universal displacements of Volga Germans during World War II, mainly to Siberia and Central Asia, have yet to be sorted out. Despite having officially exonerated Volga Germans from all previous accusations on August 29, 1964,
the Soviet Government has been slow to implement its rehabilitation pro-
gram, and to grant permission for resettlement in the Volga homeland or
for emigration, either of which would be linguistically promising (Haynes
1974).

Two organizations dedicated to gathering all types of information
about Germans from Russia have been formed (Leiker 1976): International
American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 615 D Street, Lin-
coln, Neb., 68502 with archives at 1004 A, Ninth Avenue, Greeley, Col.,
80611; Landmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, Staffenberg Straße,
66, 7 Stuttgart 1, West Germany. The American society maintains personnel
to translate German documents and tracts into English. A Memnonite ency-
lopedia exists for obtaining information on that group alone (reported
in Pulte 1970).

Comparisons of German Dialects Across Time

3. Regardless of the state of knowledge about the language of the
Volga Germans while they were in Russia, it is necessary to make both a
contemporary and historical inspection of German varieties in Germany,
and to attempt to relate them to features of VG or other American German
dialects.

3.1 Tables 2, 3, and 4 give comparative information on personal
pronouns, sein 'be' and haben 'have.' Old High German (OHG) and PU ex-
amples are from Lockwood (1965). Middle High German (MHG) data is from
Numbers refer to first, second, third person. M. represents masculine
— gender, f. feminine and n. neuter. In OHG and MHG underlined is evidently
stands for a dental fricative that merged with the sound ə in modern times, and ONG ə, viz., in əh denotes a voiceless velar fricative (Lockwood 1965).

The use of mir 'we' (see Table 2) is a common German dialectal form (Gilbert 1976). Its historical development in Yiddish is given in Lockwood (1965) as a result of assimilation in enclitic position to the infinitive haben 'have,' the stages being haben wir → haben wir → haben mir. The last stage represents the contemporary Yiddish forms with mir becoming generalized in all positions. The extension of the VG and OAG du, die and den to third person singular and plural personal pronouns is also a fairly common dialectal characteristic, not found, however, in PG.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ONG</th>
<th>MhG</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>VG</th>
<th>OAG</th>
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<td>du</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>du</td>
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<td>er</td>
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<td>er</td>
<td>er</td>
<td>der</td>
<td>der</td>
<td>he</td>
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<td>die</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>she</td>
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<td>es</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>des</td>
<td>des</td>
<td>it</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>mir</td>
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<td>die</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>tvy</td>
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</table>

TABLE 2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS: NOMINATIVE CASE
### OHG and MGH Paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OHG</th>
<th>MGH</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PG</th>
<th>VG</th>
<th>OAG</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>wissen, sīn, wissen, sein, sei</td>
<td>sein, sei</td>
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<td>Present</td>
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<td>bin</td>
<td>sein</td>
<td>bin</td>
<td>sein</td>
<td>bin</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<td>sein</td>
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<td>sein</td>
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### HABEN Paradigms

<table>
<thead>
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<th>OHG</th>
<th>MGH</th>
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<th>PG</th>
<th>VG</th>
<th>OAG</th>
<th>English</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>haben</td>
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<td>have</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Imperative</td>
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<td>haben</td>
<td>haben</td>
<td>haben</td>
<td>haben</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*VG has preserved MGH contracted forms of OHG verbs to a great extent (see Tables 3 and 4). VG infinitival forms for both sein and haben are used for first person singular as well as for expected first and third persons plural. Some vocalic and consonantal patterns overlap among the three American German dialects represented.*

*In the *haben* paradigm, OHG first person singular *hat* as in (47) and...*
- imperative hal(t) as in (48), (49) possibly represent some type of analogic change or phonological merger between certain forms of the verbs 'have' (SG haben) and 'hold, keep' (SG halten).

47. Ich hal Durst.  
'I am thirsty.' (Literally 'I have thirst.')

48. No hal a guter Zeit.  
'Have a good time.'

49. Blah hal t a Wohl hungerig.  
'Just be hungry a while.'

Such a merger between forms of haben and halten seems unlikely in VG, however, in view of imperative hal as in (50) which is differentiated from the imperative hal as in (51).

50. Hal der Schnappaye.  
'Have a little nip of Schnaps.'

51. Hal dei Durst.  
'Hold your thirst.'

In the sein paradigm it is possible that EAG first person singular bi as in (52) and imperative bi as in (53) reflect English interference, especially since these forms are homophonous with 'be.' Contrast the alternate OAG imperative in (54).

52. Ich bi gescheit.  
'I am smart.'

53. bi still.  
'Be quiet.'
English interference is perhaps unlikely because it seems that Standard English 'I an' rather than nonstandard 'I be' would have been a causal factor. Nevertheless, members of the OAG community, when speaking English informally, often use nonstandard 'be,' for example, for third person singular present, i.e., 'she be...'. Actually it is possible that among such bilinguals a German sein form, Ml, is affecting the Standard English 'be' paradigm and not the converse. A VG first person singular counterpart follows as (55) and an imperative as (56).

55. Ich sein mich.
'I am smart.'

56. Sei ruhig.
'Be quiet.'

Source of Kansas Volga German

3.2 Various phonological and lexical characteristics of VG appear in several parts of Germany. According to Benisch (1968) the lower Rhine area contains a number of diminutive suffixes, e.g., -ke, -ko and -cke, the first of which is in VG. Yet VG also has -sche which differs, for example, from PC -che (Lockwood 1965). Dialectal use of not 'not' in VG nicht stretches from the Rhine eastward across Germany in numerous areas such as around Fulda (Reichhardt 1976) and Dresden (Borschera 1929). Both VG and PG negation is expressed by nicht instead of nicht.

Unrounded diphthongs such as in VG and PG Peter 'fire', Leit 'people', mit 'now', mein 'nine' (as opposed to SG Bauer, Leute, neu,
are not uncommon in German dialects and certainly can be found on the lower Rhine on all sides of Wiesbaden (Wagner 1927). Neither VG nor FG has affricated \( \tilde{p} \), e.g., SG Äpfel 'apple' becomes Äbbel; the plural for SG Äpfel is Äbbel. (VG proper names Pfeifer, Frankenstiehl, as well as Pfeffer 'pepper' are pronounced with unaspirated \( p \).) Earlier Franconian-dominated High German dialects of the Palatinate on the lower Rhine evidently resisted \( p \)-affricitization longer than any other area. The written record shows unaspirated \( p \) as late as near the end of the ninth century (Lockwood 1965). Perhaps such resistance to \( p \)-affricitization also resulted in early deaffricitization of emigrant groups as evidenced in VG and FG. For other characteristics of the speech of that area, refer to Bohner (1909).

In view of the many similarities between VG and FG one might hypothesize a similar origin for both. Indeed, the Palatinate has been given as a source for these two varieties; for VG by Dreiling (1926) and for FG by Klees (1958). However, there are two places in Germany to which the name Palatinate might be attributed: Rheinfalz or the Rhinish Palatinate and Oberpfalz or the Upper (eastern) Palatinate. The former is situated roughly between Saarland and Baden on the lower Rhine and the latter lies in the Danube area around Regensburg. During the time of the old German Empire (Holy Roman Empire) these at times constituted a single Palatinate state governed by counts Palatine. Since then both the Rhine Palatinate and Upper Palatinate, and the adjacent parts of the old Swabian duchy as well, generally have been political districts of Bavaria.
It has been established (Laird 1970) that PG originated mainly in the eastern Palatinate, with limited Swiss German as the secondary source (Klees 1958). There are phonological similarities between PG and VG, such as *sp 'on' vs. standard *

'stone,' unpré, or unpré *under' vs. standard *unter, and Strem 'street' vs. standard *Strasse.

Other similarities have been presented. Nevertheless, in view of salient differences between PG and VG such as among the personal pronouns (see Table 2.) and the variant verb morphophonemics (see Tables 3 and 4.) and phonological differences such as PG *Hand 'hand' vs. VG, *Hotl and PG *Alleq 'everything' vs. VG, SG *Alleq, it is clear that the eastern Palatinate could not be designated as the principal source of VG as authoritatively as it has been for PG.

It is probable that VG origins were somewhat more widespread than were those of PG. There is no doubt that dialect leveling occurred in VG, most probably resulting in a koep. Dreiling (1926) reported that VG closely resembled the speech of the Palatinate and Bavaria, and noted that examples of *g in words such as *ftem 'stand', *Wiefen 'wheat' could still be found pronounced as *g, *g, *g, *g in the different Ellis and Rush County villages. (His precise phonetic transcription are undefined.) He also noted that words obsolete elsewhere, such as *bloqie (SG *bloqe 'imbecile, weak-sighted') in the sense of 'timid' were still used.

In addition to evidence previously presented which points to a lower Rhine, perhaps a Rhine Palatinate, primary source area for VG, relevant support for secondary Bavarian roots may be added on the basis
of proper names. Behaghel (1915) indicated that derivatives of OHG proper names were made for offspring, e.g., in Bavaria the suffix -inger could be added to Karl, resulting in die Karoling or 'the descendants of Karl' and -ing could be joined to Henne (shortened form of Heinrich), producing Henning or 'son of Heinrich.' Opposite Bavarian -inger, -ig were Alemnic (Swiss) -ingen (These two groups were separated by the river Lech.). In like manner, -ungen designated Thuringian and Hessian, -heim Middle Franconian, and -ler Middle and Low German. Too much time has passed and too many novenents of people have occurred to justify formulating a hypothesis of the origin of VG speakers on this basis, but there are a number of VG proper names ending in -inger and -ing to the exclusion of the others, i.e., Wasinger, Billinger, Dreiling, Dening.

Reduction of the definite article das (SG neuter das 'the') to 'e before nouns occurs in Bavaria and Switzerland, at least in written examples (Lockwood 1964). Its presence in Victorian speech may suggest Bavarian roots. Relatively speaking, das reduction is not an Emmeran speech habit. In spite of the VG leveling process referred to previously, some minor differences remain, for example, although there is general agreement on the lexical item Hinkel 'chick- en' for SG Henne, members of the Emmeran and Victoria communities have preferred SG Hahn 'rooster' as opposed to Ginkel in Pleifer, Schoen- chen, Liebenthal.

There is no overwhelming evidence for Bavaria as a whole to be the primary source of VG. Various linguistic differences exist be-
tween many Bavarian dialects and VG. For example, frequent pronunciation of z for VG, SC ζ occurs in Bavaria and Austria, and as has been reported previously, in KG. For example, one notices Bavarian ων 'what' for VG, SC ζων (Lockwood 1965).

Individual VG genealogies or testimonies tend to support the lower Rhine as the motherland of at least some Ellis County residents. Dr. Thomas Weigel from Becherbach, a village southwest of Wiesbaden, between the towns of Bad Kreuznach and Idar-Oberstein, participated in the trek to Russia. His Weigel descendents were among the founders of both Ramer and Herzog, that is, present day Victoria (Jeefer and Hall 1976). According to Joseph Denning, son of Prudentius and grandson of Joseph I., one of the founders of Rameran (both were well-educated and literate in Standard German.), this family's pre-Russia homeland had been Alsace-Lorraine, a region of German populace (now controlled by France) adjoining the Rhenish Palatinate and Baden.

Gilbert (1976) also pointed to the Southwest of Germany (Swabia) as the starting point for a majority of ancestors of Ellis and Rush County Veiga German settlers. He utilized evidence such as regionalisms (in Germany) that were widely used in Ellis County, e.g., the verb schaffen 'make' for SG arbeiten, to support this view.

Dialectal information presented here is fully in accord with Gilbert's conclusion that VG speakers' forebears were from the Southwest of Germany. With regard to Swabia in particular, there is currently no reason not to consider it a secondary or even a primary source of the VG in Ellis and Rush Counties. Swabian and Rhine Palatinate
citizens share some of the same territory. West Bavarian districts (which would exclude the eastern Palatinate) are essentially Swabian: Baden, Hessen and Württemberg. As has been noted previously, the Rhenish Palatinate has frequently been included in the same governance.

4. Concluding remarks will be made regarding some communities in or near Ellis and Rush Counties which appear to be promising to the potential researcher, and several of which have a direct or indirect bearing on VC.

Munjoy (Ellis County) is perhaps the most challenging of all VC communities to the linguist because of French lexical items in its dialect. Hypotheses have shown a resemblance to Bavarian, Württemberg and Baden speech, and possibly a source farther west into French territory, but thus far no positive individual identification has been made. In Russia, Obermonjou, from which most Munjoyites emigrated, was named after a French commissioner, Otto de Munjoy, whose task was to help lay out Volga villages and attract French immigrants. We spoke German and became the leader of the German group that founded Obermonjou. There were a few French settlements in the Volga region, but this fact is apparently unrelated to Munjoy's linguistic record (Theezer and Drelling 1966).

A good place for the researcher on Munjoy (earlier spelled "Obermonjour") to begin would be Meyer (1976) in which a rigorously prepared historical resume is presented, including genealogical information that bridges emigration from Obermonjou, Kerzg and Marienthal to Munjoy and its satellite community, Antonino. Information about the Bavarian Capuchin Franciscan friars who have served the two parishes (and all those of
the speech island) is also contained in this centennial monograph.

Schoenechen (Ellis County), founded in 1876, expanded rather quickly, drawing citizens from Munjor, Pfeifer and Liebenthal, and in 1926 drew up plans for the construction of a high school which only Herweg (Victoria) had hitherto accomplished. Worthwhile linguistic research could be done here, especially with regard to comparisons of locally leveled dialectal features with dialectal forms in the three sister villages.

St. Peter (Graham County), established in 1896, is the most mixed VG community, having been populated by families from various villages of Ellis County. Dialectal leveling and comparisons with Ellis and Rush County varieties would be of prime interest here. And as in any VG community, a variety of sociolinguistic topics could be pursued, including aspects of English interference.

Trage Center (Trage County) consists of Russian-German Lutherans. Basic research needs to be done here.

Bukovina Lutheran Germans settled in northwest Ellis County and now reside mainly in Ellis City. VG speakers have generally referred to them as Austrian (Austrian) although they also referred to the few Moravian and Bohemian Catholics who settled in Ellis County by the same term. The Austrian Empire had included Slavic and other areas and many German settlers have come from them. This is especially true for Moravia and Bohemia, now parts of Czechoslovakia. Bukovina, whose north portion has been joined to the Ukrainian SSR, is situated in Romania.

Colley (Trage County) is largely a Catholic Russian-German community that refers to itself as Odemare, evidently because it originated
In the German enclaves at Odessa, a Russian port on the Black Sea, Cellerites call their Volga German neighbors Samarinche, which must refer to the Russian city, Samara, on the Volga north of the German settlements there.

Ötling (Barton County) was settled principally by Catholic Austrians, beginning in 1874 with Moravians (Leunissen 1954) and later reportedly by settlers from a village near Vienna. A sprinkling of Catholic Germans from Bohemia, Bavaria, Luxemburg and the Volga in Russia has been added and some internarrriage has occurred. Diachronic and synchronic linguistic research should be done here. Refer to Kornung and Böttinger (1950) for information on Austrian dialects.

Quinter (Dove County) is mainly a Pennsylvania German (Church of the Brethren or Dunkard) community. Various types of comparative and sociolinguistic studies could be done here, as in each of these communities.

As new general information that is only now becoming available is winnowed, and as more specific work such as on genealogies progresses, conclusions about the linguistic history, current social status and Kansas features of WG can be refined. Hopefully, additional research in Ellis and Rush Counties along the guidelines presented earlier by Gilbert (1976) will be forthcoming from linguistics scholars.
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