Substratum Language Interference: the Effects of Pennsylvania German on the Syntax of

the American English Spoken within Southeastern Pennsylvania

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1.0 Abstract

This paper examines the Pennsylvania German language from its origins in Germany to
its settlement in the Susquehanna River Valley. The dialect leveling process is examined
in order to provide the framework for understanding the current language situation.
Because no new data is presented within this paper, an evaluation of three studies
provides most of the data. For the purposes of a thorough and consistent analysis, four
criteria have been developed. These points are detailed and then applied to each of the
three studies.

2.0 Intro

Starting as early as the late 17th century, German emigrants brought to the New World

their culture, religion and language(s). Mostly settling in the Eastern part of

Pennsylvania and spreading throughout the fertile land of Central PA, these immigrants

were often the first Europeans to settle there. Those who settled in this part of

Pennsylvania, particularly the Susquehanna River Valley and surrounding areas, came

from the Rhein River Valley. The original German immigrants came from cities such as

Stuttgart, Mannheim, Frankfurt, and Karlsruhe.

The first German settlement in America was Germantown in 1683. Until about the year

1789, most of the German immigrants settled in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia.

Later, large numbers of German settlers moved into the valleys north of the Blue

Mountain and along the Susquehanna River. As the German-speaking population of

Pennsylvania moved away from the urban area of Philadelphia and to the rural sections of

Eastern and Central PA, the peoples began to mix. Immigrants from several different

areas of Germany, with several different dialects, were now in close proximity to each

other. These various German dialects were also interacting with English. Within this

general area of southeastern Pennsylvania, there was a fairly even ratio of German

speakers to English speakers (Seifert, 1971).

Albert Buffington, a notable Pennsylvania German scholar, explains the results of

German and English existing within such close contact: "these German immigrants

[mainly from the Rheinish Palatinate] spoke the German dialects peculiar to the sections

from which they came. However, in the course of a few generations, there developed

from these several German dialects a new German dialect, in which, these several

dialects were blended, but in which the speech of the Palatinate, especially that of the

eastern half of the Palatinate, predominated" (Buffington, 1942). Buffington has

provided a definition of dialect leveling as it occurred in the Pennsylvania-German

speaking area.

The resulting language did not remain solely in Pennsylvania. Suitable farmland brought

the peoples and their language as far south as Kansas and as far north as Ontario, Canada.

The language will be referred to as Pennsylvania German and abbreviated PaG

throughout this paper. Variations of Pennsylvania German are spoken in these various

locations, yet they all exist under the classification of PaG, regardless of current location.

It is the goal of this paper to examine the effects, if any, of languages existing in the same

geographical location for about 300 years. Those two languages are Pennsylvania

German (PaG) and American English (AmE). Specially, this paper will examine the

language contact situation to determine the presence of substratum interference from PaG

to AmE on a syntactic level. In an effort to determine the amount of interference, an

extensive review of the current data available will be reported. No new data will be

presented. The language situation in southeastern Pennsylvania, both past and present

will also be detailed. The main focus of this paper will be an analysis of three other

studies on the effects of PaG on AmE.

3.0 Background

3.1 Germany

Buffington specifies the Rhenish Palatinate (a.k.a. Rheinland Pfalz), Hessen, and Baden-

Württemberg as the original sources of German-American population (Buffington, 1970).

This area in question is not a very large area. Described as a 20km radius around the city

of Mannheim, this area encompasses political, natural and linguistic boundaries.
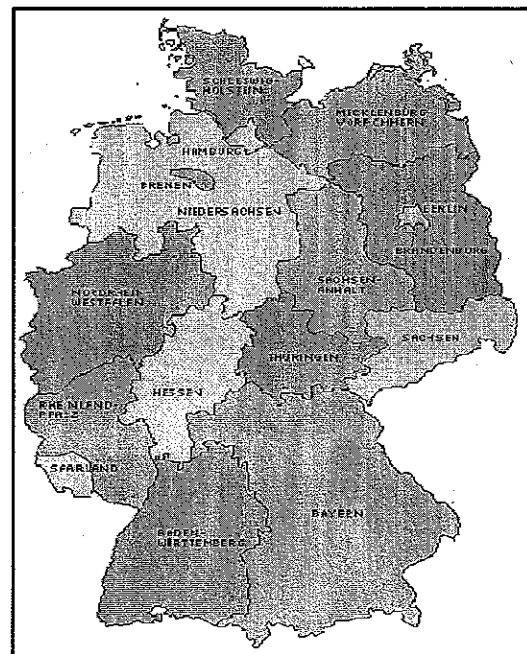
Geographically, the area sits on the edges of three federal states of Germany: Hessen,

Rheinland-Pfalz and Baden-Württemberg. The Rhein River is the natural boundary

between the eastern border of the Rheinland-Pfalz and the western side of Hessen[1]. It

also serves as the natural barrier along the northwest boundary of Baden-Württemberg

and Rheinland Pfalz. Mannheim itself is situated along the Rhein River. The fertile river

basin on both sides of the river defines the area as farmland. The Rhein also illustrates a

similarity in the point of departure in Germany and the site of arrival in Pennsylvania:

along the Susquehanna River Valley. The metropolis of Frankfurt am Main provides a

marker to the north of the area, where industry is heavy. The Schwarzwald, a dense

forest with a language variety of its own, provides the landmark for the southern limit of

the area.

The German dialects native to these areas mostly fall along geographical or natural

boundaries. The Ostfränkisch dialect is spoken in a large space to the east of Mannheim:

it encompasses the River Main from west of Würzburg up to the source of the river,

around Meiningen. The dialect area ends just north of the former border between East

and West Germany around Hirshberg, then continues west to the cities of Gunzenhausen

and Ansback and east to Crailsheim and Heilbronn, which lie in the northern area of

Baden-Württemberg.

The Hessisch dialect is spoken within the confines of the political border of the state.

One of the subdivisions of the dialect, Südhessisch, has been classified by Wiesinger

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[1] See map on following page

(1980) as a part of a larger Rheinfränkisch dialect area. This, the largest contiguous area in which the Rheinfränkisch dialect is spoken lies on the eastern side of the Rhein River. This is the eastern piece of the political boundary of the Rheinland-Pfalz. The area extends north to Mannheim and south until it runs into the Schwarzwald, in northern Baden-Württemberg.

Mittelfränkisch is spoken along the western side of the Rhein River, between the Rhein and Germany's border with France, Luxemburg, and Belgium. The dialect area extends as north as Köln and Düsseldorf and as south as Saarbrücken. However, the urbanized industrial centers are not part of the Mittelfränkisch speaking patterns. The area is commonly referenced as the Rheinland sections of Nordrhein-Westfallen and Rheinland-Pfalz.[2]

Although the area surrounding and encompassing Mannheim is not extensive, there are several linguistic divisions in this area. It is important to note that the German emigrants came to America speaking various dialects of the Standard German. Reed and Seifert (1954) have done extensive dialect mapping within the PaG speaking area and have matched certain PaG features with their correspondents in Germany. These older mappings help to illustrate the changes within the PaG dialect. Indeed, several language features have receded, mutual intelligibility has increased, and many of the former variants within the dialect no longer exist. These points help give credence to a dialect leveling process, which occurred in the late 19th century.

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[2] See maps in Appendix

3.2 Pennsylvania

William Penn founded the first German settlements in America in the 1680s.
Philadelphia and a smaller settlement, called Germantown, were composed of asylum
seekers emigrating from Europe. Various religious sects seeking freedom from
persecution joined Penn and the Quaker movement in coming to America. Mennonites
and Amish were among the first settlers to America from the German-speaking world.
During the start of the 18th century, the number of German immigrants greatly increased.
Since then, there has been a continuous decline in the numbers. Below is a brief look at
the numbers since 1790:

- 1790 = 150,000 speakers and 1/3 of the state population (Moelleken 1983)
- 1900 = 750,000 speakers in US; 600,000 in PA (Moelleken 1983)
- From 1830 to 1930, German immigrants totaled almost 6 million people, over 15% of the total number of immigrants to the USA (Van Schneidemesser 2002)
- 1980 = 68,800 self-identified PaG speakers in PA, with 47,988 speakinthe language at home (Bausch 1997)
- 1990 = 47,988 PaG speakers in PA (Bausch 1997)

Pennsylvania stands as the largest contiguous area in which PaG is spoken. Buffington

Pennsylvania German Speech Areas — Pennsylvanisch-Deutsche Sprachräume G
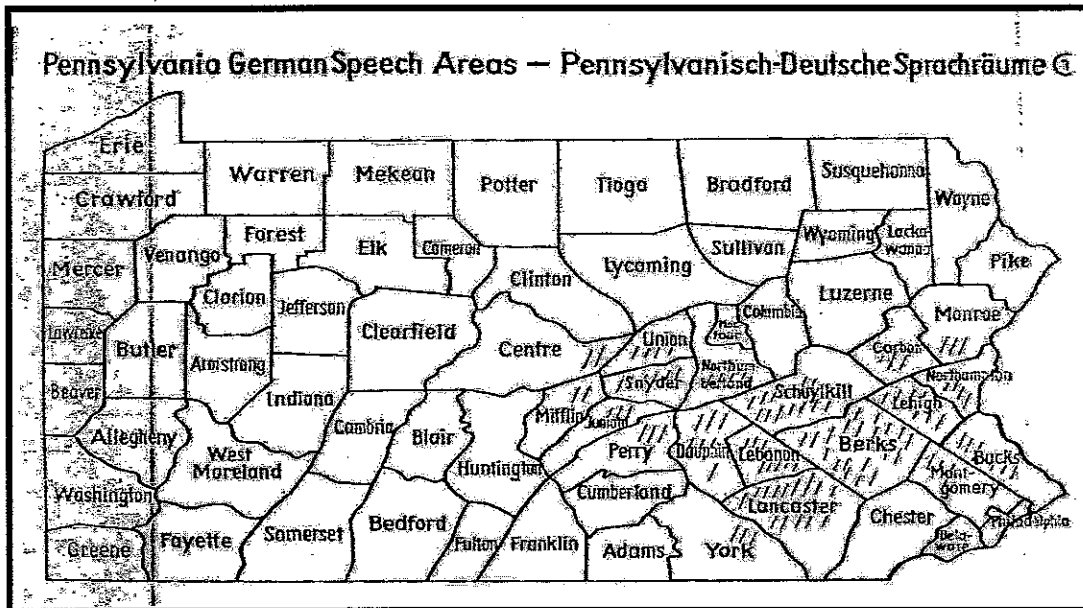
describes the language area: "The area over which PaG is spoken comprises almost one

third of the total land area of the state of Pa. The most distinctively PaG counties are:

Berks, Bucks, Carbon, Dauphin, Lebanon, Lehigh, Lancaster, Monroe, Montgomery,

Northampton, Northumberland, Schuylkill, Snyder, and York. These counties alone

cover an area of more than 8000 sq miles and have a population of more than one and a

quarter million. PaG is also spoken in certain parts of the states of Maryland, Delaware,

North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Kansas,

North Dakota, Oregon, and in Perth and Waterloo counties, Ontario, Canada"

(Buffington 1951).

The southern 2/3 of Pennsylvania belongs to the Midland dialect along with other states

south of New York such as New Jersey and Maryland[3]. The Midland dialect boundary

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[3] See Appendix E

falls slightly within the state border between Pennsylvania and New York. Both Erie and

Scranton are included in the Northern dialect area, whereas anything south of those,

including Lewisburg, Bloomsburg, Youngstown, and Clarion are all considered part of

the Midland dialect. The dialect as a whole extends south to Maryland and part of

Delaware. As one travels west, the dialect encompasses more and more of the south:

West Virginia, parts of Virginia and the western potions of the Carolinas are all included

in the Midland dialect. The Southern dialect picks up where the Midland leaves off in the

Carolinas, Virginia, and all of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.

Within the confines of the larger dialect area, the Midland dialect is broken down into

two smaller sections: Northern Midland and Southern Midland. The Northern Midland

dialect is broken down into smaller subsections still. According to Carver's

classifications[4], the area examined within this paper is the Susquehanna (River) Valley.

Geographically, this section is characterized by having very fertile farmland, as it is

situated between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers. The Blue Mountains border the

area to the north. This rural section is located far enough away from the urban centers of

Philadelphia and Pittsburgh to resist patterns of standardization associated with urban

environments. It is important to note that Carver divides the various dialect areas on a

lexical basis. The dialect area of the Susquehanna River Valley is based on lexical

isoglosses and boundaries. Although I wish to show evidence for this variation of AmE

on a syntactic basis, lexicality is most common in distinguishing dialect boundaries.

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[4] see Appendix E

The linguistic subgroup of the northern Midland dialect comprises York, Lancaster, Dauphin, Lehigh, Snyder, Berks, Lebanon, Northumberland, and Schuylkill counties. The area is referred to as the Susquehanna River Valley. This area is marked by very fertile soil and an abundance of farmlands. The west and northwest boundary of the area is the Blue Mountain Range; the Lehigh River forms the eastern boundary. The Mason-Dixon Line is the southern border. This area contains language usage different than that of the Delaware River Valley to the east and the Pittsburgh area to the west. The language differences are thought to be the result of a language contact situation between PaG and AmE. The division of the Susquehanna Valley dialect area illustrates the difference in language usage in this area versus that from elsewhere within the Midland Dialect reaches. The difference in the Susquehanna Valley is thought to be attributable to the influence of PaG on the AmE of the area (Peters and Swan 1983: 153). This division is the main topic to be addressed within the scope of this paper.

3.3 PaG Language development

The first topic to address is the name given to the language spoken within this area of the country. The general public, some scholars, as well as many of the speakers, often refer to this language as Pennsylvania Dutch or simply Dutch. The latter is a corruption of the German immigrants' word for their own language: *Dutsch*. In this area, Dutch does not refer to the language of the Netherlands, *Dutch*. In an attempt at clarification, many refer to the language as Pennsylvania German [or PaG]. However the speakers refer to themselves and their language as Pennsylvania Dutch. The literature on this topic is considerable.

Previously established within this paper is that the German emigrants came to America with their various dialects. After arrival and settlement in the area, the dialects went through a process of becoming mutually intelligible.

3.3.1 Dialect Leveling

In Pennsylvania, a unique variety of German developed. In his *Sprachreport* article, Bausch describes the process as such:

"Die Einwander sprechen . . [die] Dialekt ihrer Heimat. Im täglichen Umgang miteinander bildete sich mit der Zeit eine allen verständliche Umgangssprache heraus. Amerikaner nennen sie: Pennsylvnia Deutch, die Sprache selbst." (Bausch, 1997).

"The immigrants speak the dialect of their homeland. In daily contact with each other, they built, in time, a mutually intelligible dialect. The Americans called this dialect itself: Pennsylvania Dutch."[5]

The process of dialect leveling is not unique to Pennsylvania. However, the language situation in Pennsylvania in the colonial period does exist as a classic example. Buffington describes the process as such: "It is to be assumed that originally these German settlers in Pennsylvania did not all speak the same dialect but used for their everyday discourse the dialects which were peculiar to the sections whence they came. However, in the course of time these various Middle and South German dialects passed through a leveling and blending process . . . popularly referred to as "Pennsylvania

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[5] translated by M. Hoyt

Dutch" (1970). Pennsylvania German dialect has influences from several different dialects, yet resembles the Palatinate dialect most closely, as it is the source of the majority of the German settlers.

Raith (1992:14) proposes his own hypothesis of the development and leveling of PaG. He hypothesizes that instead of a mixing and blending of dialects, one single dialect gained the upper hand when all the various dialects came into contact with one another in the colonial settlement. All the other dialects adjusted to the main features of the predominant dialect to more or less completely align speech with that one dialect. In the case of Pennsylvania German, Raith suggests that the Palatinate dialect was the strongest, and present-day speech of the PaG is very reminiscent of the dialect. Despite the various theories, it is still unclear the amount of influence each dialect had on the resulting PaG dialect.

Countering Raith's point that the Palatinate dialects dominated the PaG language development, Buffington supports a more balanced view of role of the involved dialects. He depicts the PaG language as having multiple spoken forms. Traces of the original German regional differences can be found in PaG. A PaG speaker from York or Lancaster Counties often has slightly different verb forms and lexical items than a speaker from Lehigh County. These differences can be seen in the work of Seifert and Reed (1954), and a sample map has been included in Appendix D. Due to the large amount of borrowing from the Palatinate dialect, PaG is classified as a dialect of High German, of the Palatinate variety.

Although dialect leveling accounts for a large amount of the linguistic anomalies found within language usage of these communities, there is another factor to consider: the influence of English. When the early German settlers first arrived in Pennsylvania, they met many new objects and concepts for which there were no words in their German dialects: *pie, township, county, bushel*, etc. When new and distinctively American objects were referred to, the German settlers usually borrowed the English term and subjected it to the phonemic and morphological patterns of the native word (Buffington, 1970: 94).

By the 20th century, the various dialects had mingled and blended enough to form one dialect, Pennsylvania German. The dialect is described as such: "a German dialect, which, with the exception of certain Alemannic peculiarities in the morphology and vocabulary, and the numerous evidences of English influence in the syntax and vocabulary, resembles most closely the dialects spoken in the eastern half of the [Rheinland-Pfalz]" (Buffington, 1942). Buffington does not elaborate.

3.4 Sectarians

There are two particular religious denominations, Amish and Mennonite, whose presence in this area deserves elaboration. The Amish and Mennonite peoples traveled north from Germany and followed Penn's Quaker movement across the ocean to America to avoid religious persecution. The Amish and Mennonites today still follow many of the same religious principles as the original immigrants. They are referred to as Old Order Amish

and Old Order Mennonite (OOA and OOM, respectively). More reformed religious and cultural groupings do exist.

The basic tenets of these religions specify for a plain type of lifestyle, including dress, food, work, and education. Simplification of lifestyle has traditionally been interpreted as an avoidance of technology. Mostly farmers, the Old Order Amish and Mennonites awake at sunrise to plough fields and build houses and barns. Their clothing is characterized by plain dresses, pants and tunics and is made by hand. The church and church community stand as the core of the Amish existence; outsiders are not usually welcome. Amish and Mennonite groups exist as closed-order sects. Education is also contained within the community and children attending school part-time only until the 8th grade. After that, they are confirmed in the church and assume adult responsibilities.

Rarely do these closed order sects associate with those outside their community. Because of the secluded nature of these religious groups, the Old Order Amish and Mennonite communities (sometimes referred to as Sectarians) are immersed in their own language. Church services are conducted in a variety of Pennsylvania German that is closer to Standard German than the spoken varieties of the non-closed-order sects. The language commonly spoken outside of church is a variant of PaG similar to that of non-Amish and Mennonites. Most speakers are considered bilingual in PaG and AmE.

The language situation of the Amish and Mennonites has been described as stable bilingualism. There are prescriptive uses of the different language forms: The PaG used

in church services has a completely different function than conversational PaG, or even the times when AmE is spoken. Switching between these dialects rarely happens in conversation. Furthermore, since these orders are closed to outsiders. The languages have resisted changes as reflected in the usage of those in other parts of the Midland dialect area.

The language situation of the OOA and the OOM is sometimes referred to as diglossic. A high form of PaG is used in religious ceremonies. This form resembles Standard German and probably came over with the clergymen and religious texts from Germany. This form of the language is not used in conversation. There is a more vernacular form of PaG that the OOA and OOM use to converse. Most also have some degree of mastery of AmE. The diglossic situation refers to different forms of PaG used for different functions. A higher form of PaG is used for the religious functions, and a lower form is used in daily conversation. The usage and maintenance of AmE along with PaG would be bilingualism and not diglossia.

The languages of the Amish and Mennonites were not included in the generalized leveling process that took place across the Susquehanna River Valley. In this paper, the languages of the OOA and the OOM will not be discussed. According to Moelleken, "since PaG is used by a variety of speakers from socio-religious and cultural groups, comments on language shift in PaG without reference to the exact speech community to which they pertain cannot do justice to the actual language situation" (Moelleken 1983:173). An examination of the language situation of the sectarians (OOA and OOM)

would not be applicable to the language situation of those who live outside of those religious communities.

4.0 Current language situation

The leveling process has been stable for over 200 years, providing a fairly established dialect. Despite the fact that the PaG community has continued to use the language without interruption for a significant period of time, the number of native PaG speakers is diminishing. This creates a situation of language attrition. Because of the proximity of PaG and AmE, it is necessary to examine other issues of language contact linguistics as well.

Throughout the history of the PaG language, both PaG and AmE have existed side by side. Social circumstances have made it necessary for PaG speakers in the area to have some knowledge of AmE since the beginning of the settlement. The number of bilingual speakers and emphasis on English education has only grown over time; some scholars predict the death of PaG in the next few years due to the overwhelming push to English within the area.

If and when PaG disappears, what impact will it leave in the Susquehanna River Valley? Remnants of the culture will persist: cultural icons like hex signs, quilts, potato salad and fastnachts. Language must be understood as an inherent part of a culture and ethnicity. Ethnicity, as Huffines discusses in her 1984 study, is one reason for a continued interference between the two languages. Speakers use language as a marker of cultural

groups, beliefs and origin. Studies have shown that there are bilingual speakers who, in close contact with speakers of their L2, show more L1 borrowings than the bilingual speakers who are not so frequently in contact with L2s. This tendency of marking speech for a certain ethnicity illustrates the connection between language and culture. Other factors potentially involved in the survival of PaG include bilingual speakers and the duration of the contact period between PaG and AmE.

The declining number of PaG speakers makes it all the more pertinent to address issues of language contact immediately. In anticipation of the possible decay or death of PaG, it is a valid point to determine what amount of substratum influence exists. Also worth noting is how durable that interference is. That is, will the effects of this language contact situation still be apparent in the language even after PaG is no longer natively spoken? Looking on a non-segmental level might give an indication of how deep the influence exists while also providing some clues as to the nature of the linguistic contact between the two languages. Since segmental features are easily acquired and represent the initial signs of language contact, they would not be the best indicator for prolonged and extensive interference. Huffines describes borrowing on a lexical level "the most obvious of linguistic convergent behaviors and it is common in all instances of language contact," (1988: 59). Therefore, if the grammatical core of a language were altered, i.e. syntactic constructions, that would perhaps explain more about the contact experience. The similarities between PaG and AmE necessitate a disclaimer for the scholar investigating this topic. The lexical similarities might be reminiscent of an older English word form rather than of loan from PaG. In order to determine if a significant amount of

influence has occurred during the history of language contact between PaG and AmE, a careful examination of the linguistic circumstances is in order.

5.0 Reasons for study/ Previous studies

A discrepancy seems to exist within the linguistic community regarding the contact situation between PaG and AmE. Some linguists categorize the language situation as a textbook case of substratum influence. There are those who claim that interference exists on a more superficial level; they predict that when the PaG dialect dies, the interference patterns of PaG on English will cease. Dillard, for example, is one linguist who categorizes the relationship between AmE and PaG as that of a substratum relationship: PaG speakers speak a heavily German-influenced English, even though many of them know no English (Enninger: Sprachwandel 1987:105). He maintains that the substratum influences are so well established, the PaG influences on AmE will survive long after the PaG dialect has died out. There is no evidence to show that the AmE of this area is evolving to resemble any of the other subdivisions within the Midland dialect boundary. The form of AmE spoken in the Susquehanna River Valley is stable. Therefore, whatever influence PaG has had on the AmE of the area, will not diminish. The AmE spoken within southeastern Pennsylvania does not seem to be affected by the diminishing use of PaG.

On the other hand, Shields (1985) and Huffines seem to be in agreement regarding a minimal amount of current influence of PaG on AmE. In her 1984 study, Huffines compares previous amounts of influence of PaG on AmE - especially in terms of lexical

items - with present levels of borrowing. She maintains that in the past, English appears

to have been subject to heavier interference than it is at present. The influence from PaG

to English seems to be receding. She gathers this by examining the decreasing amount of

loans and loan understanding among younger generations. Ultimately Huffines states

that, as PaG recedes, with it goes the influence it has had on AmE in the area.

Huffines claims that the following are the main reasons for lack of PaG influence on

AmE:

1. Fluent Speakers (L1 speakers of PaG) are elderly.

2. Younger generation is acquiring PaG as a L2 with varying proficiency.

3. Non-sectarians are speaking PaG less and less (or not at all). ·

4. The majority of those who claim to speak PaG are actually L1 speakers of AmE.

These reasons would account for a reduced influence between the two languages. These

points do not address the level of substratum interference that has previously taken place.

As indicated by the above reasoning, Huffines assumes that the majority of interference

happens with bilingual speakers. Further study is necessary in determining whether

interference between two languages in contact is limited to the time in which they are

natively spoken.

Because of the proximity of AmE and PaG, one must be especially careful when

comparing the two languages. Therefore a thorough investigation of each study must be

made in order to understand procedural and observational nuances.

In order to effectively determine if there has been lasting interference of PaG on the AmE

spoken within the area, I have suggested a set of criteria that should be addressed within

every study so that consistency can be maintained and comparisons can be made.

6.0 Procedure

I wish to determine the amount of syntactic interference of PaG on AmE within the

language of the native AmE speakers within the PaG speaking area, that is, southeastern

Pennsylvania. In order to do so, I propose four specific criteria:

- Use native, L1, non-sectarian, monolingual speakers of AmE.

Within some of the previous studies, many of the native L1 speakers of AmE are

bilingual in PaG. This does not accurately represent the status of language for the

majority of AmE speakers within this area. Language contact has different

manifestations when considering a bilingual population, rather than just two languages in

close proximity. This does not exclude the possibility that bilingual speakers are a source

for language contact and the current language situation. However, in examining the

previous influence of PaG on present-day AmE, monolingual AmE speakers would be

preferable. These L1 AmE speakers should not be of the Amish or Mennonite religious

communities. It would be counterintuitive to use sectarian informants for this study when

such little contact occurred outside of the religious communities.

- The language feature in question must be examined in other AmE dialects.

Before a scholar can claim that a certain feature is indicative of PaG influence, that

scholar needs to examine if it happens elsewhere within the AmE dialect. The feature

may be a dialect occurrence, such as ending a sentence in a preposition (i.e. *where's my*

book at?). In the case of final prepositions, there are instances all over America of this

usage. Therefore it would not be indicative of PaG influence in this case. This example

where's my book at? (provided by author) should be contrasted with the data Huffines

includes on proclitic constructions in PaG and their subsequent use in English.

Discussion of the proclitic construction is continued later in this paper[6].

- Actual usage level of that feature.

Kate Burridge develops this fully in her 1990 study. She points to phrases such as *throw*

the baby from the window a cookie as a common language misconception. She urges the

scholar to consider linguistic stereotypes and language assumptions. Many people

assume these types of constructions are common in the English of PaG speakers. Her

research within a PaG speaking community in Ontario, Canada suggests otherwise.

Therefore, scholars/linguists must be specific about the frequency and contexts in which

the feature occurs. This also helps identify more subtle influence of PaG. For example,

there is evidence that the use of preverbal adverbs like *already* in a post-verbal position

occurs in other dialects of AmE. It is then the frequency at which this feature occurs that

suggests the unique usage for the Susquehanna Valley speech area. This is further

developed in the discussion of Huffines:1984b.

The fourth criterion is:

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[6] further developed on p.38

- Examine if the feature can be traced back to PaG.

Within the speech of AmE speakers in this area, there exists a morphological ending to

the time-marker and adverb 'once'. Often it is manifested in speech as *onest*, or 'once'

with an '-st' ending. In PaG, or StG for that matter, there exists no '-st' ending for

adverbs. The construction is to show one particular point in time, which would be *einmal*

in PaG. Therefore, it is pertinent for a scholar to examine other AmE dialect as well as

the PaG dialect before claiming a feature to be an example of PaG influence.

I then propose these criteria to be included in studies that aim to determine amount and

types of interference of PaG on AmE in the PaG speaking area within southeastern

Pennsylvania.

7.0 Data

In this section, I will examine three studies completed by two authors: Huffines and

Burridge. Specifically, the studies used are Huffines, 1980: English in Contact with

Pennsylvania German; Huffines, 1984: English of the Pennsylvania Germans: A

Reflection of Ethinc Affiliation; and Burridge, 1990: Throw the Baby from the Window a

Cookie: English and Pennsylvania German in Contact. These studies address the

influence of Pennsylvania German on American English syntax to varying degrees.

7.1 Huffines, 1980. English in Contact with Pennsylvania German.

Overview of Study:

The purpose of the study was (1) to identify and describe features characteristic of the

English of PaG speakers; and (2) to correlate linguistic data with relevant sociological

information in view of past studies and recent sociolinguistic theory. In this study,

Huffines assembles a core data set of linguistic features characteristic of the English of

the Pennsylvania Germans. She includes previously reported features as well as newly

found features. These features occur on phonetic, phonological, morphological,

syntactic, and semantic levels.

Procedure of Study:

119 interviews were conducted from 1977-1978 with informants from Lancaster,

Lebanon, Berks, and Lehigh Counties. Of these interviews, 50 were randomly chosen for

the study. Information was gathered on religious affiliation, educational background,

age, sex, and language usage. The religious affiliation of the informants is particularly

important due to the resulting language usage within those religious communities. The

subdivisions of the religious affiliation include 1.) Plain People, also known as Older

Order Amish and Mennonite sects, of which there were 7 people interviewed; 2.) Modern

Plain People, or modern Mennonite and Amish religious orders, of which there were 7

people interviewed; 3.) Other religious PaG speakers, of which there were 27 people

represented; 4.) Non-religious PaG speakers, of which there were 9 people. The term

Plain People is synonymous with the more frequently used term 'sectarians'. The

informants were also sorted into levels of bilingualism on a scale from 1 to 5. The

number 1 represents a regular user of Pennsylvania German, whereas 5 represents a

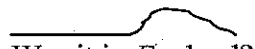monolingual English speaker with no comprehension of PaG. 2 depicts frequent use of

both English and PaG, that is, an equal maintenance of both languages. 3 represents

infrequent use of PaG, although the ability to speak and comprehend must be maintained.

4 describes a speaker's ability to understand PaG but not speak it. The majority of the

informants are bilingual speakers with varying degrees of flexibility between the two

languages. The breakdown is thus: division 1: 9 informants, 2: 13 informants, 3: 14

informants, 4: 10 informants, and 5: 4 informants.

Also worth mentioning are the two control groups Huffines included. The first control

group consists of 12 local non-Pennsylvania Germans. The second control group

contains 5 recent German immigrants. The two control groups added another 17 total

interviews. The recent immigrant control group should illustrate acquisition patterns of

Germans learning English. When compared, the control groups should ideally portray

the unique language situation of the area. However, the first control group is problematic

as a constant. There has been enough documentation to show that the language in the

Susquehanna Valley has its own classification within the Midland dialect. In order to

compare the English of the PaG speakers, Huffines might want to use Standard American

English or a speech pattern from elsewhere within the Midland dialect. This would

provide a more objective basis for comparison. As a side note, the control group

comprising local non-PaG speakers would be the ideal subjects in a study to determine

the goals of this paper: namely, if there is substratum interference of PaG on the syntax of
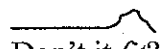
AmE.

Results of Study:

Huffines provides a summary of linguistic features found in the English of the

Pennsylvania Germans noted in previous studies. On a syntactic and intonational level,

those features include falling intonation of yes/no questions. The following examples of

this phenomenon are taken from Huffines; 1984 study:

Was it in *Eng*land?

Don't it *fit*?

Don't you *use* no home remedies?

The Standard English stress is represented by the italicized word in the sentence (e.g.

*Eng*land, *fit* and *use*). The line above the sentence indicates the intonation of the PaG

speakers. In all three of these examples, the PaG stress falls just after the stress of StE

and continues to fall for an undetermined portion after the initial stress.

Other features mentioned are: 'backwards question' as a response indicating incredulity

or surprise (of which there are no examples listed); the use of the present tense for action

begun in the past but continuing in the present, *that's the first time since I'm here* and

we're five years here and *she quilted several ready now since she's here*. There are no

glosses provided for these examples. Buffington (1968) provides a bit more analysis:

many speakers follow the tense system of PaG rather than the standard AmE system.

Action begun in the past but continuing in the present is usually expressed in PaG by the present tense form, in English by the simple perfect or progressive perfect form. In the PaG area, however, speakers often follow the PaG usage when speaking English; for example, *this is the first time he did it **since I'm here*** (instead of *since I've been here*)

Huffines includes a few more features: the use of the preterite to correspond to Standard English perfect aspect, as in *he went already* and *she quilted several* [quilts] *ready now.* There are no glosses for these examples. Also included is the use of *would* in conditional clauses, as in 'he would be here if he would be able to'; and the so-called redundant use of the adverbs *already, still, once, yet.*

The previously listed features did occur in the spontaneous speech samples Huffines collected. However, there was great variance in the number of informants who exhibited the features and the frequency with which they realized those features. Syntactic and intonation features found by Huffines include: the use of the present tense for actions starting in the past and continuing in the present; use of falling intonation in yes/no questions; use of the lexical item *til* to mean "by the time", as in "I hope that changes til tonight".

Study Analysis:

Huffines did not include a count of any of the features detailed within her study. In fact, Huffines does not detail any of the specifics regarding her results. She simply presented a list of features that occur with varying frequency. She does provide a statement saying

that in the analysis of the data, she found no significant correlations with regard to the

non-segmental features. That information would lead one to assume that since the data

presented no clear correlations, the data itself was not presented nor detailed. However,

in the Discussion section of the study, Huffines states:

> "Correlation coefficients were calculated between each of the linguistic variables
>
> and each of the social variables. Most of the correlations were not significant;
>
> however, this kind of negative evidence is useful in questioning some of the tacit
>
> assumptions held to be true about the Pennsylvania German community (362)."

Regardless of the significance, it would be of some benefit to the reader to include a

detailed account of the results.

Conclusions:

Huffines has found evidence to support the claim that there is PaG influence on AmE.

Huffines suggests that the level of PaG proficiency relates to the amount of interference

of PaG in AmE. Huffines' data links proficiency with age, as the younger PaG speakers

are most likely to be monolingual English speakers with limited PaG speaking ability. In

this study, Huffines begins to provide support for her stance on the decreasing influence

of PaG on AmE. If there is more interference of PaG on AmE in the speech of more

proficient speakers, and proficiency is linked with age, then inference is going to

decrease. As the older, more proficient generations die, so too does the high levels of

interference.

Within this study, there is an emphasis placed on bilingualism. "It is not at all clear [that] bilinguals exhibit more PaG features in their English than do the monolingual English speakers. Bilinguals seem to have full control of two separate language codes, whereas the monolingual speaker has only one code which is then subject to interference from the other codes in the environment." With this, Huffines states that bilinguals keep their languages separate and do not let one language influence another language. Therefore, according to Huffines, influence of PaG on AmE must be caused by monolingual PaG speakers. These concepts and ideas are not elaborated.

Evaluation of Huffines' study:

In the beginning of her study, Huffines clarifies the major flaw of previous studies: lack of systematic collection of data. Without a clear, systematic gathering of data, the influence of PaG on AmE, as well as the social distribution and the nature of the contact situation, will remain unclear. This illustrates the importance of the four criteria I previously proposed: whether the linguistic feature is in use among local speakers who do not belong to the Amish or Mennonite religions; whether the linguistic feature in question can be traced to the PaG dialect; if the feature in question appears in any other AmE dialects; and the actual usage levels of the feature. The contact situation Huffines examines in this study is that of bilinguals. She does not explore the more lasting or current effects of the two languages being in close contact.

Most helpful would have been a detailed account of the data, including the data of the control groups. Huffines merely provides a list of syntactic and intonation features that

are present in the AmE of the PaG speakers. She does not explore this data further by examining the correlations in either fluent PaG or other dialects of AmE. Further examples were not given of the linguistic anomalies in English, let alone the counterparts in PaG or AmE. She also does not specifically state the total occurrence of each of these factors. This would not only help address the questions of interference of two languages in contact over a period of time, but also give more support to the study.

7.2 Burridge, 1990. Throw the baby from the window a cookie: English and Pennsylvania German in contact.

Purpose of study:

The purpose of Burridge's study is to confront fictional stereotypes of language usage in a PaG-speaking community in Waterloo, Canada. The study examines interference between PaG and English in a predominately Mennonite society.

Procedure of study:

Burridge tape-recorded her conversations with individuals of various Mennonite orders and with various language skills. There are three basic divisions:

- 10 speakers of Old Order Mennonite persuasion
    o Regularly use PaG within the family, community and work.
    o Infrequent use of English
- 7 speakers of the Traditional Mennonite religion
    o Regular use of both PaG and English
- 7 Progressive Mennonites

  o Regular use of English

  o Retain the ability to speak PaG when or where necessary.

All interviews take place in Waterloo County, Canada. Burridge admits that she places

emphasis on religious conditions instead of placing the emphasis on other aspects of

social setting. In this study, factors such as religious affiliation and ethnicity were more

heavily stressed than age, sex, or educational background.

Results of study:

Burridge writes that the least amount of interference occurs at the lexical level and

therefore investigates the contact situation on a segmental level. Throughout the study,

Burridge continually asserts that there is little to no grammatical interference on English

from PaG. Word order is standard, and there are no examples of the redundant adverb

phenomena like *once*. She does, however, note the frequent use of the adverbs *yet* and

already, which have become sentence-final aspectual markers. Burridge is careful to

note that English speakers in Waterloo County not of PaG heritage also use adverbs as

sentence-final aspect markers. Also found was a greater tendency to place verbal

particles in the final position, as in *I ate my dinner up* versus "I ate up my dinner". This

does follow the pattern for separable prefix verbs within the PaG language. Burridge was

not able to determine whether or not some of the features more frequently appeared in the

English of the Pennsylvania Germans than the standard variety of the area. There was

not a comparison made between the English in this area and the regional English.

Analysis of Study:

Burridge attempts to dispel stereotypes about what she refers to as 'verhoodelt Englisch'.

'Verhoodelt English' is a term employed by PaG speakers to describe the form of English

they speak. It is best translated as corrupt or mongrel English. Burridge explores the

self-propelled image of the Pennsylvania Germans. Certain constructions have "become

part of the shared cultural knowledge of the area, despite the fact that they don't have any

actual basis in reality" (75). The following sentences are Burridge's examples:

> *Throw Father down the stairs his hat once.*
>
> *It wonders me if it don't gif a storm.*
>
> *The faster I go, the behinder I get.*
>
> *Becky lives the hill just a little up.*

Even though Burridge found no speakers who actually use the above constructions, she

did illustrate an important point. One is that the speakers themselves identify with the

aforementioned constructions, even though they are not used in daily speech. The

informants used in this study all belong to the Mennonite religion. Even the more

reformed sects of the Mennonite religion are very community based. There is a strong

sense of cultural attachment within the entire Mennonite religion. Burridge suggests that

features of PaG in the speaker's English is a way of marking identity.

Evaluation of Burridge's study:

Initially it may seem that the Burridge study bears little relevance to the larger goals of

this paper. This study is based in Canada and uses informants of a secular Mennonite

religion instead of being non-secular from Pennsylvania. However, the study raises a

number of points applicable to this paper.

Burridge examines the perpetuated stereotypes about PaG-English. Noting that the speakers themselves accept the 'stereotypical' patterns of their English, Burridge suggests ethnic affiliation might play a role in the contact language situation. One of the main points within this study is to illustrate the complex social features involved with language. Burridge has found generational issues associated with ethnic affiliation and language. PaG-influenced English is a way for the youngest generation, who lack proficiency in the PaG language, to identify with this culture. Ethnic varieties of the dominant language can be "powerful markers of ethnic group belongingness," as Burridge writes.

Issues of acquisition are briefly detailed within this study. PaG is spoken and learned at home, and English is developed at school. This situation would encourage substratum interference from PaG to E. Because this method of language acquisition is common in PaG communities outside of Canada and even in Pennsylvania, these issues can be applied on a broader level. The effects social setting has on language contact is a universal linguistic concern.

Despite the fact that Burridge does not find examples of particular phrases such as *throw the baby from the window a cookie,* she did find many other examples of interference. Burridge mentions the tendency of speakers in this area, regardless of connection with the PaG community, to use adverbs as sentence-final aspectual markers. This is also confirmed in many of Huffines' studies. The fact that non-Pennsylvania Germans also

use adverbs, particularly *yet* and *already,* to mark aspect in the same way as bilingual

PaG speakers, is worthy of further examination. Burridge does not present any specific

data on these informants – other than her introductory remarks on religious affiliation and

language usage. Furthermore, Burridge found evidence for sentence-final particle

placement – something Huffines explores in her 1984 study. Burridge cites the examples

I ate my dinner up versus "I ate up my dinner". She attributes these forms to the

separable prefix verbs found within the PaG language. Since a gloss was provided for the

construction, *I ate my dinner up* versus "I ate up my dinner"; it is to be assumed that the

first construction is not the standard usage for the Midland dialect area. Without

developing usage levels or origin, Burridge does indirectly state that these features are

not Standard English.

One of the most important aspects of Burridge's study is her attempt to find the actual

usage levels of what she calls 'fictional clichés'. Actual usage is something to consider

and present in all academic studies.

7.3 Huffines, 1984b. The English of the Pennsylvania Germans: A Reflection of Ethnic

Affiliation.

Objectives of the Study:

Huffines examines the precept that linguistic assimilation can be measured in terms of

language loyalty. She discusses the linguistic ramifications of ethnicity in both bilingual

and monolingual speech. Bilinguals, having a varying degree of language mastery, can

therefore choose which language to use. A few bilinguals have native mastery of both

languages; however, Huffines describes a non-fluent bilingual population. Within the languages of these bilinguals there is a fair amount of influence from both languages on each other. Either features from the dominant language influence the ethnic language or features from the ethnic language influence the dominant language. Huffines does not develop this any further.

This does paint a more detailed picture of the language contact situation. Not all bilingual speakers are totally exempt from substratum interference, as previously discussed. Perhaps the only bilinguals who do not exhibit influence from one language on another have native mastery of both languages. Huffines suggests here that even though a person maintains two languages, that person might not be a native or fluent speaker of both languages. Therefore, for those bilinguals who do not have fluency in both languages, influence and borrowing can happen within the two languages. This would suggest a much larger population and time frame for language influence.

Even monolingual speakers of the dominant language can mark their speech as an ethnic variety. Dominant language can thus be used to express ethnicity. Ethnicity marking can happen on a larger, community scale as well as on an individual basis. Often, evidence of language loyalty can be seen when an ethnic language comes into contact with a dominant language. This study looks at Pennsylvania German as an ethnic language variety contained within the confines of English as a dominant language. Huffines attempts to describe the role the dominant language plays in the expression of ethnic language affiliation.

Procedure:

Huffines conducted interviews with 50 nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans, 24 men and 26 women, who live in relatively isolated farm valleys of Northumberland, Dauphin and Schuylkill Counties, Pennsylvania. All 7 informants over 60 learned PaG as their mother tongue and English when they went to school. 6 of the 7 informants over the age of 60 chose to only speak English to their children. As in her 1980 study, Huffines creates a 5-point scale to illustrate speaker proficiency. In this scale, 1 is regular use of PaG within family and community and 5 is an inability to understand or speak PaG.

Huffines examines the distributional patterns conditioned by age. She identifies the northern Midland dialect as the standard for which the English of the Pennsylvania Germans was compared.

Huffines includes a description of the location. She depicts Northumberland, Dauphin and Schuylkill Counties as rural and thus escaping some of the standardization effects that take place in the more urban centers such as Allentown, Reading and Lancaster. Despite the rural setting, Huffines has found a decrease in PaG. There is an increased use of English, especially for younger generations of nonsectarians (i.e., those not belonging to the Amish or Mennonite religions).

Results of Study:

Huffines writes in generalities about her findings, despite the fact that she indicates

having calculated distributional patterns for the data. Huffines finds correlations between

age, education and language. She writes that a negative correlation between the use of

PaG and the level of education seems to be very strong. "However," she writes, "When

the non-fluent English speakers are disregarded, the various levels of education are

almost equally represented across usage categories." The age of the informant directly

relates to proficiency in PaG: Huffines represents this result as $r = .73$. She suggests

there is a difference between older and younger speakers of PaG, with regard to syntactic

constructions. Older speakers who use more PaG have more of the nonstandard variants

in their speech.

The following results involve the syntactic and intonation features of the study. Huffines

finds that the frequency of occurrence of the features described below is not associated

with any particular segment of the community.

The findings on preverbal adverbs occurring postverbally:

- "Use of the preverbal adverb *already* following the main verb and its use

  with the preterite:

  I did dry string beans already.

  I made grape wine already.

The use of the perfect tense with *already*, if it occurs, is found in the speech of

younger and more educated Pennsylvania Germans. Three informants with

college educations maintained preverbal word order, but used *already* with the

preterite. Similar use of the preverbal adverbs *once* and *still* postverbally are
associated with speakers with lower levels of education."

Huffines provides two possible glosses for these examples of preverbal adverbs. In her
discussion of the two examples, she includes two other constructions: the use of *already*
with the perfect tense and a preverbal word order, and the use of *already* with the
preterite. Whether these are two glosses for the examples is not made explicitly clear.
The reader is not given enough of the context of the interviews and these responses to be
able to discern if they all share a common semantic meaning.

Findings on aspect:

- "Use of the present tense for activities begun in the past and continuing in
   the present:

   *She quilted several already now since **she's** here.*

   We're five years here.

The use of the present perfect for this aspect, if it occurs, is found in the speech of
younger, more educated Pennsylvania Germans and those who use PaG less."

Upon further investigation by this author, a possible translation would look like: "she has
quilted several [quilts] already now since she's been here" and "we have been here for
five years". In the first example, there are two verbal constructions. The first uses the
simple past for a perfect construction: *she quilted* for "she has quilted". The second uses
'since' as a marker of the present tense being used for 'an action begun in the past but

continuing to the present.' Huffines does not make this clarification, nor does she elaborate any further than what is presented above.

Findings on verb particle positions:

- "Preferential use of verb particles following noun objects or in sentence-final position, even if the predicate is long:

  They used to cut the fat up.

  She puts spareribs in.

  Mabel just puts potatoes and smoked sausage, parsley and regular sausage in.

The Pennsylvania Germans interviewed show an overwhelming preference (78% to 22%) for the placement of verb particles following noun objects. If the verb particles occur immediately following the main verbs, it is found in the speech of those PaG with higher education."

This type of verb particle placement is not unique to this speech area, but instead more frequently places the particle in the final position, compared with other regional dialects.

Findings on proclitic forms:

- "Use of constructions paralleling the PaG usage of proclitic forms *d-* and *dr-* when the object of a preposition is a pronoun referring to an inanimate object; for example, *Er schteht druff.* English has no proclitic and the prepositions occur without an expressed object:

  I don't know if there's any flowers on.

> *Then you have enough salt in.*
>
> *All I remember is the big tub with the meat in.*"

Note that these examples are different than the verb participle placement. The procilite

construction refers to an unexpressed object instead of further completing the verb.

Huffines provided no further analysis for this segment.


Findings on intonation:

- "Use of intonation patterns characteristic of Pennsylvania German English

  contrast with the Midland English of the surrounding area." The falling

  terminal pitch of yes/no questions is an example of that (see previously

  detailed examples) as well as the "rise-rise-fall pattern in which the pitch

  peaks on an unstressed syllable immediately following the sentence stress.

  This pattern is found in all sentence types.

Was she in a *hos*pital then?

I haven't heard much *said* about it.
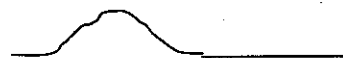
What does Nobbie call it?

Diagrams have been produced by the author based on those found within the text of the

study. The Standard English stress is represented by the italicized word in the sentence

(e.g. *hos*pital, *said* and *what*). The line above the sentence indicates the intonation of the

PaG speakers. In all three of these examples, the PaG stress falls just after the stress of

StE and continues to fall for an undetermined portion after the initial stress. To be clear,

for the sentence *What does Nobbie call it*, the PaG speaker would stress *does*, while the

AmE speaker would stress *what*.

Control group:

The control group used by Huffines contains 10 'exiles'; that is, 10 individuals who had

been born in these farm valleys and lived there throughout their childhoods but who

moved away from the area later in life. Of the 10, 5 show a notably high occurrence of

the features that characterize the English of Pennsylvania Germans, as discussed above.

The remaining 5 show very few of those features in regular speech. Huffines found that

the number of years in exile does not seem to be an important factor, nor is distance from

the valley. However, the 5 exiles who retain the most PaG features in their speech are

also the 5 who maintain the closest contact with the area through frequent contact with

their families. Before detailing the data for these informants, I would like to be clear that

Huffines did not include demographics for this control group. Not presented is data

concerning the age at which the informants left the area, what their language usage

background is, what their L1 is, or where they have moved since leaving the area. All of

this information is pertinent when examining the language use of this group.

Of the 10 exile control group members, 4 use present tense for continuing actions begun

in the past: *we're five years now*; and 5 use the preverbal adverbs postverbally: *I did dry

the string beans already*. As a group, the exiles placed verb particles 68% more

frequently after noun objects than immediately after the verb, which happened in 32% of speech. Examples of this include: *they used to cut the fat up*, *Mabel just puts potatoes and . . . regular sausage in.*

Conclusions of Study:

Huffines concluded that the linguistic behavior of the exiles parallels the speech used by the valley residents. Compared to the segmental features, the syntactic tendencies and intonation patterns are the most stable features of PaG influence on AmE. Huffines writes, "these syntactic and intonation features seem to be established in the English of the PaG community independent of bilingualism and direct contact with speakers of PaG." If the exile group contained older speakers, they would still retain the speech usage learned in childhood which is the same speech learned by those who continued to live in the area.

Huffines interprets her findings in terms of ethnic affinity. She concludes that the examples of substratum interference from PaG onto the AmE of the area are the result of a 'threshold of PaG ethnic affiliation'. The persistence of these features into the English of subsequent generations and their intrusion into the English of non-PaG settlement areas are by no means assured. However, the evidence gathered by Huffines would suggest that the possibility exists. She would most likely accredit that possibility to the strong ethnic affiliation in the area.

Evaluation of Huffines' Study:

Whereas 'ethnic affiliation' is a very plausible reason for the interference of PaG upon

AmE within this area, the data presented does not support Huffines' claims. The

demographic data is lacking for the 'exile' control group. Specifically, at what age did

these informants leave their hometowns? Is the reader to assume they are L1 speakers of

English? The language of these informants needs to be considered in context of the

individual's background.

In one of the examples, Huffines provided the syntactic feature as it appears in PaG as

well as in the AmE of that area: *Er schteht druff* is a PaG construction comparable to

then you have enough salt in in AmE. However, the same thought is not given to every

syntactic feature mentioned. For example, there is no discussion of prepositions

occurring without an expressed object in other AmE dialects. More discussion and

elaboration would have been helpful in regards to the preverbal adverb *already*. There is

not enough data present to examine the differences between the English usage in the PaG

area and the English in the other parts of America.

Huffines rarely included the specific data of the speech context for the linguistic features

examined. In this study, the age and L1 (and familiarity of L2) of each informant were

made known to the reader. That was frequently the only additional information provided

with the description of the feature being examined.

Despite a lack of demographic data presented within the study, it is one of the more well-

developed studies reviewed in this paper. Huffines provides a few examples of the

various linguistic features she highlights. Additional information was given when available. Huffines found that in this study, despite the controls and the careful measuring of bilingualism, there were still found instances of substratum influence on the AmE spoken in the area. Huffines mentions that there are instances of this influence that extend outside of a purely PaG environment to the AmE within the PaG-speaking area. Whether or not these results are directly attributable to ethnic affiliation has not been fully demonstrated. However, there is certainly enough evidence to continue focusing effort and energy on this contact situation.

8.0 Commentary

Of the three studies examined within the scope of this paper, none of them identified the same goals or purposes. All three studies examined issues of interference and borrowing of PaG on AmE. However, in interviewing mostly bilingual speakers, the data speaks more to an internal level of language interference. These three studies can be studied for what they propose about an individual's maintenance of two separate languages.

Not only are these three studies different from each other, but they also do not share the same goals that this paper has identified. Therefore, what can be taken from each of these studies and applied to this paper is the data, instead of the conclusions or goals. However, in order to use the data these three studies presented, one needs to follow certain guidelines to make sure it is aligned with the goals of this paper. Thus the four criteria were proposed. The four points should provide parameters so that data from other studies may be extracted to further other studies. Each of the three studies has been

examined in terms of the following points: the informants who are L1, monolingual, non-

sectarian speakers of AmE; the actual usage level of the feature in question; if that feature

corresponds to PaG; and if the feature appears in other dialects of AmE. Not one study

met all 4 of these criteria. However, some points are worth mentioning.

Burridge's 1990 study contains the most compelling arguments for the possibility of

lasting influence of PaG on the English of the area. Burridge cites the use of *yet* and

already as sentence-final aspect markers as an example of a construction that also

appears in the speech of non-PaGermans in the area. Within Canada, this construction is

apparent in the English of PaG and non-PaG alike. This feature might correspond

directly to the construction Huffines illustrates in two of her studies: using the preverbal

adverb *already* following the main verb and its use with the preterite: *I did dry the sting

beans already* and *I made the grape wine already* (Huffines 1984). A gloss for the

second sentence (provided by author) would be: *I have already made the grape wine.*

Therefore, if the construction *I made the grape wine already* translates to *I have already

made the grape wine* in standard Midland Dialect, then it would be an example of

Burridge's sentence final aspect marker. The sentence-final *already*, coupled with the

simple past tense, would signify a perfect aspect maker.

This syntactic construction would also correspond to speech in the Pennsylvania PaG

speaking area, where Huffines bases her research. Burridge is clear to link these

constructions with non-PaG speakers, whereas Huffines is clear to specify that

constructions such as these are more frequently found in the speech of those with direct

contact to PaG (see Huffines 1984). There is much here to be further investigated to explore if these constructions are standard for the area dialects, or if they are indeed the result of influence from PaG.

Another feature worth considering is the intonation patterns Huffines has described in both her 1980 and 1984 studies. Elaborated more in her 1984 study, she describes these rise-fall patterns as when the pitch peaks on an unstressed syllable immediately following the sentence stress (180). She has found these patterns in all sentence types. Please see above for the diagrams of sentence such as: *was it in England, was she in a hospital then*, and *I haven't heard much said about it*. Most importantly, she describes these intonation patterns as independent of bilingualism. This is one of the few features Huffines classifies as characteristic of the speech of all informants from the PaG area, regardless of contact with the PaG language directly. Although this portion of her study would require more comparison with the intonation patterns of Standard English as well as in PaG, this might be an indication of a more widespread contact phenomenon.

In compiling the data of all three studies, it has become clear that not enough controls exist to extract the information to make conclusions about the speech in this area. However, by examining all three studies in depth, enough exists to warrant further studies. No conclusions can be made; however, the above examples suggest that there is a difference in the English spoken within the Susquehanna Valley and in the English within other areas of the Midland Dialect.

9.0 Conclusions and implications for further research

Further investigation of the effects of PaG on the AmE spoken within the area is

warranted. By examining syntactic interference, it provides more information as to the

nature of the language contact situation, as lexical borrowings appear on a more

superficial level. Years of contact between the languages must have led to slightly more

widespread use of aspect markers and other syntactic features.

The question that persists is to the nature of the original point of contact. The initial

description of dialect leveling within the area includes English as well as the other

various German dialects. However, one must not exclude the generations of bilingual

speakers, who have inevitably contributed to the current language status. It is difficult to

discern the contact situation that had the biggest impact. Huffines predicts that as the

bilingual population diminishes, with it will also diminish the amount of influence of PaG

on AmE. However, Huffines does not address the population not of PaG descent who

also exhibit language patterns similar to those bilingual PaG and AmE speakers.

It is not clear if a bilingual speaker can have any amount of influence from either of their

languages on the other. Initially, Huffines suggests that a bilingual speaker maintains

two different grammars with no borrowing between the two. She later depicts a bilingual

population with a lack of fluency in one of their languages. It is perhaps within the

speech of these bilinguals that borrowing and influence occurs. It would then account for

generations of language influence.

Ethnicity is another factor to consider in this contact situation. Huffines includes it as the focus of her 1984 study. Over the course of roughly 300 years, PaG has become ingrained in the cultural fabric of the area. There is hardly a barn within all of York or Lancaster counties that is not decorated with a hex sign. The language, culture and folklore of this ethnicity has traveled farther that the spoken language ever did. Burridge explains that most of the PaG speakers, at least within the speaking community in Canada, consciously perpetuate the linguistic stereotypes, as they use phrases that are not natural to their speech. The tourism industry surrounding the Mennonite and Amish communities, especially within Lancaster County, relies on the PaG heritage for survival. As the original German settlers mixed with other Irish, Scottish, English, and Swiss immigrants, ethnicity became a very integral part of town settlements. Ethnic neighborhoods still exist with religion and food being important issues for language and culture. Sometimes when one ethnic group comes into contact with another, language becomes a clear marker of one's personal history and loyalties. Ethnic affiliations have undoubtedly influenced language in multiple ways.

A much more thorough study must be completed in order to determine the nature of the language contact. The four proposed criteria, as previously detailed, should hopefully be used to ascertain more credible interference data of the substratum influence of PaG on AmE. Those four criteria include: the use of L1 monolingual English speakers not of the Amish or Mennonite religious persuasions; the rate of usage of feature in question within the speaking community; if the feature examined occurs in other dialects of AmE; and if the feature exists within PaG.

Much research has already been done on language in this area of Pennsylvania. There exist a handful of PaG preservation societies within the entire confines of the southeastern Pennsylvania and the PaG–speaking region. As an endangered language, Pennsylvania German is threatened by dwindling numbers of native speakers. As these numbers decrease, the entire language balance within the area is increasingly threatened. The lasting effects of PaG on AmE should not be determined by watching the language die.

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APPENDIX A:

MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SPEECH AREAS IN PENNSYLVANIA

from Reed and Seifert's <u>Linguistic Atlas of PaG</u>

APPENDIX B:

DETAILED MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SPEAKING AREA

from Lester Seifert's essay in <u>The German Language in America: A Symposium.</u>

APPENDIX C:

MAP OF THE RHEIN PALATINATE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

DETAILED SECTION OF THE RHINISH PALATINATE DIALECT AREA

PROPOSED AREA TO BE THE SOURCE OF THE MAJORITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN IMMIGRANTS

Taken from Reed and Seifert's A Linguistic Atlas of PaG

APPENDIX D:

COROLLARY MAPS LINKING DIFFERENCES IN THE SPEECH OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS TO THE DIFFERENCES IN THE RHINISH PALATINATE SPEAKING AREA IN GERMANY.

THIS MAP DEPICTS THE DIALECT DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE AREA SURROUNDING MANNHEIM AS WELL AS THE DIFFERENCES IN THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SPEAKING AREA.

IT SEEMS THAT CERTAIN DIALECT AREAS CORRESPOND FROM GERMANY TO PENNSYLVANIA.

Taken from Reed and Seifert's A Linguistic Atlas of PaG

APPENDIX E:

DIALECT AREAS OF THE EASTERN UNTIED STATES, BASED ON *LINGUSTIC ATLAS* ISOGLOSSES FROM KURATH 1949.

IN PARTICULAR, NOTE THE NUMBER 8 DIVISION WITHIN THE MIDLAND DIALECT AREA. IT IS THE SUSQUEHANNA VALLEY. IT CONTAINS THE ENTIRE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SPEAKING AREA.

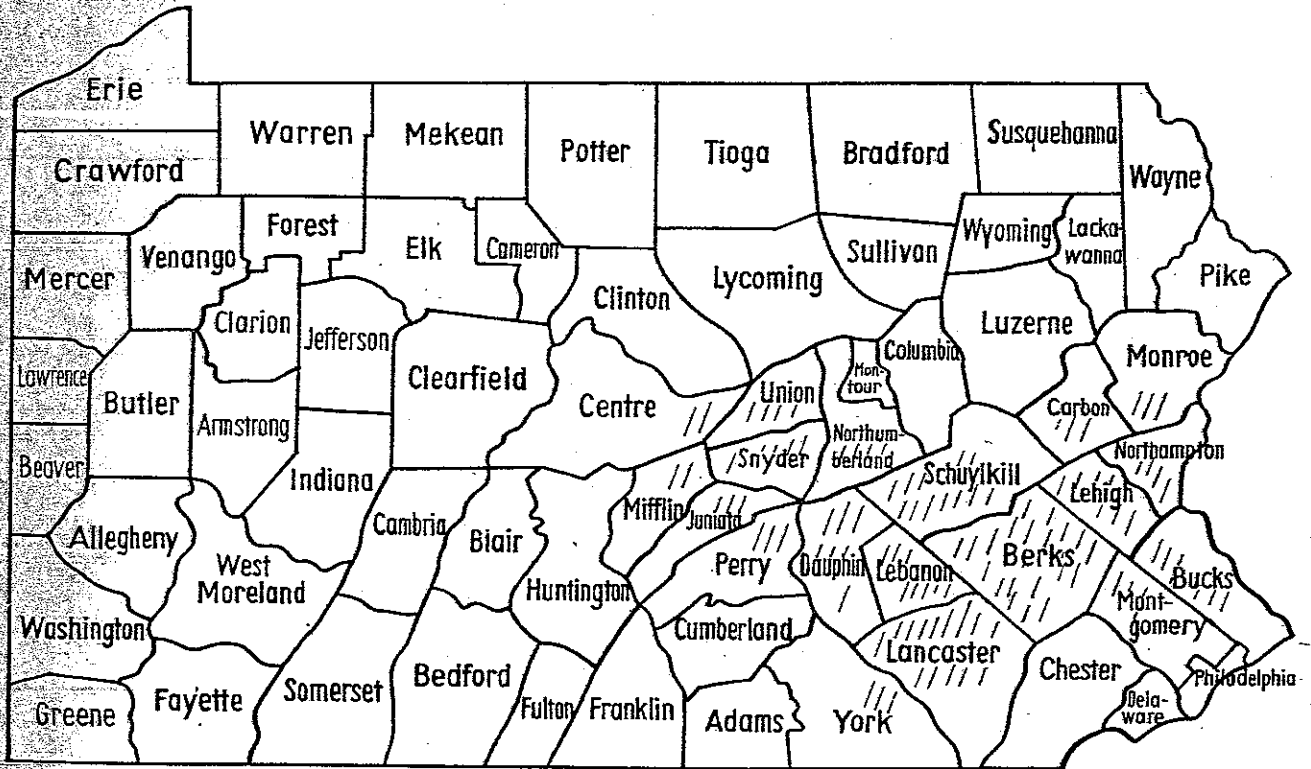taken from Wolfram and Schilling-Estes' American English textbook.
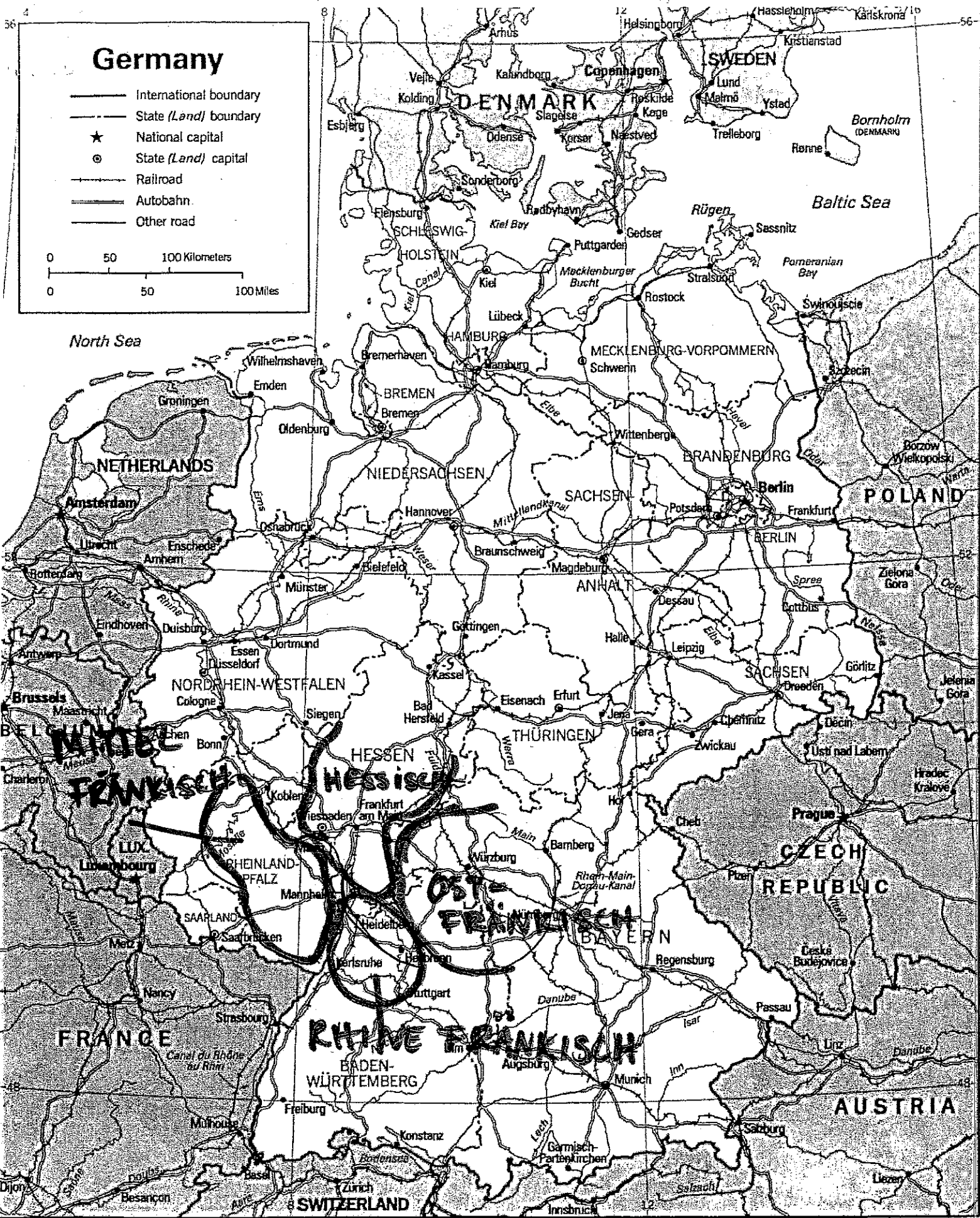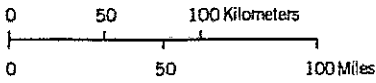
Map of Germany with handwritten dialect annotations: "MITTEL FRÄNKISCH", "HESSISCH", "OST-FRÄNKISCH", "RHINE FRÄNKISCH". Signed "mhoyt, 2004."
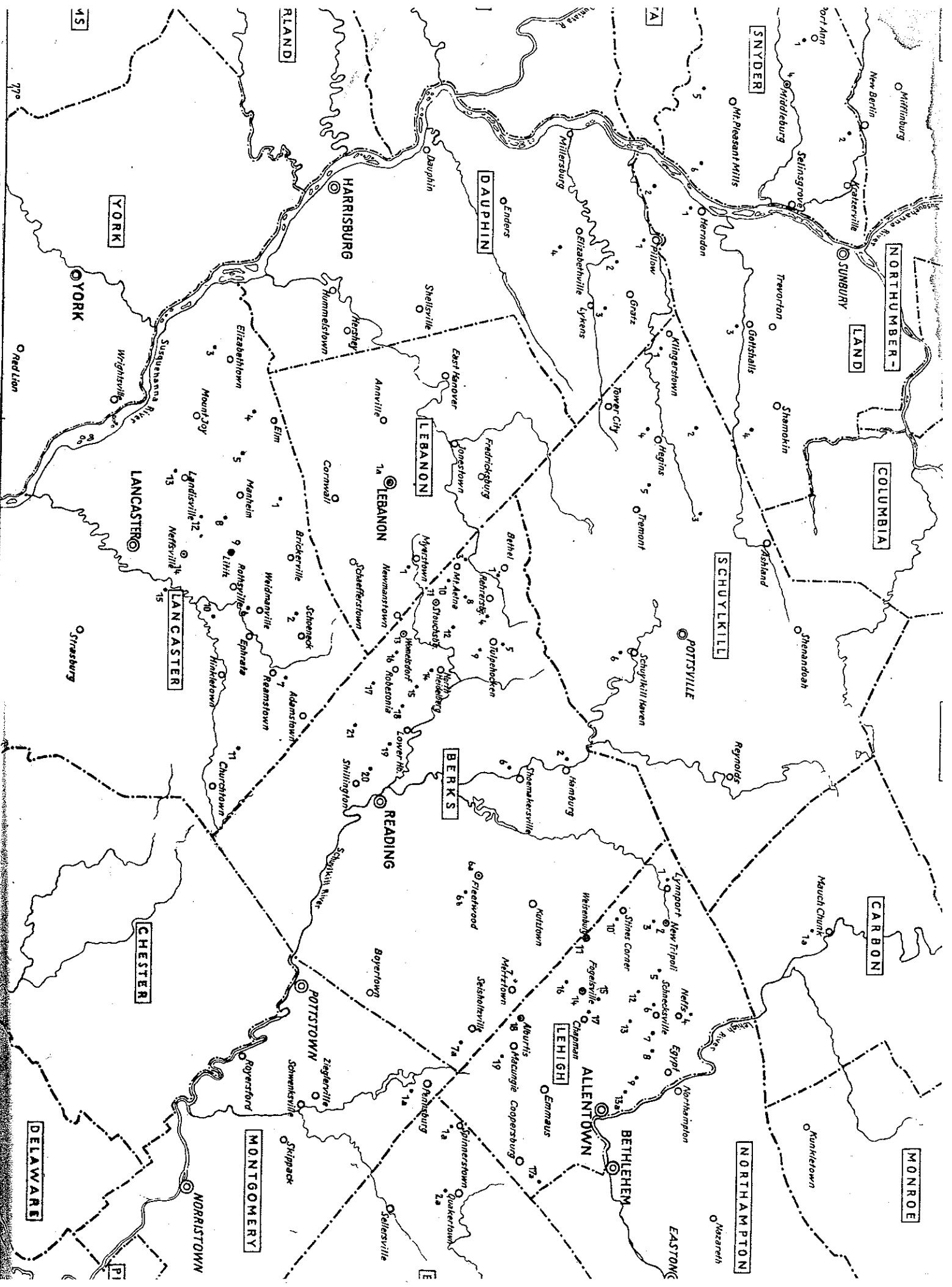
Pennsylvania German Speech Areas — Pennsylvanisch-Deutsche Sprachräume ①

er (pl.).
ellt.

been

Map 1. Pennsylvania German language area.

Rhine-Palatinate in the 18th Century - Kurfürstentum Pfalz im 18. Jahrhundert ⑤
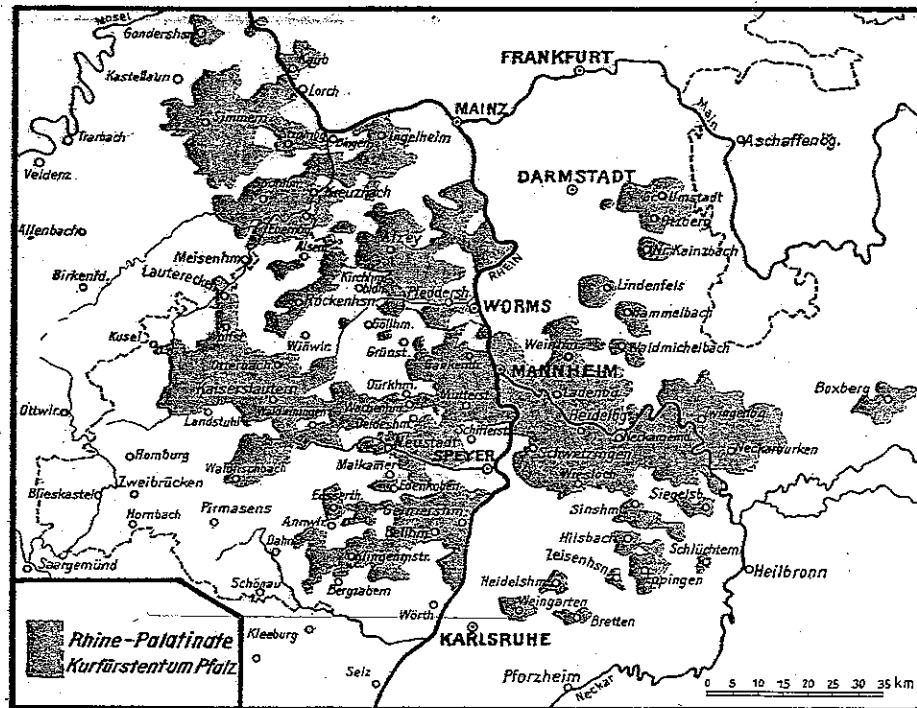
Rhine-Palatinate
Kurfürstentum Pfalz

need – *ihr braucht*

aichd	× braiche
auched	✓ braichen
aiched	

can – *ihr könnt*
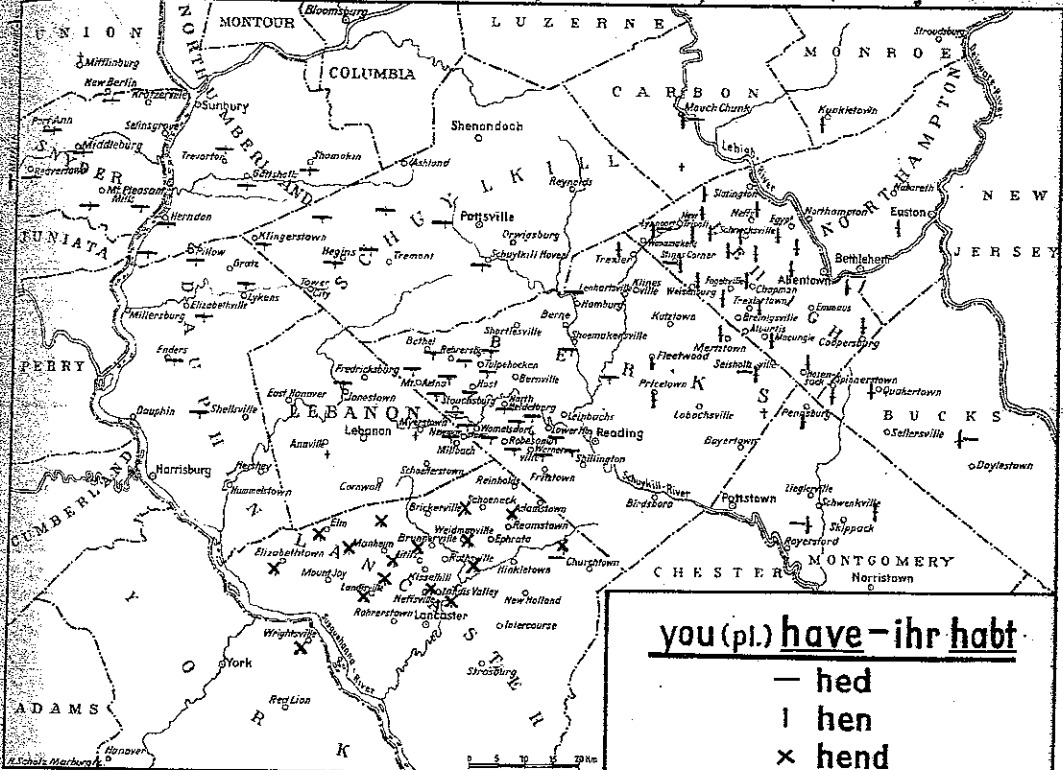
ad	⌐ kene
ed	⌐ kenen

you (pl.) have – ihr habt

—	hed
l	hen
×	hend

Southwestern Germany (Linguistic Atlas) – Südwest-Deutschland (DSA) 63a

hun   hon

het

han

hen

hend

you (pl.) have ihr habt (DSA)

The speech areas of
the Atlantic States

THE NORTH
1   Northeastern New England
2   Southeastern New England
3   Southwestern New England
4   Upstate New York and W. Vermont
5   The Hudson Valley
6   Metropolitan New York

THE MIDLAND
7   The Delaware Valley (Philadelphia Area)
8   The Susquehanna Valley
9   The Upper Potomac and Shenandoah Valleys
10 The Upper Ohio Valley (Pittsburgh Area)
11 Northern West Virginia
12 Southern West Virginia
13 Western North and South Carolina

THE SOUTH
14 Delamarvia (Eastern Shore of Maryland and
       Virginia, and Southern Delaware)
15 The Virginia Piedmont
16 Northeastern North Carolina (Albemarle
       Sound and Neuse Valley)
17 The Cape Fear and Peedee Valleys
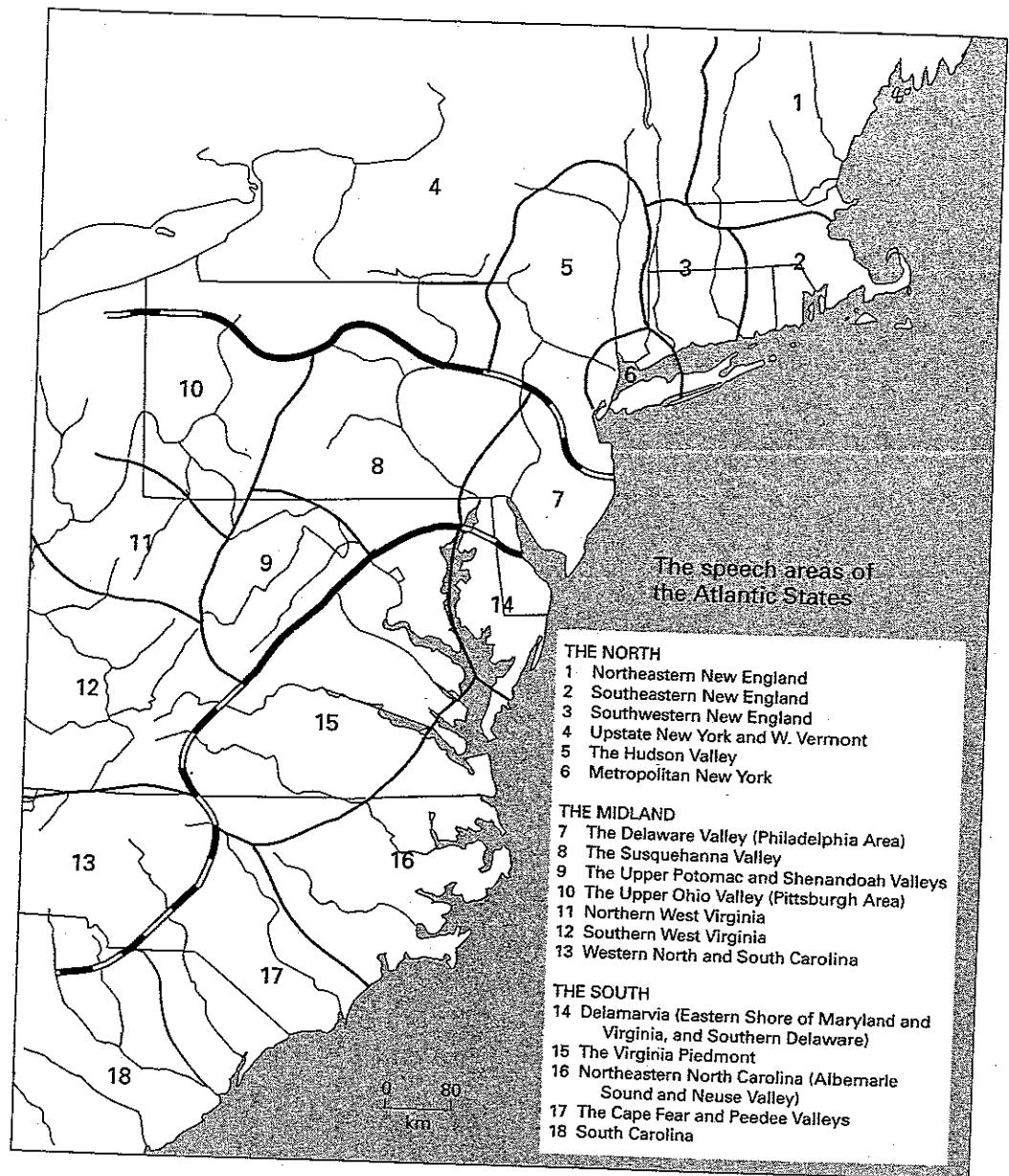18 South Carolina

Figure 4.2   Dialect areas of the Eastern United States: a traditional view (from Kurath 1949: figure 3; copyright © The University of Michigan Press).

use of *rotary* for 'traffic circle' or *parkway* for a divided highway with extensive plantings, are largely confined to the traditional New England dialect region. Such regionally confined terms, according to Craig Carver, offer "proof that dialect expressions inevitably spread or die out, but that dialect boundaries remain relatively stable and alive" (1987:32). We will discuss the fate of traditional dialect regions in the US in more detail in the final section of this chapter.